Jo Lampert
Bruce Burnett   *Editors*

Teacher Education for High Poverty Schools

Education, Equity, Economy

Volume 2

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/13055

Jo Lampert • Bruce Burnett
Editors

Teacher Education for High Poverty Schools

Springer

Editors
Jo Lampert
Faculty of Education
Queensland University of Technology
Brisbane, QLD, Australia

Bruce Burnett
Faculty of Education
Queensland University of Technology
Brisbane, QLD, Australia

Contents

Contributors

Arnetha F. Ball Stanford University, Stanford, CA, USA

Bruce Burnett Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, QLD, Australia

Gerald Campano University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, USA

Yiola Cleovoulou Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

Marilyn Cochran-Smith Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA, USA

Barbara Comber Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Queensland

Pooja Dharamshi Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

María Paula Ghiso Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY, USA

Sherri Gilbert Nelson Mandela Park School, Toronto District School Board, Toronto, ON, Canada

Alison Griffith Faculty of Education, York University, Toronto, ON, Canada

Debra Hayes University of Sydney, Sydney, NSW, Australia

Tyrone C. Howard University of California, Los Angeles, CA, USA

Felipe Jimenéz Pontifica Universidad de Valparaiso, Valparaíso, Chile

Clare Kosnik Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

Jo Lampert Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, QLD, Australia

Robert LeBlanc University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, USA

Joanna McIntyre University of Nottingham, Nottingham, UK

Lydia Menna Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

Cathy Miyata Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

Carmen Montecinos Pontifica Universidad de Valparaiso, Valparaíso, Chile

Kaye Price University of South Australia, Adelaide, SA, Australia

Andrea Rodriguez-Scheel University of California, Los Angeles, CA, USA

Lenny Sánchez University of Missouri, Columbia, MO, USA

Rob Simon University of Toronto/OISE, Toronto, ON, Canada

Christine Sleeter California State University, Long Beach, CA, USA

Pat Thomson University of Nottingham, Nottingham, UK

Ana Maria Villegas Montclair State University, Montclair, NJ, USA

Annette Woods Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Queensland

Introduction

Jo Lampert and Bruce Burnett

This book grew out of our desire to bring together and profile an international snapshot of important advances in both theory and practice related to the preparation of effective or 'quality' teachers for high poverty schools. The motivation for doing this stems from our deep conviction of the need for teacher educators to find novel ways to push back against an evolving climate that has seen the teacher education curriculum increasingly influenced by fundamental changes in what is counted as equity and social justice, and crucially how these changes are measured and re-articulated (Sellar and Lingard 2014). The current climate, where recalibrated technical and numerical understandings of what constitutes the successful school/teacher often use testing as the primary abstract measurement of evidence, does little to contextualize the dynamics at play within complex high poverty schools. While pockets of innovation in teacher education targeting poverty appear widespread and despite powerful research supporting the need for well-prepared teachers (and teaching) for the students who need them most, systemic change and reform in the area has been slow. Part of the issue is that many successful initiatives seem to come and go when for example the funding runs out, or the small group of highly motivated staff driving the program moves to other institutions, or there are broader local or federal policy changes that marginalize an initiative and position it as serving a low-priority or niche market. These appear increasingly to be global concerns.

There is clearly no lack of research, nor a lack of committed individuals—both academics and teachers—who are working tirelessly to address poverty within schools and within teacher education programs. However we would argue that many of them are working in isolation and that this isolation risks the re-invention of wheels. This collection brings together some of the most significant researchers in the field of teacher education for high poverty schools and it is our hope that the

J. Lampert (✉) • B. Burnett
Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, QLD, Australia
e-mail: j.lampert@qut.edu.au; b.burnett@qut.edu.au

book serves as testament to a diverse range of successful attempts to address key aspects within teacher education. Representing the US, Canada, Australia, Chile, South Africa and the UK, this collection profiles an assortment of theory, ideas and approaches from a range of countries. In this respect it is by no means exhaustive of the work that is being done. A major goal of the collection is to pave the way for future collaborations where we are able to learn from each other, recognizing similarities but also differences in our perspectives and in doing so, encourage those working in the field of poverty and teacher education to create more sustainable, focused and collaborative approaches to the merging of theory and practice. This process includes the building of bridges between teacher educators in universities and high poverty schools, their teachers and their and students and includes a fundamental realignment that positions a core component of teacher education programs as serving communities that have historically experienced the consequences of 'missing out'.

We begin the book with a broad caveat repeated in many of the chapters; that is a pointed reminder that teacher education is only one slice of the much larger issue of global poverty. While we know that teachers need much better preparation to teach well in high poverty schools—it is critical that we work with the knowledge that better teachers alone will not solve all the ills of the world. As Cochran-Smith (2013, p. 14) writes, "teachers alone cannot fix the nation's worst schools without simultaneous investments in resources, capacity building, and teachers' professional growth, not to mention changes in access to housing, health and jobs". It was a conscious decision to encase the selection of chapters around the term 'high poverty schools' for there are inherent and some might argue problematic politics involved in finding the right way to talk about students, communities and schools in this field. Terms such as diversity and urban education are often, as Marilyn Cochran-Smith and Ana Maria Villegas remind us in chapter "Preparing Teachers for Diversity and High-Poverty Schools: A Research-Based Perspective", "unproblematised code language" standing for poverty. We argue that while there is overlap in teacher education research on *urban schooling*, *low socio-economic schooling*, *disadvantaged schools*, *under-staffed* or *hard-to-staff schools*, the choice of terminology always contains challenging and problematic aspects for researchers, who, while wanting to draw attention to inequalities in schools, do not wish to reinforce negative or deficit beliefs. For instance, we acknowledge that all urban schools are not disadvantaged, nor are all disadvantaged schools urban. Hence while cultural diversity and poverty often go hand in hand, and racism is regularly directed most glaringly (and with the most dire effects) towards those with the least power, the terms we choose to use do have a tangible impact on our research and on our practice. We also acknowledge this in our own use of the term 'disadvantaged' (chapter "Teacher Education for High-Poverty Schools in Australia: The National Exceptional Teachers for Disadvantaged Schools Program"), which we recognize in itself as problematic. While the term describes something real—i.e. how some people experience disadvantages related to health, housing, opportunities, and quality of education—it can also potentially be interpreted in a negative fashion which some might find emphasizes a deficit position. While there are a wide range of terms used

within the chapters to describe similar, yet somewhat different aspects of this broad field, we have tended to encourage the use of a practical rule of thumb—would the very people about whom the term was used understand the code? Would they object? Would they be insulted? Would they be offended? Would they be surprised to hear themselves described that way? With these questions in mind, we felt it seemed most responsible to use the most straightforward and explanatory term: high poverty schools, since there is little question that schools in high-poverty areas are in need of the best teachers. Nonetheless, we advise readers to note similarities and differences between terminologies and to understand the "problematics" (Noblit and Pink 2008, p. xv) they represent. We also do not intend to disentangle poverty from other disadvantage. Globally, the historically underserved populations who most commonly live in poverty are without doubt Indigenous peoples, people of colour and often women. Chapter "Difficult Dialogues About Race and Poverty in Teacher Preparation" addresses intersectionality directly to address the "race-poverty nexus". All of the chapters in this book reflect, directly or indirectly, on how poverty leads to social and economic isolation that impacts on already marginalized groups. While poverty is a central, common facet, it would be remiss of any examination of teacher education for high poverty schools not to state the obvious—that forms of oppression are interconnected and cannot be examined separately from one another.

Chapter One, "Preparing Teachers for Diversity and High-Poverty Schools: A Research-Based Perspective" (Cochran-Smith and Villegas) draws on the authors' comprehensive review of the "sprawling field" of research from the US. on pre-professional teacher preparation, 2000–2012, in which they conceptualize the research as historically-situated social practice allowing for its mapping in relation to the social, political, and economic forces and resulting ideologies that have shaped education over the last 50 years. This chapter specifically focuses on studies that are relevant to the preparation of high-quality teachers in high-poverty or minority schools from across three major bodies of research: (i) studies focusing on the 'unequal distribution' of quality teachers to urban and poor schools; (ii) studies having to do with the needs of predominantly White middle-class teachers to work effectively with diverse student populations and (iii) the need for Teacher Education programs to employ (and for schools to support) more teachers of color in the teaching force. By unpacking these three bodies of research, the chapter provides a platform and justification for subsequent research that can more overtly concentrate on the preparation of teachers targeting students and families in communities characterized by poverty.

In chapter Two, " 'American Hunger': Challenging Epistemic Injustice Through Collaborative Teacher Inquiry", Campano, Ghiso, LeBlanc and Sanchez address the "yearning for intellectual nourishment" they see as missing in deficit discourses that "conflate poverty with intellectual inferiority". The authors argue these discourses have been compounded by current pressures on teachers to improve test scores and draw from their research with the Boys' Academy in an impoverished neighborhood in the US. to suggest a number of ways teacher educators can better "interrogate and resist" historically oppressive ideologies. The authors outline how

practitioner research serves as a methodological vehicle to cultivate the intellectual hunger of students and point to the degree to which critical literacies provide a form of resistance targeting epistemic injustices. The deep concern the authors express about deficit approaches to teaching in high poverty schools is an element shared by many of the authors in this book and in this chapter takes its shape in an argument for a fundamental shifting of the low expectations teachers have of students and families in low socioeconomic schools.

In chapter Three, "Difficult Dialogues About Race and Poverty in Teacher Preparation", Howard and Rodriguez-Scheel begin by noting a rise in the disproportionate number of children and families living in poverty in the US. Compounding this challenge is the "race-poverty nexus" which results in a correspondingly high number of children and families of color who live in economically challenging circumstances. The authors of this chapter too are concerned with the impact of deficit thinking that comes from teachers who fall back on blaming individual children and their families for their "choices, behavior and every day practices" and call on teacher educators to take a greater focus on structural explanations for poverty. Directing our attention to the class divide where race and poverty increasingly intersect, the authors propose that teacher educators must introduce future teachers both to critical race theory and support them as they develop a deeper understanding of the complexities of intersectionality (in short how race, social class, gender, etc. overlap) to explain the ways children and their families experience school and society. The authors propose the use of intergroup dialogue and "courageous conversations" with pre-service and in-service teachers as ways of engaging them in honest and difficult conversations around race and poverty, from strength-based perspectives.

Chapter Four, "Teacher Education for High-Poverty Schools in Australia: The National Exceptional Teachers for Disadvantaged Schools Program" is written from the Australian context, where the authors outline how high poverty schools are both similar and different from the 'urban' schools highlighted in much of the literature. Using the National Exceptional Teachers for Disadvantaged Schools (NETDS) program as an example of a sustainable and scaled model of teacher education high poverty schools, Burnett and Lampert write about the significance of understanding "contexts of poverty" in developing mainstream initial teacher education programs that make a long-term, sustainable difference. The chapter provides a tangible example of one attempt to embed a targeted program focusing on poverty within an overarching mainstream or traditional Initial Teacher Education course, and how in doing so, it is possible to work within the existing structures, while at the same time 'pushing back' against key aspects of change impacting more broadly on education.

In chapter Five, "More Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Teachers for Australian High-Needs Schools", Kaye Price suggests that the idea of poverty is itself located within a Western European tradition. Her chapter broadens understandings of poverty by examining both the concept and consequences of poverty in the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians. In light of current Australian *Closing the Gap* strategies that seek to address the educational

achievement gap experienced by Indigenous Australians, Price outlines some of the issues that impact on teachers in one particular remote Indigenous Australian community—Wadeye located in Australia's Northern Territory. The chapter focuses specifically on issues related to teacher retention, the difficulty of attracting and retaining experienced teachers, and the lack of preparation to teach in unfamiliar settings which the mostly non-Indigenous teachers receive within their teacher education programs. Price also discusses the impact of the recent Australian More Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Teachers Initiative (MATSITI) and its aims of preparing and graduating more Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers.

Arnetha Ball's research into teaching diverse student populations in culturally and linguistically complex classrooms crosses international boundaries. Chapter Six, "Teacher Professional Development in a Complex and Changing World: Lessons Learned from Model Teacher Education Programs in Transnational Contexts" draws upon part of a larger transnational study in which Ball reports her recent research conducted in model teacher education programs in the US. and South Africa that are specifically designed for social justice with the expectations that teacher candidates will link sociocultural and linguistic theory with educational practice. The chapter outlines how Ball's Model of Generative Change provides a context for how teachers can strategically engage with challenging theory through writing as a pedagogical tool. The cases explored in this chapter provide evidence of teacher candidates' growing critical commitment to working with students from culturally diverse, marginalized backgrounds as they explore their own attitudes and perceptions through theory.

Chapter Seven, "You Teach Who You Are: The Experiences and Pedagogies of Literacy/English Teacher Educators Who Have a Critical Stance", authored by Canadian researchers Kosnik, Cleovoulou, Dharamshi, Menna and Miyata, reports on a study involving 28 literacy/English teacher educators in four countries: Canada, U.S., UK, and Australia. As literacy achievement and poverty are often linked, the authors of this chapter caution against decontextualized narratives, and instead encourage both teacher educators and teachers to resist "narrow understandings of literacy" that focus only on literacy mechanics and test scores. In contrast, the chapter positions literacy as social practice and explores the personal and professional experiences of selected teacher educators who take a critical stance, including an "expansive view of literacy" and its links to poverty and disadvantage. The authors report on the practices of these socially just teacher educators and how their own pedagogies and innovative strategies support pre-service teachers in achieving deeper understandings of literacy. This examination of the personal and professional experiences of literacy teacher educators turns the lens around to focus on teacher educators themselves as engaged in reflective practice.

In chapter Eight, "Poverty, Schooling, and Beginning Teachers Who Make a Difference: A Case Study from England", McIntyre and Thomson describe the English 'Leadership Development Programme' Teach First. The authors outline how England's unique context of teacher preparation has radically changed over the last 30 years and how this differs from the contexts in which other chapters in this book occur. This chapter begins by explaining the diverse teacher accreditation

routes that exist in England which include school-based teacher training such as Teach First. Identifying the program as one "specifically designed to address questions of poverty and educational disadvantage" the authors situate Teach First within England's higher education history and its current context of poverty. They report on the findings from conversations with five Teach First teachers within case study schools in Nottingham, and unpack what attracted these teachers to the program as well as describing the program's approach to recruitment, training and the university/school partnership.

Chapter Nine, "Preparing Teachers for Social Justice in the Context of Education Policies that Deepen Class Segregation in Schools: The Case of Chile", (Sleeter, Montecinos and Jimenez) begins with a discussion of what it means in Chile to prepare teachers for social justice within what they describe as "one of the most socially segregated systems in the world". Arguing that teacher educators need to take into account broader national contexts the authors outline how the market-driven models implemented over the previous 40 years in Chile have exacerbated school segregation. Drawing predominantly on a social justice framework, the authors outline the connections between various forms of diversity and oppression and draw our attention to research on how teacher education programs address family-school relationships within the contexts of poverty and vulnerability. Importantly, the chapter highlights the divisions of social class and its impact on education with the authors calling for Initial Teacher Education programs to do more via a "robust focus on social justice" so as to better prepare teachers who are equipped to educate the students and respectfully engage with the families and communities of vulnerable high poverty schools.

In chapter Ten, "Literacy Teacher Research in High-Poverty Schools: Why It Matters", Comber and Woods describe how it is possible for teachers use an inquiry stance (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009) to reflect on their own repertoire of practice in high poverty contexts, and how building and enhancing their teacher-researcher dispositions can lead these teachers to better understandings of their own practice, especially in times of change. Drawing on a 5 year collaborative school-reform project in schools that are situated in areas of high poverty in Australia the authors argue that being a socially just teacher "requires complex educational capital" that includes a deep understanding of poverty. Focusing on one case study of a participating teacher in a culturally diverse school, the authors provide evidence of how this teacher's work changed through active engagement with theory. Amongst other things, this teacher, along with others in the project, reflects deeply on such things as their expectations of students. The chapter calls for teacher educators to use "turn-around pedagogies" such as the collaborative research work between universities and teacher-researchers to develop and expand teachers' knowledges, dispositions and principles of social justice.

In chapter Eleven, "Teachers' Work in High-Poverty Contexts: Curating Repertoires of Pedagogical Practice" Deb Hayes explores how one early childhood teacher in a high poverty school "curates her repertoire of practice" and specifically how this process involves both relationships with parents and community. Drawing on a larger 3-year ethnographic study on literacy and leadership in four South

Australian schools, Hayes argues that deficit beliefs are ascribed not just to children, but to their families and communities as well. This chapter proposes teacher education must endeavor to include more emancipatory approaches that are based on theoretical frameworks of sociology, so as to help teachers better understand the discursively constituted nature of how schools operate and demystify the inherent power relationships within these schools that assign meaning. Documenting the pedagogical repertoires of one teacher, Hayes shows how this teacher positions herself in the school, what meaning she makes of her own conscious and unconscious practices and how she is able to engage in this epistemological work to think further about how to make a positive difference for her students.

In chapter Twelve, "Learning to Teach in the Park: The York University Regent Park Initiative" Griffith and Gilbert examine how York University in Canada's community-situated teacher education program at Regent Park PreService Site (YURP) is used to prepare teacher candidates to teach in an urban, marginalized community. While many of the teacher candidates themselves are, in this case from culturally diverse backgrounds, none had previously been to the urban, low socio-economic community in which this program took place. The chapter outlines how alongside more traditional Initial Teacher Education course requirements, participants in this program focus on learning about the community through ethnographic field studies that include interviews, and examining photos and maps from the community. This chapter provides a tangible example of a unique community-based teacher education program where 'difficult schools' provide the 'pedagogical spaces to try something different' and promote deeper community-based understandings of teaching.

In chapter Thirteen, ""Just Don't Get Up There and 'Dangerous Minds' Us": Taking an Inquiry Stance on Adolescents' Literacy Practices in Urban Teacher Education", Simon discusses the assumptions, myths and negative stereotypes teacher candidates hold about high-poverty students and how these shape the pre-service teachers' expectations about teaching them. The chapter argues that these risk-laden discourses are constructed from/by films and popular media and include both assumptions about urban adolescents as dangerous, difficult or disinterested, and about teachers as saviours. Simon outlines how he challenges teacher candidates, through the use of literacy biographies to interrogate their own conceptions of race, language and literacy in order to "construct counter-narratives". This chapter show how by interviewing their own students, these teacher candidates uncover their pupils' "rich literacies", leading them to reinterpret and reconstruct what they thought they knew about their students' worlds, and in doing so to re-think their initial preconceptions about the students themselves.

References

Cochran-Smith, M. (2013). The new teacher education in the United States: Directions forward. In J. Furlong, M. Cochran-Smith, & M. Brennan (Eds.), *Policy and politics in teacher education: International perspectives*. New York: Routledge.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (2009). *Inquiry as stance: Practitioner research for the next generation*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Noblit, G., & Pink, W. (2008). Introduction. In W. Pink & G. Noblit (Eds.), *International handbook of urban education*. Berlin: Springer.

Sellar, S., & Lingard, B. (2014). Equity in Australian schooling: The absent presence of socioeconomic context. In S. Gannon & W. Sawyer (Eds.), *Contemporary issues of equity in education* (pp. 1–21). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Preparing Teachers for Diversity and High-Poverty Schools: A Research-Based Perspective

Marilyn Cochran-Smith and Ana Maria Villegas

Abstract This chapter focuses on three bodies of research on teacher preparation for diversity and high-poverty schools in the U.S. Although the inference is that these contexts include relatively high numbers of students living in poverty or in very low-income families, few of these studies attended closely to preparing teachers to understand the particular needs of urban, immigrant, or poor learners. Rather, terms such as *diverse* and *urban* were relatively unproblematized code language for a constellation of characteristics that describe school populations and schools that have historically not been well-served by the mainstream education system, including traditional teacher preparation programs located at colleges and universities. The first body of research, which was intended to inform policy, focused primarily on determining the effects and effectiveness of human-capital policies and personnel practices regarding alternative certification and preparation as a solution to the problem of teacher shortages in high-poverty and minority schools. The second focused on preparing a predominantly White, middle-class teacher-candidate population for diverse schools, and the third on recruiting students of color into teacher education. The second and third were framed by the growing cultural gap between teachers and their students and were conducted mostly by teacher educators. These studies aimed to produce knowledge to improve the preparation of a culturally responsive teaching force. This chapter compares and contrasts these three lines of research and argues for more research that explicitly focuses on ways to prepare teachers to work with students from poor families and communities.

M. Cochran-Smith (✉)
Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA, USA
e-mail: cochran-smith@bc.edu

A.M. Villegas
Montclair State University, Montclair, NJ, USA
e-mail: villegasa@mail.montclair.edu

1   Introduction

In our recent review of some 1500 studies published in English-language, peer-reviewed journals between 2000 and 2012 (Cochran-Smith et al. in press), we described research on pre-professional teacher education and certification as a "sprawling field." We used this term to emphasize that research on teacher preparation is an emerging, complex, and multi-faceted field, and that there is now a large array of researchers in many countries who are intensely interested in the systems and processes through which teachers are prepared and certified to teach. These researchers work from multiple disciplines, pose a wide range of questions, use varying kinds of research tools and designs, and have different—sometimes competing—notions about the goals of research, the purposes of education, and even of what counts as research in the first place. To tame this sprawling field, we developed a theoretical and analytical framework, which we titled "teacher preparation research as historically-situated social practice." This framework allowed us to chart the landscape of teacher preparation research in relation to larger social, political, and economic forces and the resulting ideas that have shaped education over the last 50 years, an approach that is consistent with Mannheim's ([1936] 1949) perspective on the intellectual project of the sociology of knowledge. We used the notion of research as "social practice" (Bourdieu [1977] 1980; Herndl and Nahrwold 2000), rather than research paradigms, to analyze the multiple clusters and lines of research studies we identified according to their shared ways of constructing problems, asking questions, situating themselves in relation to their problems of study, constructing purposes and audiences for their work, and framing findings.

In this volume on teacher education for high-poverty schools, we focus on several selected bodies of work, drawn from the larger literature review described above, in order to consider the topic from a research perspective. For this chapter, we concentrate only on studies about teacher preparation conducted in the U.S. because of the enormous impact on research of the nation's economic, political and policy forces. Certainly the U.S. context has some features that are similar to those of some other countries—such as England's dislocation of teacher education from universities and the rapidly changing demographic profile of the school population in many western European and other countries as a result of new worldwide mass-migration patterns. However, we found that—taken together—the social, political and economic forces that have shaped teacher preparation research in the U.S. and its highly politicized and publicized policy context justified an analysis focused only on U.S. studies for this volume.

A critical point of introduction to this body of work is that the relevant U.S. research is not generally framed by researchers as teacher preparation for *high-poverty* schools. Although some relevant studies use *high-poverty* or *low-income* to describe the schools and school populations for which teachers are being prepared, most use the language of teacher preparation for diversity, for urban schools, for schools with large populations of immigrant and/or other students from non-dominant groups, and/or for hard-to-staff schools. In this literature, terms such as

diverse and *urban* are relatively undifferentiated and unproblematized code language for a constellation of characteristics that describe school populations and schools that have historically not been well-served by the mainstream education system, including traditional teacher preparation programs located at colleges and universities. Although the inference in most of the U.S. studies we reviewed about teacher preparation for diverse and urban (and occasionally rural) schools is that these contexts include relatively high numbers of students living in poverty or in very low-income families, few of the studies we reviewed attended closely to preparing teachers to understand the particular needs of urban, immigrant, or poor learners. In addition, a major critique we developed in our larger review was that many studies assumed that school factors, including teachers and teacher preparation, rather than social factors, such as poverty and institutionalized racism, were both the problem and the solution to failing schools. Along these lines, we argued that although some studies were intended ultimately to increase school students' access to educational opportunities, few studies deconstructed the concept of access. That is, few studies interrogated issues such as how current institutional arrangements—including the traditional function of schools in society—and existing social and material relations influence the following:

- who does and does not have access to educational opportunities and resources in the first place
- why and how systems of inequality and inequitable access are reproduced
- under what circumstances and for whom access alone makes a difference
- what the roles of teachers and teacher education are in all of this.

In our larger review, we called for more research about aspects of teacher preparation and certification that deeply acknowledges the impact of social, cultural and institutional factors—particularly the impact of poverty—on teaching, learning, and teacher education.

With the above caveats clearly in mind, we concentrate in this chapter on three lines of research drawn from a larger pool of studies about teacher preparation in the U.S., which are relevant to issues of poverty. The first includes studies wherein the research problem was framed as the failure of school districts, states, and teacher preparation programs to provide all students with high quality teachers, including teachers in shortage subject areas and teachers for poor and low-income, urban and/or hard-to-staff schools. The premise here is that although teacher quality is critical to students' achievement, urban, poor, and minority students are the least likely to have well qualified teachers. This group of studies, intended to inform policy at federal, state, and institutional levels, focused primarily on determining the effects and effectiveness of human-capital policies and personnel practices regarding alternative certification and preparation as a solution to the problem of teacher shortages in high-poverty and minority schools.

The second and third lines of research complement each other. One focused on preparing a predominantly White, middle-class teacher-candidate population for diverse schools and the other on recruiting students of color into teacher education. Both sets of studies were framed by the growing cultural gap between teachers and

their students, along with the view that teachers' biographies profoundly shape their beliefs about students, which in turn influence their teaching. These studies assumed that to successfully teach students from marginalized groups, teachers need to know about students' lives and recognize the strengths each student brings to learning—insights teacher candidates from dominant groups are less likely to possess upon entering teacher education than their peers from racial/ethnic minority backgrounds. Designed and conducted mostly by teacher educators, the studies in these two lines of research aimed to produce knowledge with the capacity to improve the preparation of a culturally responsive teaching force.

In this chapter, we take up these three lines of research one at a time, considering in particular the questions they raise, the assumptions they make, and their general findings. We also discuss what the three lines of research do and do not tell us about preparing teachers for diversity and for high-poverty schools in the U.S. We conclude by comparing and contrasting the three lines of research and calling for more research that explicitly focuses on teacher preparation that prepares teachers to work with students from poor families and communities.

2   Alternative Teacher Certification Programs and Pathways

This first line of research examined *alternative* teacher certification programs and pathways in the U.S., conceptualized as a solution to the problem of shortages of well-qualified teachers for urban, low-income, and high-poverty schools. This line of research included 30 studies, which we cite selectively.[1] In many of these, *alternative* programs and pathways were compared to *traditional* teacher preparation, terms that are commonly used in the U.S., despite widely acknowledged variation (Humphrey and Wechsler 2007; Wilson et al. 2001; Zeichner and Conklin 2005). The terms alternative certification, alternative pathway, and alternative route generally refer to preparation, recruitment, and/or certification arrangements wherein participants begin teaching before completing full certification requirements and/or without completing an undergraduate or graduate initial teacher-education program at a college or university (Committee on the Study of Teacher Preparation in the United States 2010).

The studies in this group generally constructed the research problem in terms of the *teacher quality gap*, a phrase that refers to the unequal and inequitable distribution across schools and districts of well-qualified teachers (Cochran-Smith and

---

[1] There were a number of studies in addition to these 30 that examined aspects of alternative preparation/certification in the much larger review of research upon which this chapter draws. However, we include in this chapter only studies that explicitly framed the research problem in relation to providing access to well-qualified teachers for students in low income, urban and/or poor schools. Thus, we do not include studies that framed research about alternative preparation/certification in more general terms, such as: mitigating teacher shortages, recruiting academically able teachers into the work force, or assessing the effectiveness of state policies allowing alternative teacher preparation/certification.

Fries 2011). Most of the studies examined alternative pathways as a policy lever to mitigate this gap, based on the assumption that schools with concentrations of urban, poor, low-income, and/or minority students are least likely to have well-qualified teachers (e.g., Darling-Hammond et al. 2002, 2005; National Comprehensive Center for Teacher Quality 2009; Peske and Haycock 2006). In some studies, blame for these persistent inequalities was placed in these areas:

- on federal, state, and school district policies—especially teacher licensing policies and teachers' union contracts (Hess et al. 2004)
- on university teacher preparation programs because they do not produce enough teachers who want to and are well-prepared to teach in poor, low-income or urban schools (Education Trust 2008; Haycock 2005).

In some studies, however, this line of logic about who is to blame for persistent inequalities was challenged (e.g., Cohen-Vogel and Smith 2007; Darling-Hammond et al. 2005).

Policies allowing alternative preparation/certification now exist in 45 of the 50 U.S. states (U.S. Department of Education 2013) with Teach for America (TFA) the best known among many programs. When alternative policies were first implemented, there was limited evidence about their potential impact (Allen 2003; Wilson et al. 2001; Zeichner and Schulte 2001; Zumwalt 1996) or their trade-offs and unintended consequences. The studies in this first line of research, which were intended to inform policies related to alternative preparation/certification, generally addressed one of two broad questions:

1. What are the effects of alternative certification pathways, entry routes, or selection/recruitment programs on desired school and student outcomes?
2. What are the experiences of new alternative entry route teachers in urban schools?

3 The Effects of Alternative Pathways, Programs, and Routes

Most studies that addressed the first question examined the impact of alternative pathways on one or more outcomes, including students' achievement, distribution of well-qualified teachers across schools, qualifications and/or demographic make-up of the entering teacher workforce, teachers' sense of efficacy and preparedness, and/or teacher retention. Many studies were completed by social scientists in sociology, economics, testing and assessment, public policy, and education, drawing on either large-scale databases linking teacher qualifications, student achievement, and other data, and/or on survey and program/pathway data.

The New York City Pathways (NYC Pathways) research team, comprising primarily economists working in collaboration with teacher educators, conducted many of these studies, which serve as an example here. The team constructed a

large-scale database linking New York state and city data about teachers, teacher licensure, and student achievement with survey data on NYC first-year teachers and information about preparation programs/pathways. The purpose was to assess the impact of pathways on the quality of the teacher workforce and distribution of well-qualified teachers to hard-to-staff urban schools in one labor market and to identify pathway features that had a significant impact. For example, Boyd et al. (2006) examined how changes in NYC teacher entry requirements influenced qualifications of the teacher workforce and student achievement. Subsequently, they compared the impact of entry requirements on the distribution of teacher qualifications in schools with poor and more affluent students. Boyd et al. (2008, 2009, 2012) have also examined the impact of differences in pathway features and experiences of teachers from different pathways on students' achievement in mathematics and English language arts and in 2012 examined the impact of "math immersion" pathways on student achievement and qualifications of NYC's teacher workforce.

Other studies also explored the impact of alternative pathways on student achievement based on the rationale that the pattern of less qualified teachers in traditionally not-well-served schools reinforced existing patterns of students' unequal access to high quality education (Clotfelter et al. 2010; Darling-Hammond et al. 2005; Glazerman et al. 2006; Xu et al. 2011). For example, Darling-Hammond, et al. (2005) linked teacher certification data to students' achievement data in Houston's public schools to investigate whether teacher preparation/certification methods were important determinants. Glazerman et al. (2006) randomly assigned students to TFA and non-TFA teachers in hard-to-staff schools in six of TFA's regions, comparing teachers' impact on math and reading achievement. Clotfelter et al. (2010) compared end-of-course tests for North Carolina high school students taught by teachers with no subject area certification, "lateral entry" certification (i.e., North Carolina's alternative route), and full certification. Xu et al. (2011) compared the mathematics and science achievement of North Carolina high school students taught by TFA teachers and teachers from traditional routes. Gimbert et al. (2007) compared the mathematics achievement of middle and high school students in hard-to-staff urban schools taught by teachers from Virginia's Transition to Teaching program with that of students taught by teachers not from that program. Both Easton-Brooks and Davis (2009) and Kane et al. (2008) examined the impact of teachers with and without certification, the former with regard to the reading scores of African American and European American early elementary students based on a longitudinal national sample, and the latter with regard to the reading and mathematics achievement of upper elementary students in NYC schools. Finally, Papay et al. (2012) compared the math and science scores of students in upper elementary grades who were or were not taught by teachers from the Boston Teacher Residency (BTR), a hybrid alternative pathway.

Some studies considered important outcomes other than student achievement. For example, Papay et al. (2012) and Zientek (2007) investigated the ability of alternative pathways to attract a more diverse entry teacher workforce compared with other providers in Boston and Texas, respectively. In addition, both Papay et al. (2012) and MacIver and Vaughn (2007) compared retention rates for alternative

pathway and other teachers. Retention of BTR teachers was compared with rates for other major providers in urban Boston (Papay et al. 2012) and retention of TFA and other alternative pathways teachers was compared with rates for certified and non-certified teachers in urban Baltimore (MacIver and Vaughn 2007). Cohen-Vogel and Smith (2007) used national School and Staffing Survey data to investigate whether alternative pathways attracted more teachers for urban, poor, minority, and hard-to-staff schools. Finally, several studies examined new teachers' perceptions using self-report survey data, specifically, the efficacy of university certified and alternatively certified teachers (Flores et al. 2004), the sense of preparedness of new teachers from different NYC pathways (Darling-Hammond et al. 2002), and the sense of teaching competence of alternatively-certified teachers in Florida's high-poverty schools (Suell and Piotrowski 2006).

Not surprisingly, given inconsistent definitions of traditional and alternative pathways, as well as striking variations in study designs, the results of these studies are inconsistent, and thus, ultimately inconclusive. Although alternative pathways have grown exponentially and although foundations and state and federal policy makers favor them, the weight of the evidence does not suggest that they are a superior pathway into teaching or a proven solution to the problem of teacher quality and supply for urban, hard-to-staff, minority, and/or poor schools. Some studies found small or no differences in the achievement of students taught by teachers from different pathways, some found traditionally prepared/certified teachers were more effective in some areas and levels, and some found that teachers from alternative routes or from a particular pathway were more or less effective in some areas and levels than other teachers. On the other hand, there is evidence that policies governing alternative pathways have the capacity to change the characteristics of the teacher labor market in some areas, including improving the academic qualifications of teachers and mitigating inequities in the distribution of well-qualified teachers to traditionally under-served schools. There is also growing evidence that alternative pathways tend to be more effective than traditional programs at recruiting teachers of color, a finding corroborated by other recent sources (e.g., U.S. Department of Education 2013).

4 The Experiences of Alternative Entry Teachers in Urban Schools

In addition to questions about alternative pathway effects, a second group of questions had to do with the experiences of teachers who entered urban schools through alternative pathways. This small group of studies generally used interview and other qualitative data along with program documents and surveys. Although information about the role of the researcher/s was not always provided, it appeared that many of these studies were conducted by education faculty involved in alternative programs located at universities.

Several studies focused on the tensions between the goals espoused by alternative programs and the actual realities of urban schools. For example, Carter and Keiler (2009) explored how the realities of urban reform affected the experiences of alternatively certified teachers in small schools in NYC; Foote et al. (2011) examined the support needs of new NYC math teachers who entered through alternative pathways in relation to the program's planned provision of support; and, Veltri (2008) analyzed the systemic realities of TFA teachers' experiences in urban schools in two geographic regions in contrast to TFA's espoused program. Along somewhat similar lines, Evans (2010) investigated the occupational socialization—professional or technical—that occurred in traditional and alternative programs in primarily urban and rural schools in one labor market in a southern state. Carter et al. (2011) compared evaluations of university courses completed by traditional and alternative program teachers at the same university, focusing on the markedly different needs and assessments of the two groups as consumers of teacher education. Both Costigan (2005) and Ng and Peter (2010) specifically addressed the problem of rapid teacher turnover in poor urban schools, each exploring the thinking of a small group of alternative pathway teachers about whether to stay or leave their jobs as urban teachers and/or as teachers generally. Finally, working from the very different approach of discrete time survival analysis and using a much larger database than any of the studies described in this paragraph, Donaldson and Johnson (2010) examined whether, when, and why TFA teachers transferred from low-income to better-resourced schools, or left teaching altogether.

The studies that addressed the second question generally found marked tensions between the expectations and realities of new urban teachers from alternative pathways, including the need for more or different kinds of support from that offered. These tensions affected their thinking regarding career trajectories, including some who decided to seek teaching positions outside urban areas. Specifically, Donaldson and Johnson's (2010) study indicated that "misassignment" of alternatively certified teachers, including placement in multiple-grade classes, multiple subject areas, or out of field subjects, contributed to their decisions to leave low-income schools and/or the teaching profession.

5 Preparing Teacher Candidates from Dominant Groups for Diversity

The second line of research we describe included over 125 studies, which we cite selectively in this chapter. This research illuminates how university-based teacher education programs have attempted to prepare teachers from White, middle-class, and monolingual English-speaking backgrounds to teach students who are racially/ethnically, economically, and linguistically different from themselves. While the topics addressed across these studies varied somewhat, they generally constructed the research problem to be investigated in a similar way. For the most part, the studies situated the topic of investigation in the context of the profound cultural gap

between today's teachers and their students. For example, data from 2007 indicate that students of color accounted for over 44 % of total enrollments in U.S. public schools (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES] 2009a), while teachers of color comprised only 17 % of the teaching force (NCES 2009b).

The researchers whose works we review here raised two major concerns about the growing cultural disparity between teachers and students. First, because many White, middle-class prospective teachers have lived their lives in racially and economically insulated communities that offer limited opportunity for contact with people different from themselves, they bring with them into teacher preparation programs little understanding of the day-to-day realities, interests, concerns, and struggles of students from racial/ethnic, economic, and linguistic minority backgrounds. This gap makes it difficult for teacher candidates to design instruction that builds on students' background knowledge and experiences, a goal that many U.S. based teacher-education programs promote (e.g., Akiba 2011; Almarza 2005; Brindley and Laframboise 2002; Epply et al. 2011). Second, many teacher candidates have lived relatively privileged lives as members of dominant social groups. Therefore, they often begin formal teacher preparation believing that the difficulties students from socially marginalized groups experience in schools stem from the students' lack of academic skills and motivation to learn and/or from dysfunctional families and community life, while overlooking the major role that inequalities in society and schools play in the construction of academic failure. In these studies, researchers identify deficit and individualistic thinking as a barrier to having teacher candidates assume responsibility for making schools equitable learning communities and adopting culturally responsive teaching practices (e.g., Brown and Kraehe 2010; Martin 2005; Picower 2009).

In response to the problem defined above, the majority of studies in this group experimented with innovative opportunities designed to help mainstream teacher candidates uncover their deficit beliefs about socially marginalized students and communities, learn about the lives of students who differ from them, understand issues of social inequalities and the role schools play in producing and reproducing them, gain awareness of the privilege they derive as members of dominant groups, and develop a commitment to teaching in a socially just and culturally responsive way (e.g., Almarza 2005; Ference and Bell 2004; Hyland and Heuschkel 2010; Torok and Aguilar 2000). In general, these studies presupposed that addressing teacher candidates' beliefs and understandings about diversity and social inequalities was an essential first step in the process of learning to teach for diversity in the context of enduring school and societal inequalities.

The studies described here were guided by one overarching question: What is the influence of course-based learning opportunities on (White) teacher candidates' learning to teach students who are racially/ethnically, economically, and linguistically different from themselves? The studies fell into one of two groups, based on how the learning opportunity of interest was structured: studies about the influence of courses conducted entirely on campus with an innovative pedagogical activity/assignment and studies about the influence of courses with a linked school-based and/or community-based field experience.

6   The Influence of Campus-Based Courses
and Learning Opportunities

Most of the campus-based learning opportunities these studies examined were designed to engage teacher candidates in inspecting their beliefs about diversity, identifying personal biases, and developing an understanding of how inequalities are systematically structured within social institutions, including schools, advantaging particular groups and disadvantaging others. The learning opportunities studied included:

- exchanging letters with paired K–12 students in urban or rural schools (Epply et al. 2011; Schoorman 2002)
- examining segments of texts from multicultural children's literature from the perspectives of the different characters and identifying the cultural assumptions each character made in key events (Brindley and Laframboise 2002)
- discussing ethnographic and multimedia cases that included examples of ways in which race influences children's schooling (Brown and Kraehe 2010)
- grappling with carefully selected readings that presented a critical race theory perspective on education (Picower 2009)
- assessing whether an online discussion format was more effective than traditional face-to-face discussion formats at producing candid considerations of thorny issues related to race, social class, and language (Merryfield 2001).

Other studies in this group focused on the influence of learning innovations designed to give teacher candidates from dominant groups insight into their own White, middle-class privilege. For the most part, these studies involved the use of reflective writing, including asking teacher candidates to write cultural biographies, educational memoirs, and family histories (Canniff 2008; Haddix 2008). Taking a different approach, a few other studies examined the impact of course-based interventions on teacher candidates' teaching practices. For example, Bales and Saffold (2011) used cases of teaching in diverse classrooms coupled with online discussions to help teacher candidates learn how to draw on students' experiences to support their academic progress. In another practice-oriented study, O'Connor (2008) had students in a hybrid teaching and learning course analyze segments of videotaped lessons taught by exemplary urban school teachers to help them understand the contextual nature of teachers' ongoing decision-making during classroom instruction.

7   The Influence of Courses Linked to School-
and Community-Based Field Experiences

The second group of studies in this line of research focused on courses that were purposefully linked to school- and community-based field experiences. Some of the studies examined courses that were linked systematically to initial or

intermediate-level practica, which teacher candidates were expected to complete as part of the program, while other studies concentrated on courses with embedded field-based assignments developed by individual professors for students in their classes. Either way, these studies examined the influence on teacher candidates of specific assignments they completed in their school or community placement sites for which they were prepared and given opportunities to debrief in the linked course. These studies examined whether and how courses enhanced the benefits of the related field experience.

Many of the studies in this second group focused on courses with school-based field experiences that were intended to develop teacher candidates' beliefs/understandings and/or teaching practices. For instance, Almarza (2005) had students in a course titled The Child in Elementary Schools shadow an English- language learner in a high-poverty urban school, which enabled teacher candidates to learn about the experiences of linguistically diverse students, but also helped them to deconstruct negative perceptions they might have about language differences. In another study, Conner (2010) had preservice teachers in a diversity class work one-on-one with high school students to help alter their beliefs about low-income, urban youth. Interested in the development of teaching practices, Brock et al. (2007) examined the impact of having teacher candidates enrolled in a literacy methods course (which was taught by one of the study's authors) work in teams to design and teach a lesson for students in their linked practicum, and subsequently, reflect on its effectiveness. In another study, Nathenson-Mejia and Escamilla (2003) had teacher candidates use Latino children's literature in a field experience linked to a Children's Literature course one of them taught, giving teacher candidates practice in building cultural connections with Latino students.

The studies of courses linked with community-based field experiences focused almost exclusively on the impact of learning opportunities for teacher candidates that aimed to cultivate affirming beliefs about diverse learners, develop an understanding of institutionalized oppression, and foster a commitment to teaching in urban schools. These field experiences included:

- tutoring and mentoring K−12 students at community centers (Baldwin et al. 2007)
- providing help in an immigration service agency (Akiba 2011)
- teaching in multiple Spanish-speaking community settings (Ference and Bell 2004)
- attending different types of community events (Cooper 2007)
- conducting ethnographic observations in a diverse community (Lenski et al. 2005)
- working in a homeless shelter (Martin 2005)
- interviewing local community members (Burant and Kirby 2002).

In brief, informed mostly by sociocultural views of learning, the studies in this line of research consistently focused on the impact of giving teacher candidates an active role in learning to teach (rather than passively receiving knowledge about teaching from their professors). With few exceptions, these studies were conducted

by teacher educators in their own courses with the dual purpose of improving their teaching, while also contributing more generally to what is known about teacher-education practices. As such, other teacher educators were the primary audience for this research. For the most part, the studies used qualitative research methodologies and relied largely on students' written assignments (e.g., journals, autobiographies, cultural memoirs, reflection papers) and semi-structured interviews with teacher candidates as data sources. A number of beliefs-oriented studies employed a pre- and post-test design to compare teacher candidates' responses to surveys administered at the beginning and end of the course, with score differences tested for statistical significance. The majority of the studies reported favorable results: that is, teacher candidates' developed more positive views about diversity, greater understanding of themselves as cultural being, heightened insight into the institutionalized nature of racism and classism, enhanced sense of efficacy as teachers of diverse students, and improved instructional planning skills. Unfortunately, however, although taken together, they suggest some possible trends in findings, because they used small convenience samples, the results of these individual studies cannot be generalized in the conventional sense. Furthermore, because study participants were rarely followed beyond the completion of the courses examined, little is known about the long-term effects of the learning opportunities studied or their impact on teaching practice and student learning.

A study by Hyland and Heuschkel (2010) illustrates this line of research. In this work, the researchers—both multicultural teacher educators at the same institution—set out to examine the effect on their students' understanding of institutional oppression of an "institutional inquiry assignment" (p. 821) they had added to a diversity course they regularly taught. The assignment was intended to provide teacher candidates with an experiential opportunity to consider how issues of power played out at the institutional level. Specifically, it asked course participants to visit a public institution other than a school (e.g., hospital, municipal court, welfare office), identify ways in which practices in that setting marginalized and privileged people based on race, class, language, or other relevant social factors, and write a report of findings. Using an interpretive qualitative method, the researchers analyzed the written inquiry reports of their students who had taken the course over the span of two semesters and also considered the students' comments during class discussions in which they debriefed their field visits. Hyland and Heuschkel found that the assignment was an eye-opening experience that helped preservice teachers broaden and clarify their understandings of oppression. For the most part, participants were able to identify oppressive features of the institutions studied; however, many of them confused individual prejudice with institutionalized oppression. While this study grew from the researchers' commitment to improving their own practice as teacher educators, the results were also intended for the use of other teacher educators seeking to foster teacher candidates' understanding about institutionalized oppression.

8   Recruiting Students of Color into Teacher Education

The third line of research, which included approximately 25 studies, focused on efforts to recruit students of color into teacher education. In the U.S., historically Black colleges and universities and Hispanic serving institutions have traditionally produced the largest numbers of teachers of color over the years (Villegas and Lucas 2004). However, all but three of the minority teacher recruitment studies included in this set were conducted in predominantly White institutions. Like the studies in the second line of research, those reviewed here were framed by the growing cultural mismatch between teachers and students evident in today's schools. The studies built on the premise that teacher candidates of color bring to teaching first-hand knowledge about minority cultures and personal experiences as members of marginalized groups in this country. The studies made the implicit assumption that this shared knowledge and experiences would enable teachers of color to build the necessary connections between home and schools for students from marginalized communities. Several of these studies also argued that compared with White teachers, teachers of color were more apt to take teaching positions in difficult-to-staff urban schools and to persist in those settings, a proposition for which there is some empirical support (Villegas and Irvine 2010).

Broadly speaking, the studies in this line of research posed the following question: What strategies are effective in recruiting candidates of color into university-based preservice teacher education and supporting them through the attainment of teaching credentials? The strategies examined in this line of research varied according to the pool of students targeted for recruitment, as discussed below.

Some of the studies examined the impact of programs that sought to recruit students of color with undeclared majors at the researchers' own institutions (e.g., Hobson-Horton and Owens 2004; Wong et al. 2007). To recruit from this pool, programs relied mostly on campus information sessions designed to inform potential recruits about opportunities in the teaching profession. Once recruited, the students were provided a variety of support services to ensure their completion of the degree programs and teaching credentials, such as connecting them to sources of financial aid, using a cohort group structure to promote peer support, referring students for appropriate academic assistance when needed, and conducting preparation workshops to help them pass teacher certification exams.

Other studies tested recruitment strategies that aimed to alter the racial/ethnic make-up of the teacher candidate population by expanding the pool of potential students of color beyond those already enrolled at the institutions. To this end, Stevens et al. (2007), for example, documented an initiative that identified likely college candidates prior to their senior year in high school, involving them in activities designed to foster their interest in teaching (e.g., Future Teachers Clubs) and enhance their preparation and motivation for college (e.g., conducting campus visits to familiarize participants with college life or offering skills development programs and test-preparation workshops). Another group of studies examined career ladder programs for paraprofessionals, with participants continuing their salaried positions

while completing courses toward teaching certification and a bachelor's degree (e.g., Burbank et al. 2010; Lau et al. 2007). Along somewhat different line, Flores and Claeys (2011) examined a collaborative initiative between a university and a community college designed to facilitate the transfer of students from a partner 2-year college into the teacher-education program at the participating university. Irizarry (2007) documented a program that targeted adults from communities of color who were interested in teaching, helping them to complete their college degrees and teaching credentials, and then to secure teaching positions in neighborhood schools.

In sum, all the studies in this line of research were conducted by teacher educators who were involved in various capacities with the recruitment/retention initiatives they examined, although some of the articles were co-authored with representatives from support services personnel groups at the institutions involved or with external evaluators. Rather than focusing on course-related activities, as did the studies in the second line of research above, the investigations in this third line of research took a broader perspective by examining minority recruitment initiatives/programs, some of which were funded by sources external to the institutions involved. The intent of these studies was to identify strategies that proved successful in recruiting students of color into preservice teacher-education programs and retaining them through program completion for the purpose of informing ongoing local recruitment practices, but also to inform recruitment practices elsewhere. While the majority of the studies employed qualitative methods and used interviews as primary sources of data, some used quantitative methods to analyze survey data. In general, these studies confirmed what is already known from previous research on the topic (Villegas and Lucas 2004). Namely, the success of minority recruitment and retention programs hinges on two factors: the availability of scholarship funds and the existence of strong partnerships, typically involving one or more colleges/universities, school districts, and/or community-based organizations.

A study by Lau et al. (2007) is an example of this line of research. It examined the impact of a comprehensive effort to diversify the teaching force by offering a career ladder program for paraprofessionals. This initiative involved a university in the southeastern region of the U.S. working collaboratively with a nearby school district that served a large number of students of color and employed many people of color from the students' community as paraprofessionals. Because one of the goals of this program was for program completers to be hired as teachers by the partner district, school administrators and teachers played a major role in the selection of participants. To address the needs of paraprofessionals—many of whom had academic lags resulting from prior inequitable schooling and who shouldered major financial responsibilities for their households—the program offered various services, including tutorials and other academic supports, a system of peer support promoted by the use of cohort groups, test-taking preparation for certification exams, and financial assistance in the form of tuition scholarships and textbook vouchers. The specific purpose of this investigation was to determine factors that functioned as supports and barriers to successful program completion. To this end, the researchers administered an extensive questionnaire to all students served and

conducted a factor analysis to determine results. They found that two major factors contributed to participants' success. One was the creative arrangement that the partner institutions had worked out to secure release time with pay for paraprofessionals to attend classes at the university, thereby shortening the time they would otherwise need to complete the required coursework. The other was the restructuring of the student-teaching experience, enabling participants to complete this certification requirement without losing salary and benefits during this time.

Although our review of the studies in the second and third lines of research cannot support definitive claims about how teacher-education programs can best contribute to the preparation of a culturally responsive teaching force, the evidence suggests that programs of teacher education at 4-year colleges/universities that seek to prepare teachers for diversity and diversify their enrollments can advance these goals by developing partnerships with diverse schools and communities to offer teacher candidates from dominant groups direct experiences, in the form of field-based experiences, with diverse populations and to recruit future teachers of color from the pool of paraprofessionals in urban schools and people interested in teaching who live in minority communities. They could also collaborate with 2-year colleges to facilitate the transfer of students of color interested in pursuing a teaching career. Building partnerships across institutional boundaries helps to expand the walls of the university to incorporate people and institutions previously absent from the preparation of teachers, and forge new relationships among people who are differently positioned to contribute to the preparation of a culturally responsive teaching force.

9 Critiquing the Research on Teacher Preparation for Diversity and High-Poverty Schools

As the preceding discussions make clear, there are vast differences across the three lines of research that examine teacher preparation for diversity and high-poverty schools. Although the second and third lines of research are complementary to one another, as we noted, there are differences between them, and the two stand in striking contrast to the studies in the first line of research.

With the first line of research, the preparation of teachers for diversity and high-poverty schools was regarded as a "policy problem" (Cochran-Smith and Fries 2005) wherein the goal was to determine which of the broad parameters of teacher education that could be controlled by policy makers was most likely to enhance teacher quality and supply in urban, low-income and/or poor schools by having a positive impact on desired school outcomes, including student achievement, the distribution teacher qualifications, the diversification of the teacher workforce, and teacher efficacy and retention. Mehta (2013), more generally, has referred to this as the new "education policy paradigm" (p. 286) in the U.S., which has transformed American educational policy since the mid-1980s. The assumptions underlying this new paradigm reflect the neoliberal, market-based approach to many education

reforms, such as consumer choice, charter schools, and alternative routes into teaching. Many of the studies in the first line of research were consistent with this approach. They generally took a "rational" view of policymaking wherein policy implementation is considered linear and top-down (Datnow and Park 2009) and problems are understood as choices between alternate means for achieving fixed and broadly consensual goals (Stone 1997).

A study of the effectiveness of North Carolina's teacher scholarship program conducted by Henry et al. (2012) made this perspective crystal clear:

> The past 20 years could be cast as a grand experiment to improve teacher quality through teacher labor market innovations…Across these innovations, a consensus exists that increasing the human capital of the educator workforce would benefit students and the teaching profession. (p. 83)

As this quotation suggests, many of the studies in the first line of research were concerned with ways to make teacher recruitment and preparation more efficient in order to solve problems, such as the unequal distribution of quality teachers to urban and poor schools. This research was intended to inform public policy in order to bring about education reform in ways consistent with the larger neoliberal education reform agenda in the U.S. wherein equity is defined in terms of access—in this case, access to quality teachers. The premise here is that once students in low-income, urban, and high-poverty schools have access, many of the problems of unequal schooling will be solved, a premise based on the assumption that teachers and schools, rather than social factors, are the determinants of educational outcomes.

Unlike the studies in the first line of research, the second and third lines of research did not regard the challenge of preparing teachers for diversity and for high-poverty schools as a policy problem. Rather they regarded this as a teacher "learning problem" (Cochran-Smith and Fries 2005). In particular, the studies in the second line of research were developed in response to the critique that most graduates of teacher-education programs from universities, who are overwhelmingly White, middle class, and monolingual, show little interest in securing teaching positions in urban, hard-to-staff, and/or poor schools (Groulx 2001). Moreover, those who do enter teaching in these schools often abandon them as soon as they have opportunities to move to more affluent, better-resourced schools (Scafidia et al. 2007). In response to this problem, the premise of studies in the second line of research was that, given appropriate course and field experiences, teacher candidates could learn about urban schools, communities of color, and the historical and institutional causes of persistent inequalities in opportunities and outcomes for low- income and poor students and their families. The central question of these studies was whether appropriately designed and thoughtfully implemented learning opportunities could help prospective teachers unpack their misconceptions—and often their fears— about urban schools and poor communities, replacing their apprehensions with information and replacing their misconceptions with experiences related to the strengths and knowledge traditions of communities of color. The intention was that this would lead, over time, to teachers' development of a strong sense of efficacy to

work effectively with diverse populations in urban, low-income and poor schools and to the growth of their identity as agents for social change.

Interestingly, although focused on teacher-education practice just as the second line of research was, the studies in the third line of research regarded the problem of teacher preparation for diversity and high-poverty schools as neither a solely policy-related or learning-related problem, but as a kind of hybrid between the two. Studies in the third line of research were intended to identify local institutional policies that reached beyond the walls of the university and/or to examine the nature of collaborative partnerships with urban or indigenous communities that were effective at increasing the recruitment of teachers of color into the workforce. With the third line of research, it was assumed that understanding local policies and collaborations that successfully recruited more teachers of color was a central goal, given the evidence that these teachers are often more likely to stay in urban, low-income and high-poverty schools (Elfers et al. 2006).

It is important to note that all three of the lines of research we discuss in this chapter were based on the premise that during the time period that these studies were conducted (2000–2012), the *status quo* of teacher preparation was failing to provide well-qualified teachers for diversity and for schools in urban and other under-resourced, hard-to-staff schools. As we have shown, many studies in the first line of research worked from an outsiders' perspective, blaming university teacher preparation for this problem by arguing that the best-qualified graduates from university programs generally avoided teaching positions in urban and hard-to-staff schools, leaving them with the least-qualified teachers. These studies of policy thus examined the effectiveness of alternatives to traditional university programs, although, as we have noted above, the results of these studies were inconsistent and inconclusive, and some of them were intended to challenge alternative preparation/certification as the superior entry route to teaching. Studies in the second line of research were also based on the premise that the status quo of teacher preparation was problematic. In contrast to the first line of research, however, studies in the second line were motivated by the concerns of researchers and practitioners who were insiders to teacher education and who acknowledged that many university teacher candidates were ill-prepared to understand, connect with, and know how to support the learning of the school students most in need—those in urban, low-income and poor schools. These studies of practice thus examined how to unpack and alter candidates' low expectations and fears about students different from themselves and schools different from their own experiences as K–12 students. The studies in the third line of research approached the inadequacy of the teacher preparation status quo from the angle of changing the teacher workforce by recruiting a more diverse pool of candidates.

Finally, as we mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, teacher-preparation research in the U.S. has not generally been characterized in terms of preparation for high-poverty or poor schools. Instead, most of the studies we reviewed in this chapter used the language of teacher preparation for diversity or for urban or hard-to-staff schools. Although, as we noted, the inference was that these schools included many students from low-income or poor families, very few of the studies focused

explicitly on preparing teachers to understand the life situations and needs of students living in poverty or on helping teacher candidates to unpack their assumptions and expectations about the nature and causes of poverty.

All of the studies we discussed in this chapter were intended to challenge inequalities and enhance educational equity for students in under-resourced schools. However, in many of the studies, educational equity was constructed as increased access to knowledge and to teachers for students and schools traditionally underserved by the system. It is important to note that although this construction of equity depends on altering school factors (e.g., distribution of teacher qualifications, teachers' knowledge and dispositions, the demographics of the teacher workforce), it does not involve interrogating the existing social and material relationships that created inequitable access to teachers and knowledge in the first place. Rather, from this perspective, it is assumed that school factors, including teacher characteristics and teacher preparation, rather than social factors, such as poverty and institutionalized racism, are both the problem and the solution to failing schools. In this sense, although much of the research we reviewed aimed to generate knowledge that could inform the creation of new avenues to educational access, it actually masks, and thus, ultimately, helps to conserve the fundamental power relations and societal structures that reproduce inequalities.

A relatively small number of the studies we reviewed, which constitute a small sub-set of the studies in the second line of research, worked from a different view of equity and access. These studies were based on the assumption that teaching and schooling are political—not neutral—activities; these studies reflected a new consciousness that neither schooling nor society are meritocratic. To the contrary, they assumed that schools and teachers (and teacher educators) are complicit in the construction of students from non-dominant groups as deficient, and thus, complicit in the reproduction of inequalities. Based on these assumptions, studies we reviewed were intended to influence the preparation of teachers who worked with others to challenge the current structures of schools and society by interrogating their own assumptions about knowledge and positionality, unlearning deficit views, and reimagining the possibilities for students previously not well served by the system. From this perspective, equity was not constructed simply in terms of access—either to knowledge or to teachers. Rather these studies were intended to deconstruct access by interrogating how current institutional arrangements—including the traditional function of schools in society—and existing social and material relations influenced the following:

- who does and does not have access to educational opportunities and resources in the first place
- why and how systems of inequality and inequitable access are reproduced
- under what circumstances and for whom access alone makes a difference
- what the roles of teachers and teacher education are in all of this.

Even with these studies, however, issues of class were largely submerged within the broader umbrella of race or were represented using language such as *difference from the mainstream*. Very few studies unpacked the concept of poverty in detail or

examined the preparation of teachers in relation to the particular issues involved in teaching students who live in poverty.

We would argue here that a new emphasis in research on teacher preparation and certification is needed. Many studies about policies governing the teacher labor market rightly critique university-sponsored teacher education for its failure to meet the labor needs of difficult-to-staff schools or to recruit and support teacher candidates of color in the teaching force. In addition, many studies about preparing teachers for the twenty-first century rightly acknowledge that this must entail preparing them to work effectively with diverse student populations. Despite these and other contributions, however, most of the existing research that we reviewed from the U.S. is not sufficiently powerful to substantially challenge the material conditions and social relations that reproduce inequalities and profoundly influence teaching/learning in elementary and secondary schools. We need much more research about aspects of teacher preparation and certification—conducted with many different kinds of research designs—that deeply acknowledges the impact of social, cultural and institutional factors, particularly the impact of poverty, on teaching, learning, and teacher education.

References

Akiba, M. (2011). Identifying program characteristics for preparing pre-service teachers for diversity. *Teachers College Record, 113*(3), 658–697.

Allen, M. (2003). *Eight questions on teacher preparation: What does the research say?* Denver: Education Commission of the States.

Almarza, D. J. (2005). Connecting multicultural education theories with practice: A case study of an intervention course using the realistic approach in teacher education. *Bilingual Research Journal, 29*, 527–539.

Baldwin, S. C., Buchanan, A. M., & Rudisill, M. E. (2007). What teacher candidates learned about diversity, social justice, and themselves from service-learning experiences. *Journal of Teacher Education, 58*, 315–327.

Bales, B. L., & Saffold, F. (2011). A new era in the preparation of teachers for urban schools: Linking multiculturalism, disciplinary-based content, and pedagogy. *Urban Education, 46*, 953–975.

Bourdieu, P. ([1977] 1980). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boyd, D., Grossman, P., Lankford, H., Loeb, S., & Wyckoff, J. (2006). How changes in entry requirements alter the teacher workforce and affect student achievement. *Education Finance and Policy, 1*, 176–216.

Boyd, D., Lankford, H., Loeb, S., Rockoff, J., & Wyckoff, J. (2008). The narrowing gap in New York City teacher qualifications and its implications for student achievement in high-poverty schools. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, 27*, 793–818.

Boyd, D. J., Grossman, P. L., Lankford, H., Loeb, S., & Wyckoff, J. (2009). Teacher preparation and student achievement. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 31*, 416–440.

Boyd, H., Grossman, P., Hammerness, K., Lankford, H., & Wyckoff, J. (2012). Recruiting effective math teachers: Evidence from New York City. *American Educational Research Journal, 49*, 1008–1047.

Brindley, R., & Laframboise, K. L. (2002). The need to do more: Promoting multiple perspectives in preservice teacher education through children's literature. *Teaching and Teacher Education: An International Journal of Research and Studies, 18*, 405–420.

Brock, C. H., Moore, D. K., & Parks, L. (2007). Exploring pre-service teachers' literacy practices with children from diverse backgrounds: Implications for teacher educators. *Teaching and Teacher Education: An International Journal of Research and Studies, 23*, 898–915.

Brown, K. D., & Kraehe, A. (2010). When you've only got one class: Acquiring sociocultural knowledge using eclectic case pedagogy. *Teaching Education, 21*, 313–328.

Burant, T. J., & Dan Kirby, D. (2002). Beyond classroom-based early field experiences: Understanding an "educative practicum" in an urban school and community. *Teaching and Teacher Education: An International Journal of Research and Studies, 18*, 561–575.

Burbank, M. D., Kauchak, D., & Bates, A. (2010). Book clubs as professional development opportunities for preservice teacher candidates and practicing teachers: An exploratory study. *The New Educator, 6*, 56–73.

Canniff, J. G. (2008). A cultural memoir of schooling: Connecting history and critical reflection to the development of culturally responsive educators. *Teaching Education, 19*, 325–335.

Carter, J., & Keiler, L. (2009). Alternatively certified teachers in urban small schools: Where policy reform meets the road. *Urban Review, 41*, 437–460.

Carter, H., Amrein-Beardsley, A., & Hansen, C. (2011). So NOT amazing! Teach for America corps members' evaluation of the first semester of their teacher preparation program. *Teachers College Record, 113*(5), 861–894.

Clotfelter, C. T., Ladd, H. F., & Vigdor, J. L. (2010). Teacher credentials and student achievement in high school. *Journal of Human Resources, 45*, 655–681.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Fries, K. (2005). The AERA panel on research and teacher education: Context and goals. In M. Cochran-Smith & K. Zeichner (Eds.), *Studying teacher education: The report of the AERA panel on research and teacher education* (pp. 37–68). Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Fries, K. (2011). Teacher quality, teacher education and diversity: Policy and politics. In A. Ball & C. Tyson (Eds.), *Studying diversity in teacher education* (pp. 337–359). New York: Roman and Littlefield.

Cochran-Smith, M., Villegas, A. M., Abrams, L., Chavez-Moreno, L., Mills, T., & Stern. R. (in press). Research on teacher preparation: Charting the landscape of a sprawling field. In D. Gitomer & C. Bell (Eds.), *5th handbook of research on teaching*. Washington, DC: AERA.

Cohen-Vogel, L., & Smith, T. M. (2007). Qualifications and assignments of alternatively certified teachers: Testing core assumptions. *American Educational Research Journal, 44*, 732–753.

Committee on the Study of Teacher Preparation Programs in the United States. (2010). *Preparing teachers: Building evidence for sound policy*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.

Conner, J. O. (2010). Learning to unlearn: How a service-learning project can help teacher candidates to reframe urban students. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 26*, 1170–1177.

Cooper, J. E. (2007). Strengthening the case for community-based learning in teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education, 58*, 245–255.

Costigan, A. T. (2005). Choosing to stay, choosing to leave: New York City teaching fellows after two years. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 32*(2), 125–142.

Darling-Hammond, L., Chung, R., & Frelow, F. (2002). Variation in teacher preparation: How well do different pathways prepare teachers to teach? *Journal of Teacher Education, 53*, 286–302.

Darling-Hammond, L., Holtzman, D. J., Gatlin, S. J., & Heilig, J. V. (2005). Does teacher preparation matter? Evidence about teacher certification, Teach for America, and teacher effectiveness. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 13*, 1–47.

Datnow, A., & Park, V. (2009). Conceptualizing policy implementation: Large-scale reform in an era of complexity. In G. Sykes, B. Schneider, & D. Plank (Eds.), *Handbook of education policy research* (pp. 348–361). New York: Routledge.

Donaldson, M. L., & Johnson, S. M. (2010). The price of misassignment: The role of teaching assignments in Teach for America teachers' exit from low-income schools and the teaching profession. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 32*, 299–323.

Easton-Brooks, D., & Davis, A. (2009). Teacher qualification and the achievement gap in early primary grades. *Education Policy Analysis Archive, 17*(15), 1–16.

Education Trust. (2008). *Core problems: Out-of-field teaching persists in key academic courses and high-poverty schools*. Washington, DC: Author.

Elfers, A., Plecki, L., & Knapp, M. (2006). Teacher mobility: Looking more closely at "the movers" within a state system. *Peabody Journal of Education, 81*(3), 94–127.

Epply, K., Shannon, P., & Gilbert, L. K. (2011). "Did you like living in a trailer? Why or why not?" Discourse and the third space in a rural pen pal exchange. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 27*, 289–297.

Evans, L. (2010). Professionals or technicians? Teacher preparation programs and occupational understandings. *Teachers and Teaching, 16*, 183–205.

Ference, R. A., & Bell, S. (2004). A cross-cultural immersion in the US: Changing preservice teacher attitudes toward Latino ESOL students. *Equity and Excellence in Education, 37*, 343–350.

Flores, B. B., & Claeys, L. (2011). Academy for teacher excellence: Maximizing synergy among partners for promoting college access for Latino teacher candidates. *Urban Review, 43*, 321–338.

Flores, B. B., Desjean-Perrotta, B., & Steinmetz, L. E. (2004). Teacher efficacy: A comparative study of university certified and alternatively certified teachers. *Action in Teacher Education, 26*, 37–46.

Foote, M. Q., Brantlinger, A., Haydar, H. N., Smith, B., & Gonzalez, L. (2011). Are we supporting teacher success? Insights from an alternative route mathematics teacher certification program for urban public schools. *Education and Urban Society, 43*, 396–425.

Gimbert, B. G., Cristol, D., & Sene, A. M. (2007). The impact of teacher preparation on student achievement in algebra in a "hard-to-staff" urban Pre K–12-university partnership. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 18*, 245–272.

Glazerman, S., Mayer, D., & Decker, P. (2006). Alternative routes to teaching: The impacts of Teach for America on student achievement and other outcomes. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, 25*, 75–96.

Groulx, J. G. (2001). Changing preservice teacher perceptions of minority schools. *Urban Education, 36*, 60–92.

Haddix, M. (2008). Beyond sociolinguistics: Towards a critical approach to cultural and linguistic diversity in teacher education. *Language and Education, 22*, 254–270.

Haycock, K. (2005). Choosing to matter more. *Journal of Teacher Education, 56*(2), 256–265.

Henry, G. T., Bastian, K. C., & Smith, A. A. (2012). Scholarships to recruit the "best and brightest" into teaching: Who is recruited, where do they teach, how effective are they, and how long do they stay? *Educational Researcher, 41*, 83–92.

Herndl, C., & Nahrwold, C. (2000). Research as social practice: A case study of research on technical and professional communication. *Written Communication, 17*, 258–296.

Hess, F., Rotherham, A., & Walsh, K. (2004). *A qualified teacher in every classroom: Appraising old answers and new ideas*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Hobson-Horton, L. D., & Owens, L. (2004). From freshman to graduate: Recruiting and retaining minority students. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 3*, 86–107.

Humphrey, D., & Wechsler, M. (2007). Insights into alternative certification: Initial findings from a national study. *Teachers College Record, 109*(3), 483–530.

Hyland, N. E., & Heuschkel, K. (2010). Fostering understanding of institutional oppression among U.S. pre-service teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 26*, 821–829.

Irizarry, J. G. (2007). "Home-growing" teachers of color: Lessons learned from a town–gown partnership. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 34*(4), 87–102.

Kane, T. J., Rockoff, J. E., & Staiger, D. O. (2008). What does certification tell us about teacher effectiveness? Evidence from New York City. *Economics of Education Review, 27*, 615–631.

Lau, K. F., Dandy, E. B., & Hoffman, L. (2007). The Pathways Program: A model for increasing the number of teachers of color. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 34*(4), 27–40.

Lenski, S. D., Crawford, K., Crumpler, T., & Stallworth, C. (2005). Preparing preservice teachers in a diverse world. *Action in Teacher Education, 27*, 3–12.

MacIver, M. A., & Vaughn, E. S., III. (2007). "But how long will they stay?" Alternative certification and new teacher retention in an urban district. *ERS Spectrum, 25*(2), 33–44.

Mannheim, K. ([1936] 1949). *An ideology and utopia: An introduction to the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Martin, R. J. (2005). An American dilemma: Using action research to frame social class as an issue of social justice in teacher education courses. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 32*(2), 5–22.

Mehta, J. (2013). How paradigms create politics: The transformation of American educational policy, 1980–2001. *American Educational Research Journal, 50*, 285–324.

Merryfield, M. M. (2001). The paradoxes of teaching a multicultural education course online. *Journal of Teacher Education, 52*, 283–299.

Nathenson-Mejia, S., & Escamilla, K. (2003). Connecting with Latino children: Bridging cultural gaps with children's literature. *Bilingual Research Journal, 27*, 101–116.

National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). (2009a). *Digest of education statistics, 2009*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). (2009b). *Schools and staffing survey, 2007*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

National Comprehensive Center on Teacher Quality. (2009). *Thinking systematically: Steps for states to improve equity in the distribution of teachers: An action-planning workbook to help guide regional comprehensive center and state education agency conversation to address the inequitable distribution of teachers*. Washington, DC: NCCTQ, ETS, Learning Points, and Vanderbilt University.

Ng, J., & Peter, L. (2010). Should I stay or should I go? Choices of alternatively licensed teachers in urban schools. *Urban Review, 42*, 123–142.

O'Connor, E. A. (2008). Initial study of pre-service teachers' comments on a reality-based, urban-student video streamed within an online course. *Journal of Educational Technology Systems, 37*(2), 139–157.

Papay, J., West, M., Fullerton, J., & Kane, T. (2012). Does an urban teacher residency increase student achievement? Early evidence from Boston. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 34*, 413–434.

Peske, H., & Haycock, K. (2006). *Teaching inequality: How poor and minority students are shortchanged on teacher quality: A report and recommendations by the Education Trust* (No. ED 494820-ERIC Document).

Picower, B. (2009). The unexamined Whiteness of teaching: How White teachers maintain and enact dominant racial ideologies. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education, 12*, 197–215.

Scafidia, B., Sjoquistb, D. L., & Stinebrickner, T. R. (2007). Race, poverty, and teacher mobility. *Economics of Education Review, 26*, 145–159.

Schoorman, D. (2002). "Teachable moments" in a university-school partnership project. *Journal of Teacher Education, 53*, 356–369.

Stevens, T., Agnello, M. F., Ramirez, J., Marbley, A., & Hamman, D. (2007). Project FUTURE: Opening doors to diverse West Texas teachers. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 34*(3), 103–120.

Stone, D. (1997). *The policy paradox: The art of political decision making*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Suell, J. L., & Piotrowski, C. (2006). Efficacy of alternative certification programs: A study of the Florida model. *Education, 127*(2), 310–315.

Torok, C. E., & Aguilar, T. E. (2000). Changes in preservice teachers' knowledge and beliefs about language issues. *Equity and Excellence in Education, 33*(2), 24–31.

U.S. Department of Education. (2013). *Preparing and credentialing the nation's teachers: The Secretary's ninth report on teacher quality*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education Office of Postsecondary Education.

Veltri, B. T. (2008). Teaching or service? The site-cased realities of Teach for America teachers in poor, urban schools. *Education and Urban Society, 40*, 511–542.

Villegas, A. M., & Irvine, J. J. (2010). Diversifying the teaching force: An examination of major arguments. *The Urban Review, 42*, 175–192.

Villegas, A. M., & Lucas, T. (2004). Diversifying the teacher workforce: A retrospective and prospective analysis. In M. Smylie & D. Miretzky (Eds.), *Addressing teacher workforce issues effectively: Institutional, political, and philosophical barriers* (pp. 70–104). Chicago: National Society for the Study of Education.

Wilson, S., Floden, R., & Ferrini-Mundy, J. (Eds.). (2001). *Teacher preparation research: Current knowledge, gaps, and recommendations*. Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Teaching and Policy.

Wong, P. L., Murai, H., Bérta-Ávila, M., William-White, L., Baker, S., Arellano, A., & Echandia, A. (2007). The M/M Center: Meeting the demand for multicultural, multilingual teacher preparation. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 34*(4), 9–25.

Xu, Z., Hannaway, J., & Taylor, C. (2011). Making a difference? The effects of Teach for America in high school. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, 30*, 447–469.

Zeichner, K., & Conklin, H. (2005). Research on teacher education programs. In M. Cochran-Smith & K. Zeichner (Eds.), *Studying teacher education: The report of the AERA panel on research and teacher education* (pp. 645–736). Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Zeichner, K., & Schulte, A. (2001). What we know and don't know from peer-reviewed research about alternative teacher certification programs. *Journal of Teacher Education, 52*, 266–282.

Zientek, L. R. (2007). Preparing high-quality teachers: Views from the classroom. *American Educational Research Journal, 44*, 959–1001.

Zumwalt, K. (1996). Simple answers: Alternative teacher certification. *Educational Researcher, 25*(8), 40–42.

"American Hunger": Challenging Epistemic Injustice Through Collaborative Teacher Inquiry

Gerald Campano, María Paula Ghiso, Robert LeBlanc, and Lenny Sánchez

Abstract Teacher education for high-poverty schools is often understood as preparing teachers to master a set of best practices in order to hit the ground running and address the needs of students who are behind because of the achievement gap. Our own work has suggested that a necessary dimension of teacher learning across the lifespan involves interrogating and resisting the ideologies that implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, conflate poverty with intellectual inferiority. We believe pre-service and in-service teachers ought to become better attuned to the rich resources already present in all communities, an undertaking that requires building relationships with students and families rather than learning strategies to "fix" them. This chapter is based on a 4-year partnership around literacy and engagement with teachers and students in a U.S. public school serving predominantly African American boys. We draw on the work of feminist theorists, in particular the related concepts of epistemic injustice and epistemic resistance, to analyze the impact of systemic inequalities on the school community as well as the teachers' challenges to deficit views of students. Through their work as part of a teacher inquiry community, the educators in our research site identified the effects of a hyper-remedial curriculum geared towards testing and worked to design alternative curricular spaces that nurtured students' capacities for critical and literary investigation.

G. Campano (✉) • R. LeBlanc
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, USA
e-mail: campano@gse.upenn.edu

M.P. Ghiso
Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY, USA

L. Sánchez
University of Missouri, Columbia, MO, USA

1   Introduction

The title of this chapter alludes to the second volume of Richard Wright's autobiography. The word *hunger* has at least two thematic valences in Wright's bildungsroman.[1] On the one hand, it represents a need for physical nourishment, for literal food. In *Black Boy* (Wright 1945) and *American Hunger* (Wright 1977), Wright documents his economic and social disenfranchisement as he journeys from the grinding poverty of the Jim Crow South to the segregated ghettos of Chicago, eking out a living in unstable jobs and barely surviving. The word hunger, however, also signals a hunger for knowledge: Wright's desire to read and his subsequent cultivation of a critical consciousness about racism and inequality in American society. This yearning for *intellectual* nourishment was both deeply informed by his experiences of oppression and a potential vehicle of resistance to the very social arrangements within which his experiences were rooted.

The research we share explores the continuing significance of these two valances of hunger in an all-boys public school composed of the descendants of Wright's generation of African Americans who migrated from the rural South to the Industrial North and Midwest in search of better economic and educational opportunities. We suggest that many students in the U.S. must contend with a dual and concentrated form of subordination: Their material subordination is accompanied by the symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1986) of being positioned as intellectually inferior. Teachers working in under-resourced contexts are expected to compensate for these economic inequities, often without adequate resources themselves (e.g. lack of instructional materials, dwindling personnel such as counselors and nurses, deteriorating building infrastructures) and under the scrutiny and constraints that accompany pressures to improve tests scores. These realities suggest that learning to teach involves more than technical mastery of content area concepts or instructional skills. In the United States, scholarly legacies such as the teacher research movement underscore the need to situate both teaching and teacher education within its larger social and political contexts. How, then, might in-service teacher education support teachers in inquiring into and addressing the inequities of their sites of practice? How might programs prepare pre-service teachers to work within and against such challenges?

This chapter is based on our 4-year partnership with Boys' Academy[2] around literacy and engagement. We draw on the work of feminist theorists (Alcoff 2010; Lugones 2003; Moya 2002) to analyze the impact of systemic inequalities on the school community as well as the teachers' challenges to the deficit views of students that were manifested in literacy policies and the high-stakes testing paradigm. In particular, we draw on two related concepts which we unpack in subsequent sections of this chapter: epistemic injustice (Fricker 2007)—the devaluing of one's capacity to generate knowledge based on identity prejudice—and epistemic

---

[1] A bildungsroman is the story of a coming-of-age journey.

[2] In this chapter, all the names of people involved in Boys' Academy are pseudonyms.

resistance (Medina 2013)—the intellectual response to such prejudice. These concepts help us understand the need to view teacher education in a high-poverty context as a collaborative project of critical resistance to dominant educational ideologies that fail to acknowledge and build off of both students' and teachers' profound insights. The teachers with whom we partnered identified the effects of a hyper-remedial curriculum geared towards testing and worked to design alternative curricular spaces that nurtured students' capacities for critical and literary investigation.

2 Poverty and Education

Unequal schooling experiences for those living in poverty have been a longstanding concern for American educational research (Anyon 1981; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Coleman et al. 1966; Gadsden et al. 2009; Oakes 2005; Rist 1970). Most recently, awareness about rising income inequality in the U.S. and elsewhere (Piketty 2014), and the increasingly narrow curricula offered to students and teachers in low-income neighborhoods by way of national and state mandates (Dudley-Marling and Paugh 2005; Luke 2010) have fostered debates about how to address the link between poverty and what is widely referred to as the achievement gap. Many activist literacy researchers, teachers, and parents have expressed sharp misgivings about the stereotypes of students in under-resourced neighborhoods living, who have been stigmatized as living in a *culture of poverty* and operating with a diminished language capacity. These deficit ideologies (Valencia 1997) have existed in some form since the creation of common schooling.

Urban historian Michael Katz (1995) notes that public schooling was in part founded to culturally assimilate and morally improve those living in poverty, including immigrant populations, the descendants of slaves, and colonized indigenous peoples. Katz (1995) provides this stark example:

> In 1858, the Boston School Committee described its task as "taking children at random from a great city, undisciplined, uninstructed, often with inveterate forwardness and obstinacy, and with the inherited stupidity of centuries of ignorant ancestors; transforming them from animals into intellectual beings; giving to many their first appreciation of what is wise, what is true, what is lovely, and what is pure." (p. 104)

In the field of literacy, Arlette Willis (2008) traces how the origins of standardized reading comprehension testing in the early 1900s were rooted in exclusionary conceptions of language and Social Darwinian philosophy that discounted students of color and the poor. Commenting on early reading-comprehension testing frameworks, Willis (2008) notes that student performance was measured against "a native-born White and one who is economically independent" and that "the White middle class" became "the standard population for many years to come" (p. 113).

A contemporary version of this deficit ideology can be found in Ruby Payne's best-selling book and teacher workshop series, *A Framework for Understanding Poverty* (1995) and her follow-up focus on urban youth, *Boys in Poverty* (2011, with

P. Slocumb). Despite being criticized by scholars and teachers (cf., Bomer et al. 2008; Dworin and Bomer 2008; Gorski 2006; Osei-Kofi 2005; Thomas 2010), Payne's books have sold over a million copies to date and her company continues to conduct professional development seminars for teachers across the country. Many school districts, urban and rural, mandate that teachers read her book and attend her programs as part of their continuing professional education (Bomer et al. 2008).

Payne (1995) crafts a narrative of low-income parents, kids, and neighborhoods as operating within a set of 'hidden rules of poverty', which researchers have shown to be unsubstantiated pathologies about people of color and people living in low-income neighborhoods. Payne and Slocumb (2011) state, for example, that "because of the intergenerational transference of knowledge and the instability of resources, children in generational poverty do not develop in the same ways as children in more stable, knowledgeable environments" (p. 2), and that "generational poverty doesn't value an educated man. In fact, to be called book smart in poverty is not a compliment" (p. 60). These types of assertions thus carry with them the presumption of cultural and intellectual inferiority (Osei-Kofi 2005).

While these claims have no foundation in research (Bomer et al. 2008), Gorski (2006) suggests that the reason Payne's work remains so entrenched in the professional development ethos of teachers is that it conforms to middle- and upper-class preconceptions, and subsequently comes off sounding like common sense. Payne locates the problem within the poor themselves (Katz 1995), but there are many systemic inequities at play in understanding the achievement gap—or what Ladson-Billings (2006) has labeled the *education debt*. These inequities include the under-funding of schools (Kozol 1992), overcrowded classrooms in cash-strapped districts (Barton 2003), and the result of general governmental retraction in low-income neighborhoods that are already grappling with deindustrialization and the proliferation of part-time, unstable work (Harvey 2006; Wacquant 2007). For the African American boys and teachers in our research partnership, we can add the legacies of chattel slavery, Jim Crow, domestic terrorism, and the prison industrial complex (Alexander 2010).

Deficit ideologies of students in under-resourced contexts have been shown to have profound effects for classroom instruction and interaction. Rist's (1970) classic study revealed how within days of arriving at school, poor students were quickly assigned to lower level reading groups based on little more than the state of their dress and teacher perceptions of their general hygiene. More startling was the way the sorting of students into discrete reading groups took on a hardened, caste-like identity, with little mobility possible. Poor students assigned to lower level reading groups received remedial instruction from their teacher and were stigmatized by their peers—consequently, their initial grouping became a self-fulfilling prophecy. Rist's findings speak to an ongoing history of differential instruction for students living in poverty (cf. Anyon 1981; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Shannon 2007). These deficit ideologies lead to teacher training programs that focus on remediation through the transmission of discrete skills for "at risk" students. An alternative approach to teacher education might involve interrogating the structures and ideologies that place students at risk in the first place (Gadsden et al. 2009).

3 Literacy Policies and Deficit Ideologies

Deficit ideologies have become instantiated in large-scale reform initiatives. Offering what Shannon (1996) calls a "literacy solution to poverty" (p. 437), politicians and policy-makers have fused notions of moral advancement and human capital development (Luke 2004) to suggest that certain autonomous conceptions of literacy (Street 1995) can be the means to advance individuals' and the nation's economic growth. Originating with so-called War on Poverty programming, the drive to close the skills gap has caused "increased governmental intervention into the lives of the poor" (Shannon 1996, p. 439) and a reconceptualization of what constitutes appropriate literacy instruction for low-income students (Larson 2001). For example, Chall et al.'s (1990) influential study, *The Reading Crisis: Why Poor Children Fall Behind*, posits that poor students' overreliance on context during reading doesn't prepare them to attend to the textual demands of later grades, and suggests remedial interventions that include direct instruction in language structures and phonics. Following the National Reading Panel's (National Institute of Child Health and Human Development 2000) controversial findings that there is "strong evidence substantiating the impact of systematic phonics instruction on learning to read" (p. 2), and the Department of Education's *Reading First* initiative to codify their findings into law, reading instruction has bifurcated into scripted curricula for low-income students and their teachers, and intellectually engaging learning experiences for affluent schools where teachers have more curricular autonomy (Cummings 2007; MacGillivray et al. 2004; McCarty and Romero-Little 2005; McQuillan 1998; Valencia et al. 2006). Dudley-Marling and Paugh (2005) describe this split as, "The rich get richer; the poor get direct instruction." Winn and Behizadeh (2011) link these educational mandates to issues of access and equity for historically minoritized communities, arguing that they have resulted in "low quality literacy education" which "is a key component of the school-to-prison pipeline" (p. 151).

These policies have largely continued, and in some cases, have amplified under the Obama administration's Race to the Top initiative. In exchange for financial support, Race to the Top requires states to adopt the Common Core State Standards, legislate the capacity for charter schools to proliferate, and move toward the use of value-added measurements for teachers (Shannon 2014). This final point, tying teacher evaluations (and in some cases employment) to student test scores has been particularly troubling to literacy educators because it often attenuates teachers' professional autonomy and their abilities to foster meaningful learning (Goodman et al. 2014; Onosko 2011).

4 Collaborative Inquiry at Boys' Academy

The research partnership with Boys' Academy originated after the school had been identified as low performing according to testing measures, and a task force of university representatives was urged to become involved in the school. Through

conversations with the administrators and teachers, Gerald initiated a collaboration that would continue for 4 years and involve teachers as part of an inquiry community that was structured around on-site professional learning opportunities (Campano et al. 2010). The partnership was guided by a practitioner research methodological framework, which seeks to disrupt hierarchies of knowledge between teachers and universities and instead values knowledge of practice cultivated through an inquiry stance (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 1999, 2009). Teachers investigated questions that arose organically from their classrooms and analyzed data with peers and university-based researchers, a collaborative process that would then inform their teaching and raise new inquiries to pursue. This approach views teacher education as embedded within sites of practice and driven by the questions and concerns that educators face daily.

Boys' Academy was located in one of the most impoverished neighborhoods of the state, and many of the children had to endure the indignities of deepening inequality, the result of the post-industrial economic abandonment of the city. The children often came to school hungry and suffered from health complications, such as asthma, because of inadequate medical care. A number of the teachers who had grown up in the area were also coping with debilitating physical ailments such as diabetes. Due to an almost non-existent transportation system, families had limited access to social goods and resources in an increasingly attenuated public sphere, such as fresh foods, libraries, arts organizations, counseling services, parks, and playgrounds. These factors invariably affect a child's ability to flourish academically and concentrate in school, both on a daily basis and when poverty exacerbates particular crisis situations. For example, days after a hurricane caused historic flooding that displaced many of the boys and their families from their apartments to a local homeless shelter, the children were expected to arrive at school eager and ready to focus on a norm-referenced test that would in part determine their own educational trajectories as well as the ultimate survival of the school itself.

Perhaps because elementary teaching is considered a gendered profession, there is a long, possibly under-recognized, history of committed educators attempting to mitigate the student poverty through uncompensated care work, such as:

- bringing fruits and vegetables to class
- running up their own credit cards to purchase books and class supplies
- attending to children's stress and traumas
- cooperating with families to find additional educational and social supports
- fostering community involvement
- providing children with enriching extracurricular experiences

These are certainly practices we noticed in the context of our research at Boys' Academy. One imagines that the economic realities that engender significant emotional and physical duress for both students and teachers are often far removed from the worlds of many who advocate for neoliberal educational reforms directed primarily at public schools and their educators.

The students' material disenfranchisement is often compounded by an attendant form of symbolic violence characterized, in Osei-Kofi's (2005) trenchant critique of

Payne, as the conflation of "poverty with cognitive deficiency and pathology" (p. 372). The teachers at Boys' Academy were required to execute, "with fidelity," a remedial instructional plan designed to address students' deficits and prepare them for a battery of national, state, and district mandated exams. In fact, it would not be an exaggeration to suggest that test-taking skills became the primary content area of the curriculum.

5   Hermeneutical Injustice and Epistemic Resistance

One way to further understand curricular inequities across class contexts is through what feminist philosophers have theorized as epistemic injustice, the ways in which an individual is wronged in her/his "capacity as a knower" as a result of identity prejudice (Fricker 2007, p. 44). According to Miranda Fricker (2007), epistemic injustices may take testimonial or hermeneutical forms. A testimonial injustice occurs in a communicative exchange

> when prejudice causes a hearer to give a deflated sense of credibility to the speaker's words; hermeneutical injustice occurs at a prior stage, when a gap in collective interpretive resources puts someone at an unfair disadvantage when it comes to making sense of their own experience. (Fricker 2007, p. 1)

Richard Wright's struggle for access to literacy, for example, can be understood as a combination of these two forms of epistemic injustice. In the 1920s, Wright actually used testimonial injustice to his advantage in his subterfuge to acquire books from Memphis's public library, which did not extend borrowing privileges to Blacks. As Karla Holloway (2006) recounts by drawing on *Black Boy*, Wright forged a note from a White patron whose card he had borrowed in order to access the books for himself. When questioned, he declared himself illiterate, thus confirming the librarian's biases about his intellect and escaping detection. Having devised a way to access reading material and circumvent local Jim Crow laws, however, did not mitigate a broader hermeneutical injustice. The Memphis library did not contain works by Black authors, thus restricting Wright's opportunities, at that point in his life, to understand and situate his own oppression within a legacy of Black thought. He nevertheless displayed interpretive agency by reading his experiences through European canonical works.

Within the context of Boys' Academy, one of the findings from our research collaboration was the near absence of testimonial injustice as defined by Fricker. In contrast to the deficit ideologies that pervade many schools, we did not witness the teachers and administrators at Boys' Academy questioning the students' capabilities. They believed the boys had unfettered intellectual potential and took their culturally situated knowledge claims seriously. The teachers' stance resonates with Alcoff's (2010) addendum to Fricker (2007) that attending to epistemic injustice is not just a matter of neutralizing bias in exchanges, but also entails recognizing knowledge from minoritized social locations (Campano et al. 2013). It is important to note that

a majority of the educators at the school were African American, with many of the teachers and the principal having grown up in the city where they were now teaching. They talked often of having experienced racial and class prejudice themselves—testimonial injustices—and passed on these narratives to the students, thus acknowledging the epistemic inequities they were facing and encouraging them to see their education as part of a legacy of access and empowerment.

The teachers at Boys' Academy, however, did have to navigate hermeneutical injustices. These were not attitudinal, but injustices institutionalized in policy and practice. The mandated curricula implemented at the school "homogenize[d] experience" (Campano 2007, p. 4) and prevented students from accessing their rich African American intellectual legacies. Culturally relevant (Ladson-Billings 1995) instructional resources were not available to the teachers and classroom libraries had become diminished over the years and replaced by basal programs and test preparation materials. The mandated curricula focused on decontextualized and rote skills, a prevalent feature of interventions aimed at remediating low-performing schools and of "training" teachers to work in such contexts. This type of developmental model for both teachers and students creates a single trajectory of academic growth, and has resonances with Osei-Kofi's (2005) critique of Payne, which was the professional development training the teachers in the state were receiving at the time. Osei-Kofi (2005) writes that "by privileging white middle-class knowledge and positing the lack of such knowledge as the equivalent of cognitive deficiency, Payne advocates the idea of cognition, the thinking/knowing subject, as a somehow neutral construct removed from context, power, privilege, and history" (p. 372). The students were foreclosed school opportunities to access interpretive resources through which they could read and engage their worlds (Freire 1970) and were therefore hermeneutically marginalized. The teachers were concerned that the boys were becoming disenchanted with school as a place that could nourish their intellectual hunger, and understood the ways in which the system itself was placing students at risk of eventually dropping out, thereby perpetuating social reproduction (Bourdieu 1986; Gadsden et al. 2009; Vasudevan and Campano 2009).

6 Epistemic Resistance

One promising way to understand the collaborative work of the teacher inquiry community at Boys' Academy was as a form of epistemic resistance to the hermeneutical injustices faced by both the students and educators. The philosopher José Medina (2013) defines this kind of resistance as the process of using "epistemic resources and abilities to undermine and change oppressive normative structures" (p. 3). In this case, the oppressive normative structure included the high-stakes testing paradigm, informed by the ideology of the bell-curve (Dudley-Marling and Gurn 2010; Simon and Campano 2013), which was used to stigmatize the school in the name of accountability, while simultaneously obscuring the stark economic inequalities that impacted students' life opportunities. Educators at the school were

well aware of how impoverished instruction had become, and expressed frustration at the curriculum and the lack of community it created. For example, teachers shared, we "felt we were on an island, isolated by ourselves, alone." They also pinpointed how the curricular mandates positioned both teachers and students as merely the recipients of others' directives rather than knowledge generators themselves. One teacher put it well during an inquiry group meeting when, in response to an article on teacher research, she described how many outsiders had "come here [Boys' Academy] on their high horses" for a day or two to pontificate about the latest educational trends, when what the faculty really needed were opportunities to learn from one another as well as others who genuinely cared about and were committed to the boys in the school (Campano et al. 2010).

The teacher inquiry community was in many ways an effort to take a stand against prevailing top-down educational reforms through the creation of more horizontal professional relationships, enabling the teachers to think and plan together about how to make the literacy curriculum more engaging for the boys. In the upcoming section, we document what we learned from the teachers about resisting epistemic injustices through the creation of alternative spaces that honored the boys' intellectual and critical agency. But it may be important to emphasize that there was no facile transcendence of the economic, ideological, and political realities the school community faced. Much of the day was still dedicated to direct skills-based instruction. Culturally relevant pedagogies often took place within the cracks or "second classroom" (Campano 2007, p. 39) because the teachers lacked the materials, time, and flexibility to make this a central theme of study. Drawing on Du Bois' foundational concept of double consciousness as well as feminist theorists Patricia Hill Collins (2000) and Maria Lugones (2003), José Medina (2013) notes how "epistemic resistance often entails friction between competing perspectives" (p. 192). Although the teachers brought critical scrutiny to bear on dominant ideologies and policies, they also realized that the children would ultimately be judged by such measures and would have to navigate them successfully, a friction which led to the formation of the partnership and inquiry community. As we explore, the epistemic friction the teachers experienced proved to be in many ways productive, although the deeper contradictions were never fully resolved.

7 Addressing Hermeneutical Injustice Through Epistemic Resistance

Below we detail some of the ways in which the inquiry community of teachers at Boys' Academy worked to disrupt the epistemic injustices affecting their students. In the tradition of practitioner research, this work always entailed "working within and against" (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009, p. 146) educational policies—mining the friction between the accountability system, which students needed to do well in, and more intellectually robust pedagogies that would not circumscribe children's capabilities by these measures.

7.1 Tapping into Local Intellectual Legacies

The teachers at the school recognized the need to foster students' connection to local intellectual histories—whether the legacies of family members and community elders who had been on the front lines of desegregation efforts, or more widely renowned literary and political leaders. They spoke to the boys often about African American history and the struggle for civil rights, and how they themselves had helped to integrate state institutions, including the university campus that was part of our partnership. The teachers also took the opportunity to teach the students about famous African American intellectuals. When possible, they blended these goals within the curriculum, such as when the second-grade teacher Mrs. Rhodes partnered with Lenny Sánchez to expand a biography unit to center on the Harlem Renaissance (Sánchez 2011). More often, this teaching occurred through strategies such as frequent speeches to the children during transition times. Throughout the process, teachers sought to convey community histories and literate legacies not recognized in the standardized instruction they were required to deliver.

The educators were also able to make direct links to African American intellectual traditions in ways that brought the school and community together. During our time at Boys' Academy, for example, a Langston Hughes Family Museum was opening in the area that commemorated the writer's legacy and his family connection to the city where the school was located. In conversations with the museum organizers, the teachers decided to engage students in an exploration of Langston Hughes' poetry. The children immersed themselves in his works, analyzed how the poems were crafted to evoke particular responses, and wrote their own poetry inspired by Langston Hughes. In response to the poem "A Dream Deferred," for example, Lenny and the teachers facilitated conversations with students about the significance of dreams and the importance of being a dreamkeeper. Students then wrote poems, which they painted onto Dream Flags displayed at the museum's opening event; at the opening, a group of children performed Hughes' poetry as well as their own.

The teachers also joined the students in writing poetry. One of these texts was "Real Dreamers," a poem inspired by Langston Hughes. It conveys the relational ethos of the school and the inquiry community's pedagogical vision.

Real Dreamers
Teachers, Dreamers, Educators, Dreamers
Writers, Dreamers, Preachers, Dreamers
Keep promoting your dreams
Breaking down barriers, breaking down
Closed doors.

Raising up our children, your children, mine
Almost falling, never giving up
We must hold these truths on you
Your love awoke the dreams, our dreams.

Steadfast you have been, as if you
A tree planted by the waters.
You will not be moved.

So keep championing for our dreams
Knowing your dreams will live on
Generation after generation
Your seeds have taken wing.

The poem characterizes those who promote dreams as teachers, educators, writers, and preachers, an expansive understanding of how academic, religious, and cultural institutions all have a role in supporting the next generation. *Dreaming* entails struggle: "breaking down barriers" and "closed doors," remaining "steadfast," "never giving up"—in essence, resisting the epistemic injustices to which African Americans have historically been subjected. A collective orientation pervades the poem, as the dreamers help raise "our children, your children, mine": passing on dreams—legacies of resistance and perseverance—and sowing "seeds" that a new group will nurture. The poem may be considered an enactment of a "resistant imagination" (Medina 2013, p. 232).

The Boys' Academy's engagement with Langston Hughes was in part initiated by a local grandmother, Ms. Love, who throughout the partnership was a vibrant member of the school's inquiry community. In one instance, she shared an audio-recording of Langston Hughes reading his poetry. Ms. Love recounted how it had been given to her by one of the General Educational Development students she had mentored, who said, "I hope you will enjoy this as much as I have because you have inspired me to read." This vignette underscores the community involvement in supporting literacy learning, at times to compensate for the shortcomings of the education system. We might speculate about the possible factors that led the student to leave the school, including the need to contribute financially to the family, a disengaging curriculum, the assignment of pejorative academic labels, or the school discipline policies faced by many youth of color. An involved neighborhood grandmother became the caring teacher the school system had not been able to provide, inspiring the student's academic achievement and literary imagination. This cycle of learning was reciprocal, and through the student's gift, other teachers and students were able to satiate similar intellectual hungers.

7.2   Creating Alternative School Spaces for Literary Engagement

The teachers discussed often how high-stakes accountability had reshaped the school. For instance, daily so called "remediation times" were instituted whereby students changed classrooms based on test score needs, replacing inquiry-based learning with rote instruction. Frustrated that such measures were shortchanging students' potential, the teachers, administrators, and university partners worked

together to create alternative learning spaces. One important initiative was the creation of a "Writers' House" within the school—a central room allocated to expansive and culturally relevant literary practices. The room was adorned with images of African American writers, whose works served as inspiration for the students' own creations. Books lined the shelves, from canonical literature to more contemporary works of young adult fiction, graphic novels, and biographies. There was a computer station and several centers that highlighted the writing process. Set prominently in the center of the room was a stage, where the students could perform drama, recite spoken-word poetry, and rehearse powerful oratory for a wide range of audiences, including family members, community supporters, and a local television news station. Teachers invited students to special events (see Fig. 1) where they could "come join the fun" of literary inquiry and regularly featured students' work at the Writers' House so it could be shared across classrooms.

In describing the genesis of the Writers' House, the principal of the school, who had herself been a student there as a child, commented:

> Boys do not just like to sit in a straight hardback chair and [be told] 'Produce'. 'Write.' So I was thinking when we were in college we had a special place where we could go and slump and slouch and talk and toss out ideas and the words would come out. We would produce good compositions.

The disciplining of the body (Foucault 1995) and directives to produce contrast sharply with how the principal describes the Writers' House, with freedom to move and to discuss ideas, a vibrant intellectual community more akin to the Harlem
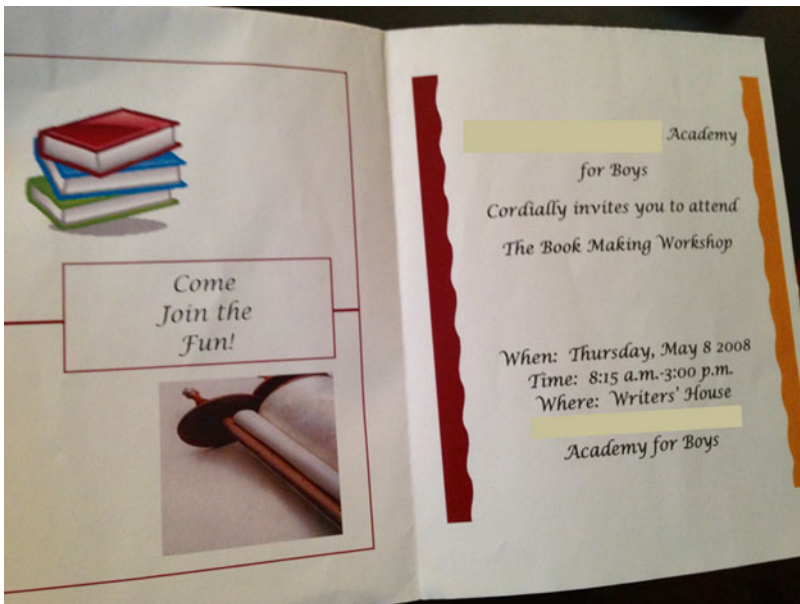

Fig. 1 Invitation to a Writers' House book-making event

Renaissance than to a factory model of education. The principal references her own college experience with a Writers' House in envisioning the best educational environment for the students. The current policy focus on preparing youth for college tends to produce a great deal of anxiety, but often, far too little collaborative and creative intellectual stimulation. The work of the inquiry community suggests that these proportions might be reversed through spaces such as the Writers' House, which foster opportunities for dialogue and artistic expression in a more relaxed context.

During the final year of the partnership, the teachers wanted to create a culminating event that would involve all the members of the school community, students and adults alike. As mentioned earlier, the teachers had noticed that over the past decade classroom libraries had become fewer and far between because of the inordinate emphasis on basal readers and test-taking. Several of them had read to their classes the picture book *Richard Wright and the Library Card* (Miller 1997) and were concerned that, not unlike Richard, the boys were being denied ready access to rich reading material. Together, we decided to plan a Classroom Library Project, which involved the students in each class conceptualizing their own libraries, including its design, theme, featured books, and lending protocols. The teachers foraged for materials and even procured a grant to stock the shelves with the students' choices. On the last day of the project, the boys visited one another's classrooms for the library-unveiling presentations and celebrations, which involved poetry recitations, readers' theater, speeches, mini-tours, and, of course, treats. The libraries were varied in their book catalogs, in part due to the different ages of the children and their idiosyncratic interests. Almost all the classrooms, however, requested books in or on African American intellectual and literary traditions, whether on specific figures (the first grade asked for "Michael Jackson, President Obama, Harriet Tubman, and George Washington Carver books") or a broader request for texts on "famous Black Americans." The third-grade boys captured the spirit of the schoolwide initiative in the theme of their library. Above the reading area, they created an elaborate and colorful mural entitled Book City: a portrayal of their own neighborhood built on knowledge, with books serving as the foundation of the buildings, book-shaped windows, bookmaker vehicles, and stick-figure inhabitants with books for a head. The mural may also be considered a counter-representation to negative media depictions of their city, reflecting the boys' pride of place and will toward literacy (Campano et al. 2013).

7.3   Supporting Students in Developing Their Own Inquiries

During the third year of the partnership, Lenny worked closely with a third-grade teacher, Ms. Harris, to support students in conducting research about questions central to their lives and community (Sánchez 2010, 2013). In the tradition of Participatory Action Research (Cahill 2007; Cammarota and Fine 2008), Lenny and Ms. Harris sought to position the students as researchers who could determine the

trajectory of their investigations. They emphasized to students how their collaborative inquiry would differ from other research with which they might be familiar, such as report writing, for which answers could be found easily in books or computers. Their work would instead involve questions without predetermined answers, and the students would have to turn to a range of people and places to explore them. As Short and Burke (1991) remind us, "research is not intended to eliminate questions, but to generate new ones" (p. 59).

Throughout several days, Lenny and Ms. Harris facilitated opportunities for the third graders to pose and refine their questions, including an overarching focus. Many students even wrote down questions at home to share in school, and Ms. Harris found sentence strips for posting them on the chalkboard for others to see, which also allowed students to physically manipulate and categorize the questions. Initially, the students wondered about such things as:

- Who is a family?
- What happens before a world war begins?
- What is your fear?
- What are your dreams?
- Who are your ancestors?
- What is your environment?
- How can I help poor people and people with cancer?
- How can I turn my life around?
- What is your history?

The following day, Lenny and Ms. Harris underscored the importance of having questions that matter to our lives and where we live. Immediately, questions started pouring forth regarding their city, including:

- How can we show that our community is not a bad place to live?
- How is this community safe?
- How could it be safer?
- How can we get people to stop littering?
- What is happening now to make it (the community) clean?
- How can our community help stop violence, help kids to not drop out of school, and help people to have homes to live in?
- How can we get kids to get a better education to save our world and community?
- What can we do to make Barack Obama reward our community?
- What does our city look like from far away?
- How can I make the school a better place where people can come and see our work?

And after much discussion, the students' determined the focus of the class-wide inquiry would bse: What can we do so that President Obama will recognize the improvement of our school and community? The word choice *we* symbolized the collaborative nature of the work the class was undertaking. As Ms. Harris told the boys, "the 'we' doesn't put it on me. It puts it on each of us."

The students made use of a number of tools throughout the inquiry process, including a Researcher Notebook and photo and video cameras to document the evolution of their research and ongoing findings. The cameras were used to gather data for their inquiry projects, which the students integrated into photo movies, videos, fliers, and announcements they created. About 10 days into the class-wide inquiry, the students decided to break into research teams to investigate common interests that were emerging. The *Parking Lot Group* wanted to know how they could improve the back parking lot of the school. The student who came up with this idea later mentioned that he "was worried for the teachers' cars and wanted them to be safe. If they don't feel like they can park their cars in the parking lot, then they might not come to school to teach." This concern stemmed from an incident that happened earlier in the year when Ms. Harris' car tire had been slashed during the school day. Another research team called itself the *Historians*, and was interested in studying their city's past, specifically "what the city was like before [they] lived there and why it is the way it is." The third group of students referred to themselves as the *Park Fixers* and wanted to "fix the park so kids can play on it again." The Boys' Academy playground served as the neighborhood park during out-of-school hours. Much of the equipment, as the students documented with their cameras, was damaged and in poor condition. The fourth group was *The Helpers*, and was interested in investigating "how the community helps the poor," which over time focused in on the homeless shelters in their city.

By introducing the class to research methodologies, Lenny and Ms. Harris provided the epistemic tools for the third-grade boys to pursue inquiries that mattered to them (Ghiso 2011). In the process, the boys surfaced concerns, experiences, and even subaltern local histories that would otherwise be excluded from the official curriculum. These explicitly included issues of poverty and how it affected their own lives and the broader community. In direct opposition to dominant ideologies that pathologize families, the children began to interpret primary data to unveil the systemic determinants that had produced poverty and eroded the once thriving Black middle class in the city (Campano et al. 2013). The boys also employed multimodality to represent their findings and share them with their peers and teachers. The work of Lenny and Ms. Harris represented a particularly powerful approach to addressing hermeneutical injustices: the students themselves produced the interpretive resources to make sense of their experiences. The boys took on the roles of public intellectuals who could correct the historical record, identify contemporary inequities, and act toward change.

8   Conclusion: Fostering Epistemically Virtuous Relationships

Teacher education for high-poverty schools is often understood as preparing teachers to master a set of best practices in order to hit the ground running and address the needs of students who are behind because of the achievement gap. Our own work has suggested that a necessary dimension of teacher learning across the lifespan involves interrogating and resisting the ideologies that implicitly, and sometimes

explicitly, conflate poverty with intellectual inferiority. We believe pre-service and in-service teachers ought to become better attuned to the rich resources already present in all communities, an undertaking that requires building relationships with students and families rather than merely adopting strategies to "fix" them. In pre-service programs, this may take the form of centering partnerships with families and community members so that teacher candidates can learn from them about the social dynamics which impact educational access and opportunity (Campano et al. 2014).

The argument of this chapter has been that far too often, in contexts of poverty, students' intellectual hunger supersedes the instruction they are provided in schools because of distorted presumptions regarding their abilities as thinkers and scholars. These deficit ideologies are not merely a matter of individual educators' beliefs. Perhaps more troubling, they are institutionalized in the material structures and practices of schooling, including large-scale professional-development initiatives, leading to a concentrated form of subordination: Students are dehumanized by an economic system that engenders poverty and inequality, and they are injured in their capacity as knowers, an assault on their "fundamental human value" (Fricker 2007, p. 5). While many dedicated teachers attempt to ameliorate students' physical hunger and material circumstances, they may also resist epistemic injustices, working within/against the system to imagine alternative spaces more conducive to students' genuine academic thriving. This entails a corollary reimagining of teacher learning and leadership, whereby, following the practitioner research movement (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009), teachers themselves are viewed as suppliers of knowledge who might inform the broader field of education. Epistemic injustices permeate both teacher education and classroom practice, and it may only be when we learn from teacher-generated inquiry, especially from those who theorize from their own minoritized experiences (e.g., Ladson-Billings 2009; Yazzie-Mintz 2007), that will we be better able to create schooling commensurate with students' profound intellectual yearnings and insights.

In our 4 years at Boys' Academy, we had the opportunity to learn from educators in a community of critical inquiry that was intentionally formed to address the hermeneutical injustices that were deeply entrenched in policy and practice. While this collaborative effort did not occur without tension, the educators significantly expanded the pool of interpretative resources for students to draw from in order to make sense of and critically engage their worlds. These resources included access to quality literature through the Writers' House and the Classroom Library Project, participation in community-based knowledge projects such as the Langston Hughes Family Museum, and opportunities to listen to teachers and community members' own narratives of cultivating academic identities, sometimes in the face of virulent racism and domestic terrorism.

The teachers also taught us, however, that access to a meaningful and rigorous curriculum is a necessary but not sufficient step toward addressing epistemic injustices. The belief in access alone might reinscribe a "decontextualized rationality and generic individualism" (Alcoff 2004, p. 100), which, as many Critical Race Theorists note (e.g., Milner 2008), undergird meritocratic ideologies that mask inequalities

and universalize White middle-class norms. Fricker (2007) advocates for being a virtuous epistemic listener as a means of correcting for these biases. What we found particularly edifying about our work was how teachers within a larger school community enacted epistemically virtuous *relationships*. They conveyed an unequivocal belief in the boys' academic potential and took seriously their intellectual desires, inquiries, and claims. They also cultivated an ethics of care (Collins 2000) as integral to the school culture: attention to emotional wellbeing was considered inseparable from cognitive growth, a stance that was continually reinforced to the students. For example, the first-grade teacher told a child that even if he was not in her class, by attending Boys' Academy "you belong to me." She emphasized, "You have a good teacher, but if you need me, I'm here." Within the communal ethos of Boys' Academy, which also blurred the boundaries between the school and neighborhood, the children knew they could turn to adults who saw them beyond any assessment score. The nature and conditions through which epistemically virtuous relationships might be fostered in schools would be an important area of further research.

The teachers recognized the epistemic injustices the students endured as African American males in a low-income neighborhood and discussed these issues with them. One of the biggest challenges was that even though many of the boys began to flourish as a result of the inquiry community's work, it was not clear that they would have the same opportunities in their middle school and high school years. Until the day when students no longer face the types of testimonial and hermeneutical injustices that are pervasive within the larger society, they have to rely, like Wright, on their own hunger and belief in themselves. As one teacher told the third-grade class, with an allusion to *Black Boy*, "You've got to *hunger* and *thirst* for knowledge. You've got to *want* it. You've got to *want* it. You've got to *want* it!"

References

Alcoff, L. (2004). Against "post-ethnic" futures. *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy, 18*(2), 99–117.

Alcoff, L. M. (2010). Epistemic identities. *Episteme, 7*(2), 128–137.

Alexander, M. (2010). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. New York: The New Press.

Anyon, J. (1981). Social class and school knowledge. *Curriculum Inquiry, 11*(1), 3–42.

Barton, P. E. (2003). *Parsing the achievement gap: Baselines for tracking progress*. Princeton: ETS.

Bomer, R., Dworin, J. E., May, L., & Semingson, P. (2008). Miseducating teachers about the poor: A critical analysis of Ruby Payne's claims about poverty. *Teachers College Record, 110*(12), 2497–2531.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital (trans: Nice, R.). In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). New York: Greenwood.

Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. New York: Basic Books.

Cahill, C. (2007). Repositioning ethical commitments: Participatory action research as a relational praxis of social change. *ACME: An International Journal of Critical Geographies, 6*(3), 360–373.

Cammarota, J., & Fine, M. (Eds.). (2008). *Revolutionizing education: Youth participatory action research in motion*. New York: Routledge.

Campano, G. (2007). *Immigrant students and literacy: Reading, writing, and remembering*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Campano, G., Honeyford, M., Sánchez, L., & Vander Zanden, S. (2010). Ends in themselves: Theorizing the practice of university–school partnering through horizontalism. *Language Arts, 87*(4), 277–286.

Campano, G., Ghiso, M. P., & Sánchez, L. (2013). "Nobody one knows the…amount of a person": Elementary students critiquing dehumanization through organic critical literacies. *Research in the Teaching of English, 48*(1), 97–124.

Campano, G., Jacobs, K. B., & Ngo, L. (2014). A critical orientation to literacy assessment: Learning from others through a stance of solidarity. In J. Brass & A. Webb (Eds.), *Reclaiming English language arts methods courses: Critical issues and challenges for teacher educators in top-down times* (pp. 97–108). New York: Routledge.

Chall, J., Jacobs, V., & Baldwin, L. (1990). *The reading crisis: Why poor children fall behind*. Cambridge, MA: HUP.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (1999). Relationships of knowledge and practice: Teacher learning in communities. In A. Iran-Nejad & P. D. Pearson (Eds.), *Review of research in education v 24* (pp. 249–305). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (2009). *Inquiry as stance: Practitioner research in the next generation*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Coleman, J. S., Campbell, E. Q., Hobson, C. J., McPartland, J., Mood, A. M., Weinfeld, F. D., & York, R. (1966). *Equality of educational opportunity*. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office.

Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. New York: Routledge.

Cummings, J. (2007). Pedagogies for the poor? Realigning reading instruction for low-income students with scientifically based reading research. *Educational Research, 36*(9), 564–572.

Dudley-Marling, C., & Gurn, A. (Eds.). (2010). *The myth of the normal curve (Disability studies in education)*. New York: Peter Lang.

Dudley-Marling, C., & Paugh, P. (2005). The rich get richer; the poor get direct instruction. In B. Altwerger (Ed.), *Reading for profit: How the bottom line leaves kids behind* (pp. 156–171). Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Dworin, J. R., & Bomer, R. (2008). What we all (supposedly) know about the poor: A critical discourse analysis of Ruby Payne's 'Framework'. *English Education, 40*(2), 101–122.

Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (2nd ed.) (trans: Sheridan, A.). New York: Random House.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

Fricker, M. (2007). *Epistemic injustice: Power and the ethics of knowing*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Gadsden, V. G., Davis, J. E., & Artiles, A. J. (2009). Introduction: Risk, equity, and schooling: Transforming the discourse. *Review of Research in Education, 33*(1), vii–xi.

Ghiso, M. P. (2011). "Writing that matters": Collaborative inquiry and authoring practices in a first grade class. *Language Arts, 88*(5), 346–355.

Goodman, K. S., Calfee, R. C., & Goodman, Y. A. (Eds.). (2014). *Whose knowledge counts in government literacy policies? Why expertise matters*. New York: Routledge.

Gorski, P. (2006, February 9). The classist underpinnings of Ruby Payne's framework. *Teachers College Record*. http://www.tcrecord.org. Accessed 2 July 2014.

Harvey, D. (2006). *Spaces of global capitalism: A theory of uneven geographic development*. New York: Verso.

Holloway, K. (2006). *Bookmarks: Reading in black and white*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Katz, M. B. (1995). *Improving poor people: The Welfare State, the 'underclass' and urban schools as history*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kozol, J. (1992). *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools*. New York: HarperCollins.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal, 32*(3), 465–491.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2006). 2006 Presidential Address: From the achievement gap to the education debt: Understanding achievement in U.S. schools. *Educational Research, 35*(7), 3–12.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2009). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African American children* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Larson, J. (Ed.). (2001). *Literacy as snake oil: Beyond the quick fix*. New York: Peter Lang.

Lugones, M. (2003). *Pilgrimages/Peregrinajes: Theorizing coalition against multiple oppressions*. Oxford, UK: Rowman & Littlefield.

Luke, A. (2004). Teaching after the market: From commodity to cosmopolitan. *Teachers College Record, 106*(7), 1422–1443.

Luke, A. (2010). Documenting reproduction and inequality: Revisiting Jean Anyon's 'Social Class and School Knowledge'. *Curriculum Inquiry, 40*(1), 167–182.

MacGillivray, L., Ardell, A. L., Curwen, M. S., & Palma, J. (2004). Colonized teachers: Examining the implementation of a scripted reading program. *Teaching Education, 15*(2), 131–144.

McCarty, T. L., & Romero-Little, M. E. (2005, April). *Accountable to whom? NCLB, English-only, and Native American learners*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Montreal.

McQuillan, J. (1998). *The literacy crisis: False claims, real solutions*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Medina, J. (2013). *The epistemology of resistance: Gender and racial oppression, epistemic injustice, and resistant imaginations*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Miller, W. (1997). *Richard Wright and the library card*. New York: Lee & Low Books.

Milner, H. R. (2008). Critical race theory and interest convergence as analytic tools in teacher education policies and practices. *Journal of Teacher Education, 59*(4), 332–346.

Moya, P. (2002). *Learning from experience: Minority identities, multicultural struggles*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. (2000). *Report of the National Reading Panel. Teaching children to read: An evidence-based assessment of the scientific research literature on reading and its implications for reading instruction: Reports of the subgroups* (NIH Publication No. 00-4754). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Oakes, J. (2005). *Keeping track* (2nd ed.). New Haven: Yale University Press.

Onosko, J. (2011). Race to the top leaves children and future citizens behind: The devastating effects of centralization, standardization, and high stakes accountability. *Democracy and Education, 19*(2), 1–11.

Osei-Kofi, N. (2005). Pathologizing the poor: A framework for understanding Ruby Payne's work. *Equity and Excellence in Education, 38*(4), 367–375.

Payne, R. (1995). *A framework for understanding poverty*. Highlands: aha! Process, Inc.

Payne, R., & Slocumb, P. (2011). *Boys in poverty*. Bloomington: Solution Tree.

Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the 21st century*. Cambridge, MA: HUP.

Rist, R. (1970). Student social class and teacher expectations: The self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education. *Harvard Educational Review, 40*(3), 411–451.

Sánchez, L. (2010). *Partnering from the heart: Developing an ethic of care through inquiry with urban students and teachers*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Sánchez, L. (2011). Building on young children's cultural histories through placemaking in the classroom. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood, 12*(4), 332–342.

Sánchez, L. (2013). Fostering wideawakeness: Third grade children researching their community. In J. Landsman & P. Gorski (Eds.), *The poverty and education reader: A call for equity in many voices* (pp. 183–194). Sterling: Stylus Publishing, LLC.

Shannon, P. (1996). Poverty, literacy, and politics: Living in the USA. *Journal of Literacy Research, 28*(3), 429–449.

Shannon, P. (2007). *Reading against democracy: The broken promises of reading instruction*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Shannon, P. (2014). *Reading poverty in America*. New York: Routledge.

Short, K., & Burke, C. (1991). *Creating curriculum: Teachers and students as a community of learners*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Simon, R., & Campano, G. (2013). Activist literacies: Teacher research as resistance to the "normal curve". *Journal of Language and Literacy Education, 9*(1), 21–39.

Street, B. (1995). *Social literacies: Critical approaches to literacy in development, ethnography, and education*. London: Longman.

Thomas, P. L. (2010). The Payne of addressing race and poverty in public education: Utopian accountability and deficit assumptions of middle-class America. *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society, 12*(3), 262–283.

Valencia, R. R. (Ed.). (1997). *The evolution of deficit thinking*. London: Falmer Press.

Valencia, S. W., Place, N. A., Martin, S. D., & Grossman, P. L. (2006). Curriculum materials for elementary reading: Shackles and scaffolds for four beginning teachers. *Elementary School Journal, 107*, 93–120.

Vasudevan, L., & Campano, G. (2009). The social production of risk and the promise of adolescent literacies. *Review of Research in Education, 33*(1), 310–353.

Wacquant, L. (2007). *Urban outcasts: A comparative sociology of advanced marginality*. Malden: Polity.

Willis, A. I. (2008). *Reading comprehension research and testing in the US: Undercurrents of race, class, and power in the struggle for meaning*. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Winn, M. T., & Behizadeh, N. (2011). The right to be literate: Literacy, education, and the school-to-prison pipeline. *Review of Research in Education, 35*(1), 147–173.

Wright, R. (1945). *Black boy*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics.

Wright, R. (1977). *American hunger*. New York: Harper Collins.

Yazzie-Mintz, T. (2007). From a place deep inside: Culturally appropriate curriculum as the embodiment of Navajo-ness in classroom pedagogy. *Journal of American Indian Education, 46*(3), 72–93.

Difficult Dialogues About Race and Poverty in Teacher Preparation

Tyrone C. Howard and Andrea Rodriguez-Scheel

Abstract Poverty continues to be a vexing problem in the United States. Despite the fact that many have recovered from the great recession of 2008, many people, disproportionately people of color still feel the effects of poverty. Perhaps, most troubling is the manner in which poverty affects children. US schools see the effects of poverty in many ways, from homelessness, lack of access to medical attention, lack of academic preparation, and limited parental engagement. The challenge remains that many educators are ill equipped to fully understand and respond to the harsh circumstances that poverty causes for children. In this chapter, the authors examine the racialization of poverty, discuss some of the pertinent literature around poverty, and then offer critical race theory and intergroup dialogue as analytical tools to help preservice and inservice teachers acquire the requisite knowledge, skills, and dispositions to adequately teach and talk about students living in poverty.

1 Introduction

The great recession of 2008 had a deleterious effect on much of the United States. From downturns in the stock market, depressed wages, declining home prices, and rising unemployment, economic despair became a reality for millions of U.S. citizens. Schools in particular faced difficult times as they saw decreased budgets and excessive teacher layoffs, which translated into fewer resources for students and teachers at a time of increasing accountability (Darling-Hammond 2010; Vasquez et al. 2014). Unfortunately, these cuts were deepest and felt the most in the neediest schools. Although the economy has shown slow, yet steady, improvement over the past several years for some, it is clear that many communities, schools, families, and students continue to feel the effects of poverty. A report titled *Held Captive: Child Poverty in America* states that approximately 15.5 million children are currently living in poverty (Cass 2010); the recent recession contributed to millions of

T.C. Howard (✉) • A. Rodriguez-Scheel
University of California, Los Angeles, CA, USA
e-mail: thoward@gseis.ucla.edu

additional children living in poverty, with many of them still mired in these circumstances. In short, many schools across the nation are seeing the highest levels of poverty in the past four decades.

The National Child Poverty Center reports that the incidence of children living in deep poverty (below 50 % of the poverty line) is also on the rise, and schools must be equipped to respond to the challenges. While poverty has affected children and families across all racial and ethnic lines, it is noteworthy that race and poverty continue to intersect in disturbing ways and schools must be equipped to respond to these realities (Anyon 2005; Milner 2013). African American, Latino, Native American, and certain Asian American students, in particular, continue to be disproportionately poor, and are twice as likely as White and certain Asian American students to live in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). Needless to say, that where poverty is located, race and ethnicity are not too far away. Analyzing the race–poverty nexus is essential because there is a clear manner in which children and families of color feel the effects of poverty in a much more pervasive way than their White counterparts. As a common saying goes in the U.S. in relation to race, ethnicity, and poverty: "When economic woes hit, Whites get a cold, people of color get the flu." In other words, the effects of financial distress typically have a much greater impact on families of color because they tend to have greater job instability, less accumulated wealth, and fewer resources to access for financial assistance in time of need (Shapiro et al. 2013). To underscore the salience of wealth discrepancies, consider that a 2009 survey of representative homes in the U.S. revealed that the median wealth for White families was $113,149 compared with a median wealth of $6,325 for Latino families, and $5,677 for African American families (Taylor et al. 2011). The U.S. Census data reveals that approximately 34.5 % of Black children and 28.6 % of Latino students live in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). The Census data also reveals that the numbers for Cambodian, Filipino, Thai, Vietnamese, Hmong, Laotian, and other Southeast Asian students are at comparable levels to Black and Latino students: one-third to one-fourth of these students live in poverty. The need to disrupt the Asian American narrative about this group not experiencing poverty is long overdue. A number of scholars have made the call for further disaggregation along ethnic lines for Asian Americans in order to develop a more accurate picture of different groups' experiences (Howard 2010; Pang et al. 2004).

Urban and rural schools continue to serve students who have one or both parents unemployed, and students coming from immigrant families continue to be disproportionately poor. Moreover, data from the National Center on Poverty shows that there continues to be a growing number of the working poor. Families that have multiple wage earners yet still live at or near the poverty level (U.S. Census Bureau 2012) are frequently not part of the discourse on impoverished families, and this absence contributes to a strong deficit sentiment about families that can easily permeate school ideologies and practices (Milner 2013). Cases of the working poor are important to note because it is important to disrupt the narrative that frames people living in poverty as being lazy, unwilling to work, and in constant pursuit of government assistance or other types of handouts (Lee and Bowen 2006).

A new narrative must be constructed: one showing that many individuals who live in poverty work multiple jobs yet remain mired in generational and structural poverty (Lareau 1994, 2000; Lareau and Weininger 2008). While students from adverse economic situations are not a new phenomenon for U.S. schools, the economic turn of events over the past 6 years has made it painfully obvious that poverty continues to be a significant and growing social problem (Carter and Welner 2013; Gorski 2013a). In light of the chronic nature of poverty in various communities, for students who come from economically challenged backgrounds it is imperative to re-examine the manner in which teachers are prepared, and how we think about effectively educating students from low-income backgrounds. We raise these concerns for several reasons. A plethora of data exists suggesting that students from impoverished backgrounds are more likely to have decreased educational and cognitive outcomes, increased problems with social and emotional development, and to experience more challenges in becoming academically successful (Berliner 2009). Students from low-income backgrounds are more likely to be suspended, expelled, or drop out of school (U.S. Office of Civil Rights 2012). Students of color, in fact, were no more disruptive in school than their White counterparts. The National Education Policy Center examined the poverty–discipline link in 2010 and indicated that disparities in school discipline referrals were not due to poverty or inherently bad behavior, and showed that students of color were more likely to be suspended for non-violent and very minor acts of misbehavior (e.g., disruption). However, "according to the 2000 U.S. census, children growing up in homes near or below the poverty level were more likely to be expelled" (Losen 2011, p. 7).

The fact that low-income students continue to under-perform compared with their more affluent counterparts is not without question, but reasons that explain this under-performance are not always the same. There is evidence suggesting that teachers adopting and maintaining deficit thinking about students who come from impoverished backgrounds is a contributing factor (Solorzano and Yosso 2001). Many arguments about explanations for the disparate school outcomes for students from low-income backgrounds center on structural or cultural explanations (Gorski 2013b; Ladson-Billings 2006). Structuralists would argue that inept social policy, age-old discrimination, and entrenched economic arrangements lock many people out of upward economic mobility possibilities (Hilfiker 2002; MacLeod 1987; McLaren 2005), while culturalists contend that people's choices, behavior, and every day practices contribute to poverty in significant ways (Moynihan 1965).

We believe that it is vital for preservice teachers to understand the rationale behind these and other explanations for disparities in school outcomes along socio-economic lines. However, we make the claim that there is a need for a greater focus on the structural explanations behind poverty because they provide a frame that is less about blaming individuals in poverty, and more about historical and contemporary causes that continue to perpetuate it.

In this chapter, we want to bring attention to cautions, concerns, and considerations for educating students from impoverished backgrounds, particularly in light of the increasing numbers of students who are in, and will continue to fall into, this category. Given the number of frameworks that offer disturbing, reductive, and

often prescriptive recommendations about teaching students from impoverished backgrounds, we seek to accomplish four goals with this work:

- to discuss the challenges that exist in educating students living in poverty
- to discuss Critical Race Theory as a framework to examine the nexus of race and poverty
- to outline why intergroup dialogue can be used as a transformative model that disrupts deficit-based approaches for educating students from impoverished backgrounds
- to offer considerations for asset-based frameworks for teacher preparation, poverty, teaching, and learning.

2 Poverty and Learning

An examination of current student data reveals that many of the most economically depressed areas continue to be areas where schools find it difficult to staff classrooms (Almy and Theokas 2010; Milner 2010; Palardy 2008; Strange 2011; Tivnan and Hemphill 2005). Moreover, these classrooms are more likely to have inexperienced, under-prepared and under-qualified, novice teachers. Many of these teachers have had limited interactions with students from impoverished or racially and ethnically diverse backgrounds (Gorski 2013b; Templeton 2011). Hence, the potential exists for teachers to operate from standpoints that suggest students from low-income backgrounds are devoid of appropriate social and cultural capital, lack the necessary intellectual and cognitive dispositions to be successful learners, and come from home environments that do not support stimulating learning environments. Therefore, we ask two critical questions: What are the requisite skills, knowledge, and dispositions that teachers need to have to teach students from low-income backgrounds effectively? How do teachers discuss race and poverty in a meaningful way? And more importantly, we discuss serious concerns about the manner in which many teacher-education programs are preparing teachers for the challenging classrooms they are about to enter.

Some theorists argue that poverty, perhaps more than any other variable, explains why academic performance disparities exist across groups (Anyon 1980, 2005; Rothstein 2004; Wilson 2009). Undoubtedly, poverty has a gripping effect on the manner in which young people experience schools. Students from low-income backgrounds are less likely to have access to appropriate medical care and attention; this can allow vision, dental, hearing, asthmatic, and other health ailments to go untreated, which undoubtedly influences school performance and academic outcomes (Cutler and Lleras-Muney 2010; Pampel et al. 2010). Research has documented that children living in older, dilapidated homes are more likely to be exposed to lead-based paint, and the direct correlation that this exposure has to delayed cognitive development and behavioral problems (Brooks-Gunn and Duncan 1997).

Moreover, children from impoverished backgrounds are more likely to have parents with low-waged jobs or no employment at all, increasing the likelihood of their

moving from place to place, which influences the quality of continuous schooling they receive. An increasing number of students who attend schools are homeless, with the number reaching over 1.3 million during the 2012–2013 academic year, according to the National Center for Homeless Education (2013). Needless to say, the disproportionate occurrences of violence, crime, drugs, and death that young people in impoverished communities are exposed to on a consistent basis can have a profound influence on their social, psychological, and emotional well-being (Barajas et al. 2008; Duncan-Andrade 2006; Murnane 2007; Noguera 2010). Students from low-income backgrounds are more likely to be retained or drop out of school (Barajas et al. 2008). It is important not to ignore these realities, but rather to acknowledge and give credence to the far-reaching effects that poverty has on millions of young people in this country every day. In this current economic climate, Wilson (2009) reminds us that it is more than just race that explains disparate life experiences and opportunities, and that understanding social structures and culture are salient variables in eradicating poverty, many of which disproportionately affect students of color and their families.

In light of the uptick of students who come from impoverished backgrounds, it is imperative for teacher-education practitioners to pay close attention to, or in some cases, even re-examine, the manner in which teachers are prepared to teach students from impoverished backgrounds (Howard 2003). This does not mean that we are not concerned about what inservice teachers think and do with this population. However, we are clear that there is a greater likelihood of influences on preservice teachers as they begin their careers, as opposed to those already in the profession. Moreover, more keen attention needs to be provided to the knowledge, skills, values, and perspectives that preservice teachers are provided as they think about educating students from low-income backgrounds effectively. This is particularly salient given the influx of new teachers entering the profession as more teachers retire. We raise these concerns for several reasons. A plethora of data exists suggesting that teacher-education candidates are less likely to come from low-income backgrounds; thus, their knowledge and awareness can be limited and can influence their ability to connect to and teach students who have experiences that are drastically different from their own (Hollins and Guzman 2005). There is overwhelming extant evidence that may reinforce teachers adopting and maintaining deficit thinking about students who come from impoverished backgrounds (Gorski 2008, 2013b; Milner 2013).

3 Critical Race Theory as an Analytical Tool to Examine Poverty in the US

The scope of this work examines poverty through a Critical Race Theory (CRT) lens, and more specifically, through an intersectionality framework to explore how research on students from low-income backgrounds can help to inform the knowledge base by taking a more comprehensive and complexified account of teacher

preparation. CRT is used within this work to examine issues of racism and educational inequity. However, it also calls for an analysis of racism and its intersection with other forms of oppression such as sexism, classism, homophobia, and nativism (Delgado and Stefancic 2001). CRT scholars have developed the following five tenets to guide research and inquiry on educational equity and racial justice:

1. Centrality of race and racism: All CRT research within education must centralize race and racism, including intersections with other forms of subordination such as gender, class, and citizenship.
2. Challenging the dominant perspective: CRT research works to challenge the dominant narratives and re-center marginalized perspectives.
3. Commitment to social justice: CRT research must always be motivated by a social justice agenda.
4. Valuing experiential knowledge: CRT builds on the oral traditions of many Indigenous communities of color around the world. CRT research centers the narratives of people of color when attempting to understand social inequality.
5. Being interdisciplinary: CRT scholars believe that the world is multi-dimensional, and similarly, research about the world should reflect multiple perspectives (Solórzano and Delgado Bernal 2001).

Professor Kimberley Crenshaw (1995) introduced the concept of intersectionality in her work *Intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics*. In this work, she describes the multi-dimensionality of Black women's experiences as being complicated based on their gender (in a patriarchal society), race (in a predominately White society), and poverty (in a capitalistic society). Crenshaw's works spurred a plethora of works from dominated groups, who argued that traditional approaches to examining equity and discrimination did not effectively capture the full spectrum of their experiences. Intersectionality is a way to conceptualize how oppressions are socially constructed and affect individuals differently across multiple group categories. Crenshaw's explanation of intersectionality is central to understanding the complex and marginalized aspects of identity; women in communities organizing for social change have long been aware of these aspects. Given the need to analyze the way that poverty and race inform and influence one another, Crenshaw's work is relevant here. Intersectionality—the interaction of multiple identities and varied experiences of exclusion and subordination (Davis 2008)—provides a suitable framework to examine the experiences of students living in poverty because it not only centers socio-economic status at the core of its analysis, but also recognizes and examines other forms of oppression and identity markers, namely race and gender, which have critical influences on students' experiences. What we know is that students of color are disproportionately more likely to be poor, as are women, and data informs us that many students of color find themselves in single-parent homes led by women (Institute for Women's Policy Research 2008). The concept of intersectionality is based on the idea that the typical conceptualizations of discrimination and oppression within society, such as racism, sexism, homophobia, and class-based discrimination, do not act independently of one another; instead, these

forms of oppression interrelate, creating a system of oppression that reflects the "intersection" of multiple forms of exclusion, prejudice, and discrimination (McCall 2005). The intersections of race, class, and gender have manifested in a multitude of complex and harmful ways within the U.S. that have profoundly influenced the manner in which students in low-income communities experience schools and society (Polite and Davis 1999). Therefore, it is essential that teacher-education programs incorporate readings, discussions, and films that require sustained focus on intersectionality and how it affects their teaching, as well as the students' identities as learners, and their academic outcomes. This intersectionality is rarely examined and, as a result, opportunities for seeing the various layers of oppression at work are often overlooked and under-theorized. Moreover, the ability to recognize the resilience and the capital that families develop in their given context is rarely part of the narrative for students in low-income schools.

Identity politics, as discussed in Crenshaw's (2009) work, often characterizes the collective identity for people of color and recognizes as social and systemic what was formerly perceived as isolated and individual. Crenshaw (2009) contends that "the problem with identity politics is not that it fails to transcend difference, as some critics charge, but rather the opposite—that it frequently conflates or ignores intra-group differences" (p. 213). Hence, one of the goals of this work is to shed light on the intellectual and social capital that students from low-income backgrounds possess, and how teachers must be able to identify ways to build on these forms of capital to enhance students' educational experiences.

4 Intergroup Dialogue as a Framework for Examining Poverty and Race

In the pursuit of engaging a critical race and intersectional lens as we examine the complexities of preparing teachers for working with students living in poverty, we maintain that it is imperative to begin this work from a place of self-reflection. While CRT in teacher education has been utilized to envision societal transformation vis-à-vis school transformation (Solórzano and Yosso 2001), Banks (as cited in Bryan and Atwater 2002) states, "Teachers cannot transform schools until they transform themselves" (p. 823). In order to get to the place where teachers are able to begin to view and build on the strengths of, and the funds of knowledge from, students living in poverty, a certain amount of unlearning and learning of biased beliefs and assumptions needs to occur. In the U.S., there is a deep-seated belief in rugged individualism—one that often contributes to and results in beliefs that those who live in poverty do so as a result of their own behaviors and attributes (Sawhill 2003). This damaging trend too often results in essentialism, which according to Gorski (2013a)

> lends itself to deficit thinking because it encourages us to look for the source of problems, such as the disproportionate dropout rate of low-income students, in stereotyped under-

standings of the 'cultures' of those students rather than in the educational and social systems that repress them. (p. 86)

Thus, teacher-education programs have an ethical and professional obligation to eliminate and prevent this form of deficit thinking prior to working with students in high-poverty schools. One model that has been successful in shifting the ways in which people of different backgrounds conceptualize inequality is intergroup dialogue. In this section, we explain what intergroup dialogue is and its application to teacher education.

According to Zúñiga et al. (2002), intergroup dialogues are facilitated, face-to-face encounters that cultivate meaningful engagement between members of two or more social identity groups with a history of conflict or potential conflict. These intergroup encounters provide a forum that seeks to foster honest, thoughtful, and significant conversations about difficult or controversial issues across race and other social group boundaries, where various members of social-identity groups can interface. By *members of social identity groups*, we mean people who have a specific affinity with one another because they are members of a social group that shares a similar social status and a common history in society (Young 1990). Examples of social identity groups include those based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, ability, religion, socio-economic class, and other socially constructed group distinctions. Thus, centering and interrogating social identity group membership, for example, one's sense of his or her social class identity, is an integral part of the process. The focus on social group membership is critical in that it allows for an exploration of the ways that structural relations of power (e.g., racism, classism, sexism) play out in the daily lives of individuals.

An intergroup dialogue is purposefully structured in composition and content, and takes place over time to enable sustained communication, so that participants are able to develop enough trust in one another for authentic communication (Zúñiga et al. 2002). Dialogue takes place in a setting that allows different groups to engage in authentic contact with one another, where they are able to critically engage in issues related to structural inequality. The face-to-face component of intergroup dialogue is important, because although we live in a diverse society, we do not often engage that diversity in authentic ways in the pursuit of democracy and social justice. Recent geographic research indicates that despite increases in diversity, segregation persists (Holloway et al. 2012), thus necessitating spaces for healthy and productive intergroup contact.

Intergroup dialogues often follow a four-stage model (Saunders 1999; Stephan and Stephan 2001; Zúñiga and Nagda 2001) in which stages "build on one another and sequence the movement in the intergroup dialogue from group beginnings to exploring differences and commonalities to dealing with hot topics or difficult questions to considering or taking action" (Zúñiga et al. 2011). Within the context of an intergroup dialogue, participants engage in what Dr. Jaclyn Rodríguez, Professor and Director of the Intergroup Dialogue program at Occidental College, has described on multiple occasions as a *mirrors and windows* experience. This refers to an experience in which participants hold a *mirror* up to themselves and reflect on

their multiple and intersecting identities, beliefs, biases, and socialization, as well as getting a *window* view into the experiences of others who may occupy similar or different social locations. In addition, poignant questions about poverty could be posed such as the following:

- Why do you think people are in poverty?
- What was your family's socio-economic status growing up?
- Why do you think people of color are disproportionately in poverty?
- Why do you believe some families are mired in generational poverty?
- How do you think poverty influences a student's learning potential?
- How do you think children who grow up in poverty are able to succeed academically?
- What role do you think schools and educators play in sustaining or disrupting poverty?

Needless to say, these can be loaded questions that generate a wide range of responses. The purpose of intergroup dialogue is not to address topics in a surface-level fashion, but to probe deeply and personally into difficult topics. It is our contention that intergroup dialogues may hold promise for helping preservice teachers to develop more complex understandings of multiple identities, including social class, vis-à-vis a focus on intersectionality. Intersectional perspectives are another important component of intergroup dialogue. While dialogues may focus on one specific identity, for example race, other social identities are addressed as well, often using a focal identity (e.g., class) as a lens to examine others, such as race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, and ability. By employing an intersectional perspective, intergroup dialogues allow for an exploration of commonality across difference. For example, in a dialogue on race with White people and people of Color, discussions of gender may allow for intergroup collaborations between White people and people of color to tackle issues pertaining to racialized femininities and masculinities. For example, work by McIntosh (1990) has described how White women's experience with gender oppression may help them to understand White privilege and racial oppression. Additionally, Crenshaw (2009) has discussed how intersectionality may contribute to coalition building. The recognition of commonalities across groups is important because it can lead to community building and intergroup collaboration—both elements that will benefit teachers in their work with students, families, and communities.

Intergroup dialogues in teacher-education programs may be able to help prepare preservice teachers for working with students in poverty in multiple ways:

- by giving credential candidates an opportunity to critically reflect on the relational nature of their social identities
- by providing a space to critically explore power relations in society
- by promoting healthy intergroup relationships vis-à-vis the development of empathy and motivation to bridge differences
- by providing a forum from which participants may build towards intergroup collaboration in the pursuit of a more socially just society (Nagda et al. 2009).

Research on the effects of intergroup dialogues reveals that participants report an increase in the importance and centrality they ascribe to their social identities (Nagda and Zúñiga 2003). In addition, intergroup dialogue participants report increased thinking about social group membership, develop their ability to take different perspectives, feel more comfortable communicating with those that are different from them, and are more interested in building bridges with those that are different from themselves (Nagda and Zúñiga 2003). The aforementioned elements are all important for teachers to have as they work in schools with students who deserve and need teachers to employ a critical, reflective praxis, and social justice orientation.

Intergroup dialogue can be especially effective with preparing teachers for working with students in high-poverty schools because of the shifts that occur when it comes to structural versus individualistic ways of viewing the world. Research has shown that after participating in intergroup dialogue, participants are more likely to endorse structural explanations for inequality (for example, failure of society to provide good schools for many living in the U.S. and discrimination against the poor) than a matched sample who enrolled in a social science class that engaged the same topic without the intergroup dialogue model (Lopez 2012). This evidence highlights the significance of intergroup dialogue as a model that weds both content and process, as opposed to a learning experience that only examines content. This wedding of content and process is an important element that has produced cognitive effects regarding the types of attributions that teachers make about race-based or poverty-based inequality.

5 Pedagogy and Intergroup Interactions

A number of researchers have explored the pedagogical implications of intergroup dialogue. Lopez et al. (1998) explored the pedagogical practices that affect the outcomes of intergroup interactions, and found that students who participate in courses that highlight issues of justice and equality were more likely to think structurally about racial inequalities than students who did not participate in such courses. This is especially important when one considers teacher education. While research informs us that individualistic societies often tend to *blame the victim* (Ryan 1974), which ends up looking like deficit thinking in the minds of teachers who serve urban students, implementing this kind of pedagogy in teacher education may help to dismantle deficit thinking in preservice teachers before they start working with students.

Nagda et al. (2004) examined the integration of content and process in intergroup dialogue. They assessed intergroup learning as facilitated by both enlightenment (lectures, readings) and encounter (hearing and learning from people from other social identity groups) in a cohort of undergraduate social welfare students enrolled in a course titled Cultural Diversity and Social Justice. Students were given pre- and post-test surveys that measured their involvement in the enlightenment and encoun-

ter elements of the course, as well as their motivation to engage in intergroup learning, ascribed levels of confidence, and perceived importance of taking action to reduce prejudice and promote diversity. Nagda et al.'s (2004) results indicate that

> the course as a whole, focusing on learning about difference using varied learning modalities, had an overall significant impact on increasing students' motivation for intergroup learning, their assessment of the importance of prejudice reduction and promoting diversity, and their confidence in doing so. (p. 208)

Further, it is also important to point out that these results were consistent for both students of color as well as White students enrolled in the course. Critical to these results was the encounter component of the curriculum. According to Nagda et al. (2004):

> The enlightenment learning did not affect changes in the importance of prejudice reduction and promoting diversity, but did positively influence confidence in both aspects. Even though content-based learning may emphasize the importance of undoing prejudice and discrimination, it may reach students only at an abstract level. The encounter-based learning, on the other hand, had wider influence on the outcomes because the issues of prejudice and discrimination are personalized in the intergroup dialogues, both in terms of how the apply to individual students' own experiences and also their classmates' experiences. The participatory, face-to-face learning can evoke empathetic relations among peers. As students listen to their peers' first-person narratives, and come to better appreciate the impact of prejudice and discrimination on people that they know, they may feel more compelled to promote diversity and interrupt others' prejudices. (p. 209)

Nagda (2006) theorizes about the communication processes in intergroup dialogue that can aid in alliance formation. According to Nagda (2006), there are four main communication processes that occur in intergroup dialogues:

1. Alliance building: "relating to and thinking about collaborating with others in taking actions toward social justice" (p. 563).
2. Engaging self: "the involvement of oneself as a participant in interactions with others" (p. 563).
3. Critical self-reflection: "the examination of one's ideas, experiences, and perspectives as located in the context of inequality, privilege, and oppression" (p. 563)
4. Appreciating difference: "learning about others, hearing personal stories, and hearing about different points of view in face-to-face encounters; it is openness to learning about realities different from one's own" (p. 563).

Utilizing survey data, Nagda (2006) found that the pedagogical practice of encounter led to the appreciation of difference and the engagement of self. Appreciation of difference facilitated self-engagement, which in turn facilitated critical self-reflection and alliance building. Lastly, the communication processes of self-engagement and alliance building contributed to the psychological processes of bridging differences. According to Nagda (2006):

> When critical self-reflection happens in the context of dialogue, it can spur greater insight into both the social structural forces of inequality as well as the individual impact on participants in the dialogue and the dialogic engagement itself. Thus, critical self-reflection sets

intergroup dialogues apart from solely anti-bias, prejudice reduction, and other efforts directed toward intergroup harmony. (p. 568)

Given the transformative potential of intergroup dialogue, it is reasonable to conclude that such an approach can contribute to the development of an asset-based analysis of poverty for teachers who will work in schools located in low-income communities.

6   Asset-Based Analysis of Poverty

Much of what we are arguing for is a framing of the manner in which teacher-education practitioners and students engage in a discussion about poverty in more thoughtful, reflective, and critical ways than currently being used in many teacher-education programs. Much of the focus in schools around poverty has been situated with deficit-based frameworks, in particular the work done by theorists such as Ruby Payne. Payne, the author of the self-published *A Framework for Understanding Poverty* (1996) and *Boys in Poverty* (2010), continues to be a dominant voice in K–12 teachers' understandings of poverty. With over one million copies of *A Framework for Understanding Poverty* sold, Payne's (1996) work is oft-cited in urban and rural schools' professional development circuit, offering workshops for K–12 teachers on the "mindsets of poverty." To highlight the influence that Payne's work has had, note that according to Amazon.com, her book ranks first in the poverty category, and second in the social work category[1]; she has been positively written about in major publications including *The New York Times* (Tough 2008). While many scholars have strongly critiqued her work for reasons we will discuss later in the text (Bomer et al. 2008; Gorski 2013a, b; Milner 2013; Osei-Kofi 2005), Payne's framework remains a disturbingly popular framework to educating teachers to work with children in poverty in the US.

In Payne's (2010) work, the approaches that are put forth essentially provide a prescriptive and reductive *how to* and *don't do* about educating students living in low-income situations. Among the more troubling assertions put forward by Payne is that individuals in poverty have different values (she refers to them as *hidden rules*); they think, speak, and act differently to other children. She goes on to document how poor children actually learn differently, and therefore, should be taught differently due to their impoverished status. In Payne's (2005) framework, she makes the incredible assertion that children in low-income schools have faulty discourse patterns, and that educators need to have a thorough understanding of these faulty patterns. Payne (1996, 2010) also asserts that these children have imaginative storytelling features, have troublesome values in relation to education, and need to be coddled to learn and understand the value of hard work, learning, and education. Among Payne's other reductive claims, which we have both heard teachers repeat,

---

[1]As of 16 March 2010.

are that individuals in poverty see people as possessions, speak in the casual register, and experience love as conditional. Payne's (1996) claim that poor students value education in the abstract "but not as reality" is also disturbing (see p. 42). Her generalizations, in an attempt to be helpful to practitioners, are dangerous and borderline destructive for teachers, especially novice teachers who are entering low-income schools for the first time. Yet, many districts across the U.S. continue to promote and embrace Payne's approach as the elixir to teaching students in poverty. For example, Payne (1996) points out characteristics of intergenerational poverty such as:

- always having the television on
- placing an importance on a sense of humor
- expecting men to be macho
- living only in the present
- having unkempt homes with non-existent organizational systems
- not thinking about consequences (see pp. 51–53).

According to Payne (1996), people who work with those in poverty must go through a grieving process themselves because their clients make many poor choices which "preclude any resolution that would be acceptable from an educated perspective" (p. 113). Thus, not only is poverty a source of stress for those living in it, but it also provides endless frustration to those who have to work with people in poverty.

We make the call to move to a more asset-based approach of examining and understanding poverty. Where Payne and other deficit-based theorists fall short is in their failure to take a more structural examination of why individuals (across the racial spectrum) continue to find themselves in perpetual poverty. An asset-based account of poverty:

- raises questions about how and why people are in poverty
- includes an examination of historical factors that disproportionately affects different communities
- asks teachers to reflect on their own attitudes and behaviors when interacting with students from low-income communities (Howard 2003)
- identifies frameworks that recognize the community cultural wealth that exists for students from all communities (Yosso 2005).

In addition to contributing to an asset-based approach to examining and understanding poverty, it is imperative that teacher-education programs equip preservice teachers with the knowledge and skills to successfully engage in dialogue with their own students about their lived experiences and realties from a strengths-based perspective. Research indicates that not talking about social issues, such as race, class, and gender, actually contributes to the problem as opposed to the solution. In a laboratory study by Richeson and Nussbaum (2004), college students were presented with either a colorblind or multicultural message that was presented as a solution to reducing interracial conflict. Students who received the colorblind message demonstrated greater racial bias on both a racial attitudes survey and on an implicit racial attitudes reaction time test. In addition, a more recent study on first-

generation college students further illustrates the benefits of explicitly engaging students in conversations about class by demonstrating that such engagement can help to close the social-class achievement gap by showing that (a) one's background matters, and (b) people of different class backgrounds can achieve and be successful in the context of their education (Stephens et al. 2014).

7 Principles for Teacher-Education Programs to Prepare Students for Working in Low-Income Schools and Neighborhoods

We believe that moving beyond reductive accounts of students in poverty is essential for educational equity. Moreover, at a time when schools in the U.S. are becoming more and more ethnically and racially diverse, and many of these students are from groups that are disproportionately coming from low-income backgrounds, we think a more explicit focus on race and poverty is long overdue. To that end, teacher-education programs, and for that matter, even school districts must be prepared to engage in what Singleton and Linton (2005) refer to as *courageous conversations*: they call for educators to have open, introspective, reflective, honest, and difficult conversations about race and the sociopolitical and historical context that they state they are situated within. Singleton and Linton (2005) call for four key components to be in place to make conversations productive:

1. **Stay engaged**: Staying engaged means "remaining morally, emotionally, intellectually, and socially involved in the dialogue" (p. 59).
2. **Experience discomfort**: This norm acknowledges that discomfort is inevitable, especially in dialogue about race, and that participants make a commitment to bring issues into the open. Talking about these issues is not what creates divisiveness. The divisiveness already exists in the society and in our schools. It is through dialogue, even when uncomfortable, that healing and change begins.
3. **Speak your truth**: This means being open about thoughts and feelings and not just saying what you think others want to hear.
4. **Expect and accept nonclosure**: This agreement asks participants to "hang out in uncertainty" and not rush to quick solutions, especially in relation to racial understanding, which requires ongoing dialogue (pp. 58–65).

Engaging in courageous conversations can be trying, emotional, personal, and at times incredibly uncomfortable. The intergroup dialogue that we put forward is research based and offers a practical approach that can be used by individuals at a site or could be conducted by an outsider. We therefore, put forth cautions, concerns and considerations that should inform the work of individuals working with teachers, be it at the preservice or the inservice level, that can be instructive for working with students from impoverished backgrounds.

7.1 Cautions

Our strongest caution is that teachers not move away from discussions about social class without recognizing the role that race and racism plays in the discussion. We have both observed educators who are more comfortable discussing social class because it affects all ethnic and racial groups; although this is the case, what cannot be dismissed or ignored is the intense way that poverty afflicts groups of color. Therefore, what is apparent is that race and ethnicity still matters in education (Howard 2010). A failure to address it overlooks the historical legacy of inequality that has been chronic for African American, Latino, Native American, and certain Asian American groups, and would be a major mistake.

An additional caution that we would offer is that using the concept of an asset-based poverty means ignoring the real challenges that poverty brings in relation to learning. An asset-based approach is centered on recognizing that students from impoverished backgrounds are capable learners who have parents who can and do play vital roles in their children's academic and emotional development; however, having limited resources in this pursuit is a legitimate concern. Therefore, educators who educate themselves about various social services that may be available in a local community can be a tremendous asset to their students and their families. As we discussed earlier, limited or no access to health care, adequate nutrition, and other social, emotional, and mental health services impedes learning in profound ways. In short, we contend that educators should not adopt a romanticized notion of asset-based learning that ignores the challenges that students encounter every day.

7.2 Concerns

One of our primary concerns is whether teacher-education programs or school districts have the willingness or the moral courage to engage in sensitive dialogues about poverty, race, gender, language, immigration, and other topics germane to marginalized groups. One of the reasons that many programs avoid such discussions is because they feel ill-equipped to have what some consider hot-topic or taboo conversations. Thus, we urge school leaders, individual teachers, teacher educators, and aspiring educators to inform themselves about topics such as race and poverty, and to explore the histories and policies that shape these identity markers in schools and the wider society. We would recommend several resources, books, articles, and titles such as:

- Jean Anyon (2005): *Radical possibilities*
- Beverly Daniel Tatum (1997): *Why are all the Black kids sitting in the cafeteria?*
- Jay MacLeod (1987): *Ain't no makin' it*
- Douglass Massey and Nancy Denton (1993): *American apartheid*
- Peggy McIntosh (1990): "Unpacking the invisible knapsack"

- Parker Palmer (2007): *The courage to teach*
- William Julius Wilson (2009): *More than just race*
- Tara Yosso (2005): "Whose culture has capital?"

As we have discussed throughout this chapter, race and poverty are intricately connected. Solorzano (1997) states that CRT can and should play a vital role in helping preservice teachers to reduce bias, eradicate stereotypes, and develop new meanings and understandings of diverse groups who are typically seen through a deficit lens. He contends that teacher-education programs should adopt the following approaches in discussing such topics:

- using examples of concepts
- identifying media stereotypes
- identifying professional stereotypes
- finding examples that challenge stereotypes.

Our concerns center on the reality that many teacher-education programs, in their attempts to expose their candidates to poverty, engage in voyeurism: they do community walk-through or explore various communities. Such efforts often take place without individuals who are from the communities, who still live in them, or who can serve as cultural brokers to identify and elaborate on the resources, assets, and changes that have occurred in these communities. If approaches to exploring the communities in which candidates will work and teach are not done in a thoughtful and asset-based way, they run the risk of only reinforcing negative stereotypes that already exist about such communities. Therefore, candidates need to see and hear first-hand from elders, family and community members, effective teachers, community-based and faith-based organizations, and school leaders who can provide an encouraging and healthy outlook of what compassionate and caring teachers have and continue to do in assisting students from low-income communities become effective in the classroom and in their communities.

8   Final Considerations

The growing income inequality across the country tells us that class divides will become an even bigger part of schools and society. It is essential to think critically about how to best serve the students who come from challenging economic situations. Moreover, our failure to offer what Duncan Andrade (2009) refers to as a *pedagogy of hope* may contribute to a growing schism in which hopelessness becomes rampant for many of our students. We hope that teacher-education programs locally, nationally, and globally create sustained dialogues, probing inquiry groups, and programmatic interventions designed on the poverty, race, teaching, and learning nexus. Though this dialogue has been part of teacher preparation for a long time, we contend that the conversation needs to be more critical, focused, honest, and that even teacher educators themselves need to explore their own values, beliefs, and attitudes on this topic.

References

Almy, S., & Theokas, C. (2010). *Not prepared for class: High-poverty schools continue to have fewer in-field teachers*. Washington, DC: The Education Trust.

Anyon, J. (1980). Social class and the hidden curriculum of work. *Journal of Education, 162*(1), 67–92.

Anyon, J. (2005). *Radical possibilities: Public policy, urban education, and a new social movement*. New York: Routledge.

Barajas, R., Philipsen, N., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2008). Cognitive and emotional outcomes for children in poverty. In D. Crane & T. Heaton (Eds.), *Handbook of families & poverty* (pp. 311–334). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Berliner, D. (2009). *Poverty and potential: Out-of-school factors and school success*. Tempe: Education and the Public Interest Center & Education Policy Research Unit.

Bomer, R., Dworin, J., May, L., & Semingson, P. (2008). Miseducating teachers about the poor: A critical analysis of Ruby Payne's claims about poverty. *Teachers College Record, 110*(12), 2497–2531.

Brooks-Gunn, J., & Duncan, G. J. (1997). The effects of poverty on children. *The Future of Children, 7*(2), 55–71.

Bryan, L. A., & Atwater, M. A. (2002). Teacher beliefs and cultural models: A challenge for science teacher preparation programs. *Science Education, 86*(6), 821–839.

Carter, P. L., & Welner, K. G. (2013). *Closing the opportunity gap: What America must do to give every child an even chance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cass, J. (2010). *Held captive: Child poverty in America*. Washington, DC: Children's Defense Fund.

Crenshaw, K. (1995). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of colour. In K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Pellet, & K. Thomas (Eds.), *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement* (pp. 357–383). New York: New Press.

Crenshaw, K. (2009). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. In E. Taylor, D. Gillborn, & G. Ladson-Billings (Eds.), *Foundations of critical race theory in education* (pp. 213–246). New York: Routledge.

Cutler, D. M., & Lleras-Muney, A. (2010). Understanding differences in health behaviors by education. *Journal of Health Economics, 29*(1), 1–28.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2010). *The flat world and education: How America's commitment to equity will determine our future*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist Theory, 9*(1), 67–85.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York: New York University Press.

Duncan Andrade, J. A. (2006). Urban youth and the counter-narration of inequality. *Transforming Anthropology, 15*(1), 26–37.

Duncan Andrade, J. A. (2009). Note to educators: Hope required when growing roses in concrete. *Harvard Educational Review, 79*(2), 181–194.

Gorski, P. (2008). The myth of the culture of poverty. *Educational Leadership, 65*(7), 32–36.

Gorski, P. (2013a). *Reaching and teaching students in poverty: Strategies for erasing the opportunity gap*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Gorski, P. (2013b). *Cultivating social justice educators*. Sterling: Stylus Publishers.

Hilfiker, D. (2002). *Urban injustice: How ghettoes happen*. New York: Seven Stories Press.

Hollins, E., & Guzman, T. G. (2005). Research on preparing teachers for diverse populations. In M. C. Smith & K. M. Zeichner (Eds.), *Studying teacher education: The report of the AERA Panel on Research and Teacher Education* (pp. 477–548). Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Holloway, S., Wright, R., & Ellis, M. (2012). The racially fragmented city? Neighborhood racial segregation and diversity jointly considered. *The Professional Geographer, 64*(1), 63–82.

Howard, T. C. (2003). Culturally relevant pedagogy: Ingredients for critical teacher reflection. *Theory Into Practice, 42*(3), 195–210.

Howard, T. C. (2010). *Why race and culture matter*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Institute for Women's Policy Research. (2008). Gender wage ratio: Women's and men's earning. http://www.iwpr.org/pdg/C350.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2013.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2006). It's not the culture of poverty, it's the poverty of culture: The problem with teacher education. *Anthropology and Educational Quarterly, 37*(2), 104–109.

Lareau, A. (1994). Parent involvement in schooling: A dissenting view. In C. Fagano & B. Z. Werber (Eds.), *School, family and community interaction: A view from the firing lines* (pp. 67–73). Boulder: Westview Press.

Lareau, A. (2000). *Home advantage: Social class and parental intervention in elementary education*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Lareau, A., & Weininger, E. B. (2008). Class and the transition to adulthood. In A. Lareau & D. Conley (Eds.), *Social class: How does it work?* (pp. 118–151). New York: Sage.

Lee, J. S., & Bowen, N. K. (2006). Parent involvement, cultural capital, and the achievement gap among elementary school children. *American Educational Research Journal, 43*(2), 193–218.

Lopez, G. E. (2012). *Impact of intergroup dialogue on understanding inequality*. Research presentation as part of symposium "Talking about race" at biennial conference of the Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues, Ann Arbor.

Lopez, G. E., Gurin, P., & Nagda, B. A. (1998). Education and understanding structural causes for group inequalities. *Political Psychology, 19*(2), 305–329.

Losen, D. J. (2011). *Discipline policies, successful schools, and racial justice*. National Education Policy Center. http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/discipline-policies. Accessed 17 May 2014.

MacLeod, J. (1987). *Ain't no makin' it: Aspirations and attainment in a low-income neighborhood*. Cumnor: Westview Press.

Massey, D., & Denton, N. (1993). *American apartheid*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 30*(3), 1771–1800.

McIntosh, P. (1990). White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. *Independent School*, (Winter), *49*(2), 31–36.

McLaren, P. (2005). *Capitalists and conquerors: Critical pedagogy against empire*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Milner, H. R. (2010). *Start where you are, but don't stay there*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Milner, H. R. (2013). Analyzing poverty, learning and teaching through a critical race theory lens. *Review of Research in Education, 37*, 1–53.

Moynihan, D. P. (1965). *The Negro family: The case for national action*. Washington, DC: Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor.

Murnane, R. J. (2007). Improving the education of children living in poverty. *Future of Children, 17*(2), 161–182.

Nagda, B. A. (2006). Breaking barriers, crossing borders, building bridges: Communication processes in intergroup dialogues. *Journal of Social Issues, 62*(3), 553–576.

Nagda, B. R. A., & Zúñiga, X. (2003). Fostering meaningful racial engagement through intergroup dialogues. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 6*(1), 111–128.

Nagda, B. A., Kim, C., & Truelove, Y. (2004). Learning about difference, learning with others, learning to transgress. *Journal of Social Issues, 60*(1), 195–214.

Nagda, B. A., Gurin, P., Sorensen, N., & Zúñiga, X. (2009). Evaluating intergroup dialogue: Engaging diversity for personal and social responsibility. *Diversity & Democracy, 12*(1), 4–6. Reprint (in press) In D. Sandhu, J. B. Hudson, & M. Taylor-Archer (Eds.), *Handbook on diversity in higher education*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

National Center for Homeless Education. (2013). NCHE products and publications http://center. serve.org/nche/. Accessed 14 Aug 2014.

Noguera, P. (2010, September 2). Accept it: Poverty hurts learning: Schools matter, but they are not all that matters. *New York Daily News*. http://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/accept-poverty-hurts-learning-schools-matter-matters-article-1.439586. Accessed 14 Sept 2010.

Osei-Kofi, N. (2005). Pathologizing the poor: A framework for understanding Ruby Payne's work. *Equity and Excellence in Education, 38*, 367–375.

Palardy, G. J. (2008). Differential school effects among low, middle, and high social class composition schools: A multiple group, multilevel latent growth curve analysis. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 19*(1), 21–49.

Palmer, P. (2007). *The courage to teach: Exploring the inner landscape of a teacher's life*. New York: Wiley.

Pampel, F. C., Krueger, P. M., & Denney, J. T. (2010). Socioeconomic disparities in health behaviors. *Annual Review of Sociology, 36*, 349–370.

Pang, V. O., Kiang, P. N., & Pak, Y. K. (2004). Asian Pacific American students: Challenging a biased educational system. In J. A. Banks & C. A. McGee Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of research on multicultural education* (2nd ed., pp. 542–563). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Payne, R. (1996). *A framework for understanding poverty*. Highlands: Aha!Process.

Payne, R. (2005). *A framework for understanding poverty*. Highlands: AhaProcess, Inc.

Payne, R. (2010). *Boys in poverty: A framework for understanding dropout, with Paul Slocumb*. Bloomington: Solution Tree.

Polite, V. C., & Davis, J. E. (1999). *African American males in school and society: Practices and policies for effective education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Richeson, J. A., & Nussbaum, R. J. (2004). The impact of multiculturalism versus color-blindness on racial bias. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 40*, 417–423.

Rothstein, R. (2004). *Class and schools: Using social, economic, and educational reform to close the black-white achievement gap*. Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute.

Ryan, W. (1974). *Blaming the victim*. New York: Random House.

Saunders, H. H. (1999). *A public peace process: Sustained dialogue to transform racial and ethnic conflicts*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Sawhill, I. V. (2003). The behavioral aspects of poverty. *The Public Interest, 153*, 79–93.

Shapiro, T., Meschede, T.,& Osoro, S. (2013). *The roots of the widening racial wealth gap: Explaining the Black–White economic divide*. Research and Policy Brief. Institute on Assets and Social Policy. http://iasp.brandeis.edu/pdfs/Author/shapiro-thomas-m/racialwealthgap-brief.pdf. Accessed 4 Oct 2014.

Singleton, G. E., & Linton, C. (2005). *Courageous conversations about race: A field guide for achieving equity in schools*. Thousand Oaks: Corwin Publishers.

Solorzano, D. G. (1997). Images and words that wound: Critical race theory, racial stereotyping, and teacher education. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 24*(3), 5–19.

Solorzano, D. G., & Delgado Bernal, D. (2001). Examining transformational resistance through a critical race and Latcrit theory framework. *Urban Education, 36*(3), 308–342.

Solorzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. (2001). From racial stereotyping and deficit discourse toward a critical race theory of teacher education. *Multicultural Education, 9*, 2–8.

Stephan, W., & Stephan, C. W. (2001). *Improving intergroup relations*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Stephens, N. M., Hamedani, M. G., & Destin, M. (2014). Closing the social-class achievement gap: A difference-education intervention improves first-generation students' academic performance and all students' college transition. *Psychological Science, 25*(4), 943–953.

Strange, M. (2011). Finding fairness for rural schools. *Phi Delta Kappan, 92*(6), 8–15.

Tatum, B. D. (1997). *"Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria?" A psychologist explains the development of racial identity*. New York: Basic Books.

Taylor, P., Kochlar, R., Fry, R., Velasco, G., & Motel, S. (2011). *Twenty-to-one: Wealth gaps rise to record highs between Whites, Blacks and Hispanics*. Pew Research Center. http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2011/07/SDT-Wealth-Report_7-26-11_FINAL.pdf. Accessed 28 June 2014.

Templeton, B. L. (2011). *Understanding poverty in the classroom*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Tivnan, T., & Hemphill, L. (2005). Comparing four literacy reform models in high-poverty schools: Patterns of first-grade achievement. *The Elementary School Journal, 105*(5), 419–441.

Tough, P. (2008). *Whatever it takes: Geoffrey Canada's quest to change Harlem and America*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

U.S Census Bureau. (2012). How the Census Bureau measures poverty. https://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/about/overview/measure.html. Accessed 15 Feb 2014.

U.S. Office of Civil Rights. (2012). Civil rights data collection. http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/crdc-2012-data-summary.pdf. Accessed 29 Mar 2013.

Vasquez Helig, J., Khalifa, M., & Tillman, L. C. (2014). High-stake reforms and urban education. In H. R. Milner & K. Lomotey (Eds.), *Handbook of research in urban education* (pp. 523–538). New York: Routledge.

Wilson, W. J. (2009). *More than just race: Being Black and poor in the inner city*. New York: Norton.

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education, 8*(1), 69–91.

Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zúñiga, X., & Nagda, B. A. (2001). Design considerations for intergroup dialogue. In D. Schoem & S. Hurtado (Eds.), *Intergroup dialogue: Deliberative democracy in school, college, community and workplace* (pp. 306–327). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Zúñiga, X., Nagda, B. R. A., & Sevig, T. D. (2002). Intergroup dialogues: An educational model for cultivating engagement across differences. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 35*(1), 7–17.

Zúñiga, X., Nagda, B. R. A., Chesler, M., & Cytron-Walker, A. (2011). *Intergroup dialogue in higher education: Meaningful learning about social justice* (ASHE Higher Education Report, Vol. 32, No. 4). San Francisco: Wiley.

Teacher Education for High-Poverty Schools in Australia: The National Exceptional Teachers for Disadvantaged Schools Program

Bruce Burnett and Jo Lampert

Abstract This chapter focuses on teacher education for high-poverty schools in Australia and suggests that a contextualization of poverty is an important step in identifying solutions to the persistent gaps in how teachers are prepared to teach in schools where they can make a lasting difference. Understanding how poverty *looks different* between and within different countries provides a reminder of the complexities of disadvantage. Similarities exist within OECD countries; however, differences are also evident. This is something that initial teacher education (ITE) solutions need to take into account. While Australia has a history of initiatives designed to address teacher education for high-poverty schools, this chapter provides a particular snapshot of Australia's National Exceptional Teachers for Disadvantaged Schools program (NETDS), a large-scale, national partnership between universities and Departments of Education, which is partially supported by philanthropic funding.

1 Introduction

The impact of poverty on education has been raised as a recurring theme clearly linked to student learning outcomes, but preparing teachers for the complexities of teaching within high-poverty settings has received surprisingly little traction at the programmatic level within initial teacher education (ITE) courses in Australia. Despite the fact that there have been several influential attempts since the 1970s to direct our attention towards the impact of poverty on educational outcomes, there remains little consistency with respect to how ITE should address poverty within the many and varied Australian preservice courses. Nonetheless, a number of significant research projects over the last several decades have contributed to deeper understandings of teachers' work in high-poverty schools in Australia. These have had an important impact on teacher education and include the *Disadvantaged*

B. Burnett (✉) • J. Lampert
Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, QLD, Australia
e-mail: b.burnett@qut.edu.au; j.lampert@qut.edu.au

Schools Program (1972–1991), designed to provide Australian Government funding to assist schools in improving students' learning outcomes in disadvantaged areas (Connell et al. 1991), and The *Fair Go Project* (Munns et al. 2013), which examined the attributes and pedagogies of teachers who are successful at engaging students from poor backgrounds. These selected examples have each addressed educational issues related to poverty and disadvantage, and illustrate the fact that while there is little consensus surrounding a single path forward for teacher educators, many within the sector have long been working towards preparing new teachers who are able to better understand the complex contexts of poverty and how this impacts on students and the schools in which they will be teaching.

In addition to the initiatives mentioned above and their associated research, we note the Australian Government's attempt over the past 5 years to address the established relationship between individual levels of socio-economic disadvantage amongst students and their academic outcomes. The proposed redistributive school funding model colloquially known as 'The Gonski Review' (Gonski et al. 2011), together with other key policy initiatives, such as the Smarter Schools Partnerships (Australian Government 2014), which have sought to address school-based socio-economic disadvantage were, however, abandoned after the election in 2013 when the Australian Government changed. The comprehensive set of recommendations stemming from *The review of funding for schooling* (Gonski et al. 2011) was argued by the incoming Australian Government to have failed because of what was perceived to be the insurmountable complexities of implementing a new funding model that required the collaboration of state and federal governments, which each hold different responsibilities for education.

With over 100 reviews of teacher education in Australia since the 1970s (Dyson 2005; Mayer 2014), it is clear that a range of programs and policy, some very promising, have come and gone. Indeed, the *Review of funding for schooling* is representative of the transience and instability of Australian educational policies and their related programs, which have made it extremely difficult for teacher educators to create sustainable ways that better prepare new teachers for the high-poverty schools that need them most. While the policy impact within university-based, mainstream ITE courses has been mixed, there have been sustained calls for teacher-educators to focus on the specific effects of poverty, something Anderson and Stillman (2010) suggest is crucial if *all* teachers are to be prepared to teach *all* children. Calls for more quality teachers across high-poverty settings is not something new, and it is important to note the considerable advances made in ITE course design in Australia, which include promoting and embedding Indigenous perspectives (EATSIPS: Embedding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Perspectives in Schools) (Department of Education, Training and Employment 2014); better recruiting and supporting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Teachers through the More Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Teachers Initiative (2014); ensuring ITE students are exposed to issues of diversity (Mills and Ballantyne 2010) and made familiar with the complexities of poverty and disadvantage (Connell 2009; Vickers and Ferfolja 2006). While the term *disadvantaged* is without question inadequate, the authors of this chapter maintain its use within a broad discussion of high-poverty schools because in certain contexts:

though the students in schools located in 'poor' communities are not necessarily disadvantaged within their own communities, it is the school settings we refer to here. In part, we argue that these schools are disadvantaged because of their teachers or the lack of cultural safety or responsivity within the school community. After much and ongoing debate, we prefer 'disadvantaged schools' to 'challenging' or 'complex' schools. All schools are challenging and complex; not all schools socio-economically disadvantaged. (Burnett et al. 2013, p. 162)

One of the key impediments to embedding critical understandings of poverty within mainstream ITE programs relates to the sustainability of programs that are dependent on ever-shifting policy, funding and political agendas that are played out in the face of an ever-increasing regulatory climate of increased scrutiny. Questions about how to *do* better teacher preparation to produce the best teachers for high-poverty schools are difficult within a climate of prescriptive reforms and high-stakes accreditation for teachers. Despite the plethora of research on social justice education, this changing climate shapes all teachers' work, including pedagogy, curriculum, and assessment. It determines perceptions of practicum and exposure to the field and influences how a system-wide approach and the scaling-up of ITE programs can be effective, sustainable, and evidence-based, while remaining ethical and socially just. This chapter begins by first looking at the broad issue of poverty in Australia and attempts to contextualize how poverty impacts on schools and how this differs across the country depending on the urban, rural, or remote context. The aim here is to provide an overview of how poverty is identified in the Australian context, including how poverty is increasingly determined using a range of data-driven accountabilities that draw on complex algorithms that measure and compare. These, we argue, have impacted on a re-articulation of key concepts, such as social justice and equity, which are increasingly aligned with an economic perspective that has led to parallel changes to what is now counted as social justice/equity, and how both are measured and re-articulated (Lingard et al. 2014).

The second section of the chapter provides an overview of the National Exceptional Teachers for Disadvantaged Schools (NETDS) program as a case in point of how it is possible to embed a program designed to prepare high-achieving teachers for high-poverty schools within an overarching 4-year traditional Bachelor of Education degree. We suggest that the model successfully circumvents many (though not all) of the core issues by working within existing structures of an ITE course (Lampert and Burnett 2014).

2 Contextualizing Poverty in Australia

The chapters provided in this edited collection stand as testament to a growing international movement targeting the provision of ITE for high-poverty schools. Current research in this area identifies several common elements considered crucial (though often lacking) in the preparation of teachers who will work in schools whose students are disadvantaged or come from low socio-economic status (low-SES) families. These include elements such as familiarity with culturally sensitive pedagogies

(Villegas 2007); cultural diversity (Ball and Tyson 2011; Santoro and Forghani-Aran 2013); principles of social justice (Cochran-Smith et al. 2009; Sleeter 2008); and the ability to critique systems (Thomson 2014). Within Australia, some research exists on quality teaching as it specifically relates to schools in low-SES areas (for example, Munns et al. 2013; Lampert and Burnett 2014); however, while there appears to be overall agreement that effective teachers do not exist in a vacuum, and teaching alone cannot change the effects of poverty, very little has been written to explain the differences in how poverty presents itself in different contexts, and why this might matter in theorizing teacher education. While it is recognized that even the best teachers cannot be expected (or be held completely accountable) for shifting the achievement gap (Mills 2012), there is often little discussion of how poverty, as a contextualized, complex and nuanced factor, plays out and impacts on schools. This first section of this chapter attempts to answer these core questions: What does poverty look like? How does it differ across nations? Why does this matter for teacher education?

We believe that important to any discussion about preparing teachers for high-poverty schools is a process of defining *poverty*, which looks different across the world. Poverty in Bangladesh, for example, is visible in a way that is very different to Australia, which looks different again from poverty in the U.K., U.S., Canada, Spain, or Chile. Although globalized activities and research surrounding disadvantage have much in common, making differences more visible is important in terms of understanding the complexities of poverty and providing the discursive space to produce novel windows of opportunity for interpretation and intervention. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (1996) recognizes that that in a relatively affluent country like Australia, the meaning of poverty is quite different from the absolute deprivation or subsistence poverty which exists in many developing countries. There is little debate that poverty is clearly an issue in Australia, but poverty research highlights how fundamental differences exist in the definitions of poverty and how it should be measured (Lister 2004). Basic needs, for example, may be met in a relatively affluent country such as Australia; however, many families live in what is termed *relative poverty* and are socially excluded and unable to participate in the normal spheres of consumption and activity which together define social participation and national identity (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996). In a country that claims to be a meritocracy, this form of social exclusion not only often goes unnoticed, but is also sometimes dismissed both by politicians and the media, and consequently, public opinion (Creighton 2014). The flow-on impact positions poverty in the public psyche as not only exaggerated, but also part of a broader process connected to notions of *welfare dependency*. Denial of poverty, however, is of little use to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and/or immigrants and refugees, who make up the poorest of Australia's population. A denial of poverty does little to help explain how children in low-SES urban, rural, and remote communities in Australia struggle to meet test-based educational benchmarks, nor does it help to explain their under-representation both in tertiary study and in employment. It is disturbing to note that recent data shows significantly increasing rates of poverty in Australia, particularly among groups such as single people over the age of 65,

unemployed people, the *working poor*, and single-parent families. *The UnitingCare poverty*, *social exclusion and disadvantage in Australia* report, for example, lists Australia's poverty rate as having increased since 2000/2001 from 10.2 % to 11.8 % (Phillips et al. 2013), which is somewhat sobering considering information that ranks Australia as second in the world for average wealth. Considerable time is taken in another recent report (McLachlan et al. 2013) to explain the how poverty in Australia is linked to educational outcomes for children and how it impacts on their future opportunities.

The Henderson Poverty Line (HPL), an Australian poverty benchmark developed in the 1970s, estimates poverty based on household disposable income per capita (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996). Used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (Census data), the HPL determines a figure for poverty based on household income data as it becomes available. In 1973, the Henderson Poverty Inquiry put the *poverty line* in Australia, for a couple with two children, at an income of $62.70 a week, equivalent to about $28,600 a year in 2014. While the HPL is often criticized for its over-emphasis of primary income as the most important, overly simplistic measure of poverty (Saunders 2005), the HPL has, for many years, strongly influenced policy in Australia. Importantly, however, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) poverty line (set at 50 % of the median disposable income for all Australians) is also currently used. Defining poverty as relative rather than absolute (Sen 1983) is crucial in discussing what poverty *looks like* in any nation, with the discourse of social exclusion an effective tool to open up and unpack the fact that poverty is about more than economics, or lack of income, and in turn, that the ways to reduce poverty will also take more than the provision of funding and must take into account a range of factors that constitute forms of deprivation. The Australian Council of Social Service (2011) uses a more nuanced definition of poverty that positions poverty as

> a relative concept used to describe the people in a society that cannot afford the essentials that others take for granted. While many Australians juggle payments of bills, people living in poverty have to make difficult choices, such as skipping a meal to pay for a child's textbooks. People living in poverty not only have low levels of income; they also miss out on opportunities and resources that most take for granted, such as adequate health and dental care, housing, education, employment opportunities, food and recreation. (p. 1)

As in several other OECD countries, policy in Australia has been constructed around an overt commitment that *no child should live in poverty*. Former Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke later retracted this statement as unrealistic, but made the pledge in 1987 as part of his election campaign and called on the country to eradicate child poverty by 1990. Nonetheless, the UnitingCare report cites that more than 20 years after this commitment, almost one-quarter of the 2.6 million Australians living under the poverty line are dependent children under 25 (Phillips et al. 2013) and nearly 600,000 (or 17.3 %) of Australia's children are currently living in poverty (Georgatos 2013). International concerns about child poverty, as it is related to education, are multiple. U.S. attempts to address this issue through policy intervention are often linked in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), which has, over the years, seen many subsequent iterations such as the

highly debated No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB). While the manner in which various international policy interventions vary, each shares a clear area of overlap with the Australian context in a belief that the effects of poverty have an impact on low education levels and, at the same time, that poor education increases the subsequent risks of continuing to live in poverty.

It is possible to observe a long history of research into teacher quality and poverty that highlights broad equity disparities in educational outcomes and attempts to explain differential effects on dissimilar groups of students (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Connell et al. 1991; Darling-Hammond 2004). However, another dilemma faced by teacher-educators, in addressing the issue of poverty within an ITE course, is that poverty is often specific to a geographical location, with the majority of research coming from the U.S., where, for instance, the term *urban education* (Pink and Noblit 2008) has come to seem synonymous with a broad amalgam that includes poverty, racialized practices, and cultural diversity. It is possible to observe a similar process in Australia, where issues related to poverty are often conflated. For instance, while each of these communities may experience poverty, there are significant differences in issues faced, for example, by remote Indigenous communities, poor farming communities, and inner-city suburbs.

Hence, while we can observe multiple discourses on poverty and education that use different terminology variously describing the context as disadvantaged (Connell et al. 1991), hard-to-staff (Darling-Hammond 2004), or at-risk (Gonski et al. 2011), we maintain that these similarities and differences are not superficial and that it is crucial for teacher-educators to avoid both a generic understanding of poverty and a broad non-specific framing of the solution/s. We argue that discussions with preservice teachers surrounding the high-poverty schools in which they will be teaching must be more clearly linked to geography and interwoven with the unique sets of issues embedded within that context. Therefore, although research surrounding poverty and education may have much in common, it is important to distinguish how the socio-demographic/economic mix varies greatly from North American urban, inner-city contexts that are closely aligned to notions of race and ethnicity (Delpit 2006), through to Australian contexts where distinct rural and remote settings see the impact of poverty compounded by a very different set of dynamics (Sommerville and Rennie 2012).

The complex, multi-dimensional nature of disadvantage in Australia includes a combination of indicators. NETDS, which is discussed in the second half of this chapter, uses *The index of community socio-educational advantage* (ICSEA) scale (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority 2012), which is applied nationally to all schools across Australia to measure and express the levels of educational advantage in a particular school. The index is available on *My School* (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority) a website funded by the Australian Government that provides a range of information about the profile of all Australian schools. The information used to determine the ICSEA score includes both student-level and school-level factors obtained from a range of data that comprises previous national benchmark test results, student enrollment records, parental occupation and school education levels, non-school education, and language/ethnic

backgrounds. The ICSEA data published on the My School website (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority n.d.) is an easily accessible public resource that can be used to broadly identify schools that provide education to students and families who live in relative poverty or experience other kinds of educational disadvantage. ICSEA data has, however, been criticized as being heavily shaped by a benchmark test-predictive algorithm and as potentially encouraging, rather than discouraging, social reproduction and social differentiation (Reid 2010). Nonetheless, ICSEA serves as useful as a reminder that the quality of teacher classroom practice has a significant impact in terms of the effects a school has on student learning, especially in relation to students from disadvantaged backgrounds. While we would argue that we must complement data-driven models with theorized notions of poverty and social justice, ICESA does serve as a useful indicator or tool, and as a significant data set providing information about the socio-economic status of schools in Australia. Importantly, ICSEA provides an easily accessible snapshot of high-poverty school locations that teacher-educators are able to use as a resource, not only in their teaching, but also to build relationships with key schools and open avenues for ITE field placements.

While the Australian educational landscape may be characterized by schools that perform relatively well overall in terms of international Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) results, the Australian educational system is also characterized by strong concentrations of disadvantage and advantage or high quality / low equity (Thomson et al. 2010). The factors that impact on such dis/advantage have a visible impact on the educational outcomes of Australian schools, which extend beyond poverty or socio-economic status to include factors such as "Indigeneity, a lack of English language proficiency, disability and school remoteness" (Gonski et al. 2011, p. 126). It is clear that the interaction between these factors of disadvantage is complex. Students often experience multiple and compounded factors that place them at higher risk. This chapter focuses on a specific ITE program that attempts to prepare teachers for high-poverty settings, with the recognition that the impact of poverty may differ between communities. For instance, Indigenous and refugee students may experience more than just the material effects of poverty, but also, for example, the impact of culturally inappropriate curriculum and racism. In addition, these students may speak languages other than English, live in remote areas, and be more likely to be labeled as having a disability that affects their learning (Gonski et al. 2011, p. 123). These complexities are mentioned here as a reminder that there is no such singular thing as poverty, nor is there a simple pedagogical or curriculum-based *answer* that preservice teachers can learn in their teacher-education course without a foundational introduction to the effects and changing nature of poverty. As Goodwin et al. (2014) point out, "diversity, social justice, and multiculturalism must undergird the pedagogy of teacher education" (p. 298). Without deep understanding of disadvantage, it is unlikely that teachers will be able to shift their deficit perceptions and low expectations of their students because these are as much about teachers' beliefs as specific pedagogical strategies.

On a final note, we stress that in many cases it is low socio-economic status that constitutes an overarching component or element of poverty onto which other

factors compound. Sellar and Lingard (2014) remind us that Hattie, whose research on teacher effect factors has been influential in Australia and elsewhere, has himself cautioned that while good teachers can make a difference, this should not be mistaken for claiming they can change the effects of a world in which some students are disadvantaged by poverty, racism, and isolation.

3   Teacher Education and Its Role in Addressing Poverty

Raewyn Connell's leadership of Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's *Disadvantaged Schools Program* (DSP) in the 1970s to the early 1990s was historically significant in Australia and provides a reminder of how long it has been understood that teachers benefit from deep and scholarly insights into the lives of disadvantaged children and families. More recently, Connell (2009) writes again that

> questions about the goals of education are questions about the direction in which we want a social order to move, given that societies cannot avoid changing. This is where questions of privilege and social justice in education arise; they are fundamental to the project, not add-ons. (p. 225)

Connell (2009) explains that calls for systemic changes in ITE are crucial if all children are to receive equitable educational opportunities. However, a focus on poverty is easily lost among an increasingly crowded teacher-education curriculum. Additionally, in a climate that values measurable, high-stakes outcomes over other educational outcomes, such as social justice and social change, subjects such as Behavior Management increasingly take priority over sociocultural studies or studies in social justice. For instance, subjects such as Indigenous studies are often an elective within an ITE course, while preservice teachers may be required to take multiple courses in assessment or literacy. Mills (2012) describes a typical approach within many ITE programs as being simply to "add a course or two on multicultural education but leave the rest of the curriculum largely intact" (p. 41). This re/prioritizing of what is taught in ITE is reflected in the National Professional Standards for Teachers (Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership [AITSL]) and has been described by Sellar and Lingard (2014) as a process "prescriptive of desirable pedagogies" (p. 14). Research from both the U.S. and Australia confirms that it is difficult for stand-alone courses to have a major influence on preservice teachers' existing beliefs in relation to social justice and diversity (McDiarmid 1990; Mills and Ballantyne 2010). Therefore it is reasonable to suggest that an emphasis on, for example, Behavior Management or classroom discipline holds the potential to reinforce deficit views among preservice teachers with respect to working in the high-poverty sector.

The teaching of sociology of education courses within ITE programs in Australia has been in decline since the 1990s. It would appear that with each restructure and with each review of the teacher-education model less and less space within the

4-year degree has been allocated to Sociology of Education. Contemporary versions of courses tend to fall under the heading of sociocultural studies of education and are required to include a grab-all of content squashed into a 9–13 week semester. While traditional bread and butter sociology of education topics around gender, race, and social class are provided in early introductory courses, they are rarely attached to the field experiences or practicum (which is where preservice teachers often believe they get their *real* learning). Skattebol et al. (2012) find the same over-emphasis on discipline and Behavior Management among teachers in high-poverty schools in Australia, documenting that teachers (and their students considered *at risk*) mostly identified "'good' teaching with effectively supervised entry and exit from classrooms, the monitoring of noise levels, clear instructions, monitored work, and the clear punishment for non-compliance" (p. v).

We stress that a major component of the evolving discourse related to teacher quality increasingly ignores the social context of the school. In the absence of coursework focusing on social justice and equity in relation to high-poverty contexts, preservice teachers can be forgiven for focusing heavily on how their students will perform on literacy and numeracy tests, and interpreting these results as solely the effect of their *good* or *bad* teaching. Without a deeper understanding of the multi-faceted social context of the school, preservice teachers understandably see these student outcomes as the sole responsibility of teachers, who are potentially perceived as failures if the outcomes are below standard. It is unfortunate, therefore, that much of the current climate frames teacher quality in Australia as independent of social, cultural, and economic factors, such as poverty and remoteness, which affect student achievement. How teacher-education is done, thus, becomes part of a potentially dangerous discourse that sees the work of teachers as unrelated to context and subsequently allows schools (and Education Faculties) to distance themselves from having any responsibility for social change. Hence, this leads to a somewhat disjointed message to the preservice teachers who increasingly are skeptical about sociocultural studies or social justice curriculum having any real use or impact on their role as teachers.

4　Addressing Poverty Within an ITE Course: The Example of NETDS

NETDS began at the Queensland University of Technology (QUT) in 2009 in an attempt to address what we saw as a gap in the 4-year ITE program (a Bachelor of Education). Although there were pockets within the coursework that drew preservice teachers' attention to indigenous education, inclusive education, and equity, especially within the existing sociocultural foundation subjects, there was no systematic approach to including issues of poverty in how teachers were prepared. Despite the lack of attention in coursework, many of the preservice teachers were required to do their practicum placements in high-poverty schools across the outer

suburbs of Brisbane. The preservice teachers saw this placement process as a lottery and many feared being placed in schools for which they had received little or no specific support or guidance. This seemed unconscionable on several levels because not only was much known about the effect of good teachers on disadvantaged students, but also our graduate destination data indicated that many of these preservice teachers would end up being employed as early career teachers in these same high-poverty schools because they often employ more early career and inexperienced teachers (Buchanan et al. 2013). In addition, a more fine-grained examination of this graduate destination data within our Education Faculty at QUT (and within Australia) indicated that our highest achieving graduates, including those who had expressed a strong sense of justice and desire to work in low-SES schools, were being *snapped up* by what are, in Australia, called *leafy green* schools (middle-class, inner-city schools) and private/independent schools.

With this in mind, NETDS sought to find a way to focus on poverty within the existing mainstream course in the most efficient (and sustainable) way possible, by inviting a small group of high-achieving Bachelor of Education students to be part of a special cohort. The students in this cohort would be offered a specialized curriculum on poverty and disadvantage, given careful mentoring in a new partnership between schools and the university, and be part of an *elite* community of practice, whereby specially prepared preservice teachers would support each other. Due to the fact that NETDS was not a new course, and in contrast, sat within the existing 4-year Bachelor of Education program, there was no need to embark on the arduous process of university approval, nor were there any course progression implications for the students involved. While time-consuming to coordinate, it was, even initially, unexpectedly successful. Participants felt privileged to be invited, bonding within the group was strong and occurred over a very short period of time. Unsurprisingly, the high-poverty schools involved were delighted when they were told they would receive *the best* of our Bachelor of Education students on practicum. As a result of the ease with which the model dovetailed into the existing traditional ITE programs, combined with over 90 % of participants choosing to begin their teaching careers in a high-poverty school, NETDS (now entering its sixth year) received continued support from QUT, the Queensland Government Education Department, and more recently, major philanthropic support from The Origin Foundation to *scale up* the model and move it nationally into other Australian universities. NETDS programs are currently offered in five universities around the country, with two more to come on board in 2015. In short, the NETDS program has proven to be transferable, scalable, and have demonstrated outcomes in terms of ensuring academically high-achieving preservice teachers are employed in schools where they have the greatest impact.

NETDS is premised on a number of factors. First, the program is based on the notion that in Australia (as in other OECD countries), there is no lack of talented preservice teachers already enrolled in our mainstream Faculties of Education, and that these future teachers can be better prepared to understand issues of social justice and equity, and encouraged to take up teaching positions in high-poverty schools. Second, effective/quality teachers within high-poverty schools need a deep and nuanced understanding of the impact of poverty and disadvantage on families, children, and youth, and their academic outcomes. Third, while we believe all stu-

dents should receive knowledge within their degree specifically related to the impact of poverty and disadvantage, until university education faculties are able to, or choose to, make social justice a mainstream component within their degree, then smaller niche programs such as NETDS (which are far less resource-intensive and more easily coordinated), allow faculties to pilot elite specialized programs with selected cohorts. Aspects of NETDS are, however, non-negotiable and include:

- the selection of participants on the basis of high achievement and commitment
- the close partnerships between schools and university with multiple, carefully mentored field placement
- an emphasis on reflection
- a strong community of practice that involves both face-to-face and social networking.

The first NETDS program, based in Queensland, has now graduated approximately 90 teachers. In 2008, prior to the graduation of the first NETDS group, only 35 % of a similar snapshot of these high-achieving graduates ended up in high-poverty settings; however, currently, over 90 % of NETDS graduates have successfully gained employment in schools in urban, rural, and remote low-SES communities (see Table 1). While it was unanticipated at the start of the program, a surprising result has been the degree to which we are increasingly involved in the employment cycle as the preservice teachers approach graduation. We have worked progressively more closely with the Education Department and their Human Resources departments, along with a growing number of principals from low-SES schools who all see advantages in early intervention and offering NETDS graduates teaching positions early in the employment cycles to prevent losing these specially prepared teachers to more affluent schools.

Table 1 NETDS graduate destinations

Graduates	Students employed as teachers in first year after graduation	Average school ICSEA	Employed in schools with ICSEA levels <1000	Employed in schools with ICSEA levels >1000
QUT BEd 2007–2011 (Similar GPA profile to ETDS>6.0)	85.5 % or 71/83	1039 (based on employment postcodes from Graduate Destination Survey)	35.3 % or 25/71	64.7 % or 46/71
ETDS Cohort 1 2011	94 % or 17/18	913 Range: 614–1020	82.35 % or 14/17	17.65 % or 3/17
ETDS Cohort 2 2012	96 % or 24/25	932 Range: 861–1039	91.66 % or 22/24	8.34 % or 2/24
ETDS Cohort 3 2013	93.75 % or 15/16	913 Range: 589–1141	93.33 % or 14/15	6.66 % or 1/15
ETDS Cohort 4 2014	100 % or 26/26 (28 graduating, one each further studies/ moving interstate	940 Range:741–1126	84.62 % or 22/26	15.38 % or 4/26

The graduation data provided in Table 1 confirms the turnaround in where NETDS graduates have accepted teaching positions. It is clear that what was once the least preferred schooling sector is now the first choice of employment for close to 90 % of NETDS graduates. We are attempting to obtain more data to verify the degree to which this specialized, social-justice-oriented teacher preparation makes a tangible and evidence-based difference to preservice teachers (who feel better prepared on a range of levels), principals (who increasingly request NETDS-prepared teachers), and government departments of education (which are currently supporting research on the academic impact that these teachers have on students). While NETDS has demonstrated success over a number of years in placing high-performing graduates in high-poverty schools, we have moved to the next stage of the research and are now examining the impact such graduates are having and the implications for ITE programs. In particular, a current Australian Research Council Linkage project in collaboration with the Queensland Education Department is now enabling us to look at the issues of quality teaching within high-poverty schools, specifically in relation to graduates from the NETDS program.

The overt objective of NETDS is channeling the highest achieving graduate teachers into teaching positions within schools that need them most. This objective is clearly redistributive (Mills 2012) in nature, but the program also aims more broadly to build teacher capacity with a specific emphasis on the skills, knowledge, and attributes teachers need for diverse and complex settings (Howard and Aleman 2008). At the same time, the program has been developed in the belief that well-qualified teachers have an understanding of the complexities of the contexts in which children live. One of the most controversial aspects of the program has been an initial selection of preservice teachers based on their high academic achievement as determined at the end of their second year of a 4-year Bachelor of Education degree. However, we believe that teachers should be both caring and have high levels of content knowledge (Darling-Hammond 2004, p. 1940), and importantly, that these are not mutually exclusive. Unfortunately, within many high-poverty Australian schools, teachers often are responsible for classes that are out of their trained subject/discipline areas. In addition, several of our NETDS partner schools have been faced with scenarios in which they have never had teachers on staff who have been qualified to teach key subjects such as Senior Physics, which seriously limits the future study options of their students.

A variety of teacher experiences and attributes appear to contribute to achievement gains made by teachers, including:

- teachers' general and academic and verbal ability
- subject matter knowledge
- knowledge about teaching and learning as reflected in teacher-education background
- teaching experience
- the combined set of qualifications measured by teacher certification, which includes most of the preceding factors (Darling-Hammond and Youngs 2002).

Although NETDS participants are familiarized with theory related to social justice and taught to understand the importance of (and how to engage in) such things as critical reflection (Ball 2009), other attributes, such as resilience and a sense of efficacy (Tschannen-Moran and Woolfolk Hoy 2001), are crucial (and part of the program). After 6 years of running the program, we believe that many of these attributes, including a sense of social justice, can be taught, enhanced, and nurtured among preservice teachers. Before participating in NETDS, many did not know that they had, for example, a passion for working in high-poverty schools.

For an extended period of time, educational researchers have focused on the broad disparities in educational outcomes and attempted to explain differential effects on dissimilar groups of students. Within ITE, we see this body of research represented in what Cochran-Smith and Villegas (2016) define as the broad research cluster of *teacher preparation for diversity and equity*. NETDS sits within this cluster and provides a sociocultural framework for viewing and understanding teaching, schooling, and education, while at the same time challenging preservice teachers' beliefs and practices in relation to diversity and diverse learners within the changing social, cultural, and historical contexts of education. The program taps into the degree to which homogeneous teaching populations are prepared to engage with the heterogeneous populations of students (Cochran-Smith and Villegas 2016). NETDS is an example of an ITE program that includes:

- both university coursework and field-based opportunities on learning to teach diverse student populations
- strategies for recruiting and preparing a diverse teaching force
- analyses of the content, structures, and pedagogies for preparing teacher candidates for diversity
- analyses of teacher-educator learning for, and experiences with, diversity.

The research conducted in relation to NETDS focuses on, and is underpinned by, sociocultural understandings of educational disadvantage and complex frameworks of quality teaching to examine how teachers' skills, attributes, and knowledge are mediated by a specialized teacher-education program. We engage multiple methods to track NETDS graduate destinations, modify specialized curriculum, and seek to better understand the nature and impact of quality teaching within low-SES settings. Research methods include quantitative analysis of data collected from teacher-efficacy surveys and data about student outcomes supplied by the Queensland Government Department of Education. We also employ qualitative analysis to investigate quality teaching in relation to preservice and early career teachers using interviews and reflective journals with respect to quality teaching. As mentioned earlier, in partnership with the Queensland Department of Education and QUT, a current Linkage grant funded by the Australian Research Council involves a 3-year study of effective teaching in low-SES schools, and aims to produce a Quality Teaching Matrix that takes the context of poverty into account.

The following section outlines some of the key principles of NETDS and explains how these have allowed the program to be more easily scaled and transferred to other mainstream ITE programs across the country.

4.1 NETDS Demonstrates That It Is Possible to Attract High-Achieving Preservice Teachers into a Specific Program Targeting High-Poverty Schools

All third-year students with Grade Point Averages (GPA) in the top 10 % are invited and interviewed to participate in the program. Approximately 90 % of those invited now accept and in its sixth year of operation, approximately 200 teachers will have been prepared through an NETDS program in one of five participating universities by 2015. The Faculty of Education at the original flagship program at QUT now considers part of its mainstream core business to involve the nurturing of high-achieving teachers and facilitating their successful employment in high-poverty schools. While NETDS programs at partner universities only began in 2014, similar participation rates are being replicated. Over the 6 years NETDS has operated, it is increasingly evident that academic excellence (as indicated by a high GPA) suggests high content/subject knowledge and frees up the NETDS program to focus on other significant attributes required within high-poverty schools, such as resilience, a sense of social justice, and a sophisticated understanding of poverty and disadvantage. We agree that good grades are by no means the only measure of a good teacher, but we also know that students from low-SES background are most vulnerable and most affected by ineffective teachers (Lim et al. 2013, p. 1), and that many high-poverty schools have historically had less access to the top graduates of ITE programs. As Lim et al. (2013) remind us, "[f]or students suffering from a 'double dose' of disadvantage, academic school quality may indeed have a critical impact on their completing school" (p. 20). In reality, selecting ITE students on the basis of their grades half way through their course avoids many of the controversies surrounding entry-level Australian Tertiary Admission Ranks (ATAR) because participants are selected on the basis that they are already performing exceptionally well within their ITE course. Critically, their GPA at this second-year stage of their course indicates how they have performed not only on early practicum placements, but also, importantly, across all foundation, pedagogy, and curriculum-based subjects.

4.2 NETDS Provides a Multipronged Model of Teacher Education that Prepares High-Quality Preservice Teachers for Teaching Within High-Poverty Schools

The NETDS program revolves around a carefully designed balance of exposure to on-campus theory, opportunity for practical exposure to high-poverty schools on practicum, and facilitated employment opportunities on graduation. NETDS participants work as a cohort within core/foundation subjects within their ITE degree and have their second, third, and fourth practicum placements, as well as an internship, in a range of high-poverty schools. The bridging of theory and practice, and the partnership with schools are key elements of any successful teacher-education program (Korthagen 2010) and are fundamental to the program. The NETDS cohort

participates throughout their third and fourth years in a number of carefully men-
tored workshops and externally funded government-sponsored activities and con-
ferences in which they are nurtured and supported via face-to-face meetings, social
networking, and scaffolded coaching. Members of the NETDS *community* provide
ongoing support for each other, both peer-to-peer, and in more mentored ways. The
impact of what constitutes a *sense of community* cannot be over-emphasized
because, as Buchanan et al. (2013) note,

> when experienced colleagues share their expertise and their resources generously, [early
> career teachers] hear how other teachers cope with the demands of the job. This collegiality
> can serve as a morale-booster to newcomers, both in terms of new knowledge, insights and
> perspectives gained, and in terms of a welcoming gesture to the profession and to the
> school. (p. 118)

4.3 NETDS Provides a Model of Teacher Education that Ensures Employment of These High-Quality Graduate Teachers Within High-Poverty Schools

We have learnt the importance of collaboration with employers, particularly links to
the Queensland Department of Education and key school principals who intervene to
facilitate the employment cycle. The unique collaboration between university-based
teacher-education, school-based exposure, and government support has ensured a
productive alliance that has proven extremely successful in channeling these highly
effective graduates into high-poverty schools. Graduation destination data from 2007
to 2011 shows that 65 % of similar profiled graduates chose employment in more
affluent schools (see Table 1). This figure has increased to close to 90 % across four
graduating NETDS cohorts since 2011. Through a trusting and mutually respectful
partnership fostered among QUT, future employers, and the Department of Education,
NETDS has embarked on assisting schools in developing the kind of sustainable
"employment-based pathway" that the Australian Productivity Commission: Schools
Workforce Report (Productivity Commission 2012) suggested was crucial to teacher-
education initiatives which "depend in part, on the effectiveness of other reforms in
attracting high-quality individuals into teaching as a profession" (p. 14).

4.4 NETDS Shows It Is Possible to Successfully Transfer and Scale This Model of High-Poverty Teacher-Education from One University to Another

In 2013, NETDS began a scaling-up process to engage Faculties of Education in
universities across Australia to replicate similar models of teacher-education target-
ing high-poverty schools (see Fig. 1). On the basis of philanthropic funding pro-
vided by The Origin Foundation, NETDS programs were initiated in 2013 at the

Fig. 1 The scaling-up of
NETDS
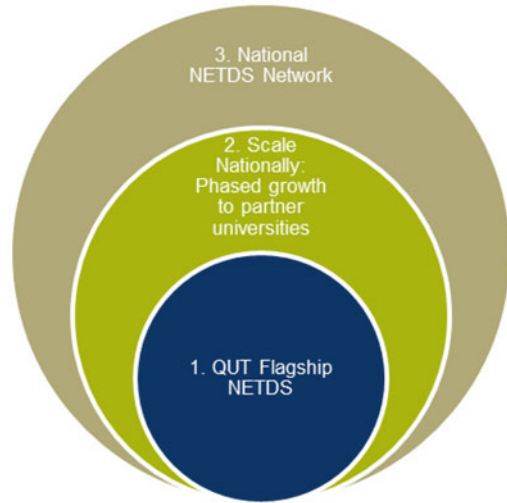
University of New England and Newcastle University, both in New South Wales. In 2014, two more universities, Deakin University (Victoria) and University of South Australia (South Australia) began similar NETDS programs. Two new universities will begin programs in 2015. It is important to note the significance of a model that is proving both transferrable and adaptable to various university contexts, which include remote teacher-education programs, as well as those serving both urban and rural communities. By 2017, more than seven Australian universities will be offering NETDS programs within their ITE degrees. Hence, NETDS constitutes a systemic attempt within the Australian context to address the issue of attracting, nurturing, and employing the most effective teachers for historically under-served high-poverty schools. The manner in which the program has been scaled and its success in effectively ensuring graduates are employed in high-poverty schools have been noted in the Australian Government's 2014 Teacher Education Ministerial Advisory Group (TEMAG) review.

4.5 NETDS as a National Platform for Information Sharing, Networking, and Leadership on Teaching Quality, Recruitment, and Retention

The expansion of NETDS to the national level continues to provide new understandings across different state/university contexts in terms of how to attract, prepare, and employ the best teachers for high-poverty schools. A summary of these includes:

- Australian universities currently have no shortage of high-quality, talented pre-service teachers; however, the issue is providing a conduit that both facilitates

and encourages them to dedicate (at least part) of their careers to teaching in disadvantaged schools. The NETDS model demonstrates that when given the proper preparation and ongoing support, there is little need within Australia to look for more controversial alternative-entry source of teachers.

- Productive collaborations can and do exist and have been maintained between universities and employers within the high-poverty schooling sector. These relationships provide avenues for employment and leadership, and help to dispel the myth of a university–school divide.
- Dispositions such as resilience, social justice, and efficacy can be nurtured and facilitated within mainstream ITE programs; hence, we believe that while many students come pre-armed with these qualities, they are not necessarily inherent attributes.
- Large-scale communities of dedicated and highly trained teachers are crucial to support both preservice and graduate teachers working within challenging, high-poverty schools; programs need to be sustained both in universities and schools in order to avoid *slide-back*.

5 Concluding Comments: Embedding a High-Poverty Focus Across Australian Mainstream ITE

The unpacking of poverty within an Australian context (combined with an understanding of Australian policy and practices around teacher-education) help to explain the importance of developing a national ITE focus on poverty. As discussed earlier, the Australian education system is complicated by the convoluted responsibilities of both federal and state governments. Similar to other OECD countries, Australia has entered a period of heightened focus on national testing and the reporting of student achievement, which has dire effects on teachers' work (Comber 2011). This is particularly evident in changes to the regulatory climate with newly imposed national professional standards for teachers, a new national curriculum, a new national accreditation of teacher-education courses, and a new national framework for teacher development and performance. While each of these developments has been impacted in slightly different ways, we are highly concerned about their combined impact in terms of high-poverty schooling and the flow-on effect of an overwhelming focus on high-stakes testing and a seeming obsession with datafication. High-poverty schools have to deal with a range of new policy considerations and their resultant regulatory bottlenecks, and for the most part, the process seems to considered in isolation or with the

> total exclusion of any consideration whatsoever of contextual factors such as students' socio-cultural backgrounds and Indigeneity, despite the plethora of evidence demonstrating their significance in schooling. The policy is about granting schools more autonomy, placing school leaders on performance based contracts and introducing performance bonuses for teachers—all of these policy solutions are derived from the way the policy problem is defined and from the decontextualisation of schools and students. (Sellar and Lingard 2014, p. 13)

There are flow-on implications for ITE as teacher-education in Australia is already a closely scrutinized activity with seemingly perennial reviews and reports that total over 100 since the 1970s, and approximately 40 in the last decade alone (Mayer 2014). The result of the wide-ranging mixture of recommendations that stem from these reviews and reports is an evolving set of confusing and conflicting requirements that compel ITE courses to apply for accreditation through multiple submissions to various government agencies/authorities, each of which is competing to have its voice heard. Adding to the complexity for ITE are the mechanics of supply, and the uncapping of enrollment numbers in 2012 that has seen a steady increase in overall Australian preservice teacher enrollment. Currently, ITE is chastised for producing of an oversupply of teachers in some areas (primary/elementary), while heavily criticized for not creating more secondary/high school teachers in the areas such as mathematics and science. As we move into 2015, ITE is increasingly drawn into ongoing public debate surrounding the entry-level requirements of those accepted into ITE, with proposed exit tests in literacy and numeracy on graduation to be implemented in 2015.

However, it would appear that across the approximately 400 ITE programs offered by 49 distinct institutions in Australian, frequently across multiple campuses and even jurisdictions, there is a sense of *change fatigue* and confusion about how best to address the competing tensions associated with a) ITE course design and b) subsequent accreditation of these courses (Lloyd 2013, p. 56). What is also clear is that a major problem faced by ITE is that there is no single national authority that holds overall control of the sector. Rather, institutions providing ITE must negotiate with numerous agencies and regulatory authorities. Unfortunately, ITE providers are forced to somehow make sense of a system described by Lloyd (2013) as a "complex iterative loop of submission and resubmission," one where the majority of "agencies impacting on the course design of Education degrees appear to have presumed a *tabula rasa* and refused to acknowledge the existence of others" (p. 30). Three of these main agencies competing to define the requisite knowledge of Australian graduate teachers, and by also by implication, competing to influence ITE course design/requirements include:

- national/state statutory curriculum authorities such as ACARA (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority), and in our state of Queensland, the QCAA (Queensland Curriculum and Assessment Authority)
- national and state bodies that both develop and maintain the prescribed professional standards for teachers such as AITSL (Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership), and in Queensland, the QCT (Queensland College of Teachers)
- national policies that regulate the qualification structure and requirements of both universities and other training organizations such as the AQF (Australian Qualifications Framework).

While this complex mixture has clear implications for broad ITE courses, the pressures of reform and associated accreditation are particularly problematic for those promoting social justice within a course because there has been a general

watering down of requirements to include discipline/subject areas traditionally housed within what Cochran-Smith and Villegas (2016) define as *teacher preparation for diversity and equity*. Hence, social justice educators must find new ways to align their teaching and research within the multiple regulatory requirements, and at the same time, compete for space with colleagues within an increasingly crowded curriculum.

The need for effective quality teachers in high-poverty schools, though, is clear. Some of the issues of staffing high-poverty schools in Australia are similar to other *like* countries: we have a largely White, middle-class workforce and a school system that results in "large gaps in achievement between low and high socio-economic groups remain in all year levels of testing" (COAG Reform Council 2013). Recent reviews have made strong recommendations about the need for teachers to be educated in ways that will close the achievement gap (Caldwell and Sutton 2010). Australia has not yet gone quite as far as the U.S. and the U.K. down the road of *alternative pathways* (private teacher-education providers), nor have fast-tracked programs made as many inroads here. While we agree that teachers are not the whole solution to the wider social problem of poverty and disadvantage within Australia, the research seems unequivocal in that effective teachers do make a difference (Hattie 2004). Nevertheless, we provide, in closing, a caution about searching for a panacea. As Luke et al. (2013) make clear, "school reform has multiple dimensions and pathways that defy single, "magic bullet approaches" (p. 417) or "pedagogic trickery" (Gale and Densmore 2000, p. 149). We do not suggest that NETDS, or any other teacher-education program seeking to prepare teachers to work in high-poverty schools, will instantly close the achievement gap, and we caution about putting the entire onus on teachers. We agree with Singh et al. (2014) that there are many factors outside the influence of the school that affect educational achievement, including "factors such as housing, nutrition, health care, parental income, generational poverty, child-rearing, access of educational experiences outside of schooling, and legacies of racism/colonialism on educational underachievement" (p. 3). While the OECD (2012) recognizes that teachers cannot solve all problems, it is clear that "the increasing responsibility given to education systems is in line with the important role that education can play in breaking the link between socio-economic background and life prospects" (p. 18). NETDS and the research it is generating provide some optimism about there being a more sustainable way to prepare teachers to be change agents in high-poverty schools.

References

Anderson, L., & Stillman, J. (2010). Opportunities to teach and learn in high-needs schools: Student teachers' experiences in urban placements. *Urban Education, 45*(2), 109–142.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1996). *Poverty and deprivation in Australia*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.

Australian Council of Social Service. (2011). *Poverty and its causes*. Canberra: Author.

Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA). (2012). *Guide to understanding ICSEA*. Sydney: Author.

Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA). (n.d.). My school. http://www.myschool.edu.au/. Accessed 21 Dec 2014.

Australian Government. (2014). *Smarter schools national partnerships: Low socio-economic status school communities (Final report 2009–2013)*. Canberra: Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations.

Ball, A. (2009). Toward a theory of generative change in culturally and linguistically complex classrooms. *American Educational Research Journal, 46*(1), 45–72.

Ball, A., & Tyson, C. A. (Eds.). (2011). *Studying diversity in teacher education*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. London: Sage.

Buchanan, J., Prescott, A., Schuck, S., Aubusson, P., & Burke, P. (2013). Teacher retention and attrition: Views of early career teachers. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education, 38*(3), 112–129.

Burnett, B., Lampert, J., & Crilly, K. (2013). "I can't believe I just said that": Using guided reflections with non-indigenous pre-service teachers in Australia. *The International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives, 12*(1), 161–179.

Caldwell, B., & Sutton, D. (2010). *Review of teacher education and school induction*. Brisbane: Queensland Government.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Villegas, A. (2016). Research on teacher preparation: Charting the landscape of a sprawling field. In D. Gitomer & C. Bell (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teaching*. Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association. http://www.curriculum.edu.au/leader/the_classmates_teacher_education_initiative_at_uws,15816.html? issueID=10414.

Cochran-Smith, M., Shakman, K., Jong, C., Terrell, D., Barnatt, J., & McQuillan, P. (2009). Good and just teaching: The case for social justice in teacher education. *American Journal of Education, 115*, 347–377.

Comber, B. (2011). Changing literacies, changing populations, changing places: English teachers' work in an age of rampant standardisation. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique, 10*, 5–22.

Connell, R. (2009). Good teachers on dangerous ground: Towards a new view of teacher quality and professionalism. *Critical Studies in Education, 50*(3), 213–229.

Connell, R. W., White, V. M., & Johnston, K. M. (1991). *Running twice as hard: The disadvantaged schools program in Australia*. Geelong: Deakin University.

Council, COAG Reform. (2013). *Education in Australia 2012: Five years of performance*. Canberra: Report to the Council of Australian Governments.

Creighton, A. (2014). Australia's problem is not poverty but an addiction to welfare. *The Australian*. http://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/opinion/australias-problem-is-not-poverty-but-an-addiction-to-welfare/story-fnc2jivw-1226803586704. Accessed 17 Jan 2014.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2004). Inequality and the right to learn: Access to qualified teachers in California's public schools. *Teachers College Record, 106*(10), 1936–1966.

Darling-Hammond, L., & Youngs, P. (2002). Defining "highly qualified teachers": What does "scientifically-based research" actually tell us? *Educational Researcher, 31*(9), 13–25.

Delpit, L. (2006). Lessons from teachers. *Journal of Teacher Education, 57*(3), 220–231.

Department of Education, Training and Employment. (2014). Embedding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Perspectives in schools. http://indigenous.education.qld.gov.au/eatsips/Pages/default.aspx. Accessed 18 Dec 2014.

Dyson, M. (2005). Australian teacher education: Although reviewed to the eyeballs is there evidence of significant change and where to now? *Australian Journal of Teacher Education, 30*(1), 37–54.

Gale, T., & Densmore, K. (2000). *Just schooling: Explorations in the cultural politics of teaching*. London: Open University Press.

Georgatos, G. (2013). 600,000 Australian children in poverty, 18,000 kids homeless. *The Stringer Independent News.* http://thestringer.com.au/600000-australian-children-in-poverty-18000-children-kids-homeless-5443#.VKIxzyANA. Accessed 30 Dec 2014.

Gonski, D., Boston, K., Greiner, K., Lawrence, C., Scales, B., & Tannock, P. (2011). *Review of funding for schooling*. Canberra: Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations.

Goodwin, A. L., Smith, L., Souto-Manning, M., Cheruvu, R., Ying Tan, M., Reed, R., & Taveras, L. (2014). What should teacher educators know and be able to do? Perspectives from practicing teacher educators. *Journal of Teacher Education, 65*(4), 284–302.

Hattie, J. (2004). It's official: Teachers make a difference. *Educare News, (144)*, 24–39.

Howard, T. C., & Aleman, G. R. (2008). Teacher capacity for diverse learners: What do teachers need to know? In M. Cochran-Smith, S. Feiman-Nemser, D. J. McIntyre, & K. E. Demers (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education* (pp. 157–175). New York: Routledge.

Korthagen, F. (2010). How teacher education can make a difference. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 36*(4), 407–423.

Lampert, J., & Burnett, B. (2014). Teacher education for high-poverty schools: Keeping the bar high. In S. Gannon & W. Sawyer (Eds.), *Contemporary issues of equity in education* (pp. 115–128). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Lim, P., Gemici, S., & Karmel, T. (2013). *The impact of school academic quality on low socioeconomic status students: Longitudinal surveys of Australian youth*. Adelaide: National Centre for Vocational Education Research.

Lingard, B., Sellar, S., & Savage, G. (2014). Re-articulating social justice as equity in schooling policy: The effects of testing and data infrastructures. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 35*(5), 710–730.

Lister, R. (2004). Defining poverty. In R. Lister (Ed.), *Poverty* (pp. 12–36). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Lloyd, M. (2013). *Troubled times in Australian teacher education: 2012–2013*. Sydney: Office of Learning and Teaching, Department of Education.

Luke, A., Cazden, C., Coopes, R., Klenowski, V., Ladwig, J., Lester, J., MacDonald, S., et al. (2013). *Summative evaluation of the stronger smarter learning communities project*. Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology.

Mayer, D. (2014). Forty years of teacher education in Australia: 1974–2014. *Journal of Education for Teaching: International Research and Pedagogy, 40*(5), 461–473.

McDiarmid, G. W. (1990). *What to do about differences? A study of multicultural education forteacher trainees in the Los Angeles Unified School District*. East Lansing: National Center for Research on Teacher Education.

McLachlan, R., Gilfillan, G., & Gordon, J. (2013). *Deep and persistent disadvantage in Australia*. Canberra: Productivity Commission Staff Working Paper.

Mills, C. (2012). When 'picking the right people' is not enough: A Bourdieuian analysis of social justice and dispositional change in pre-service teachers. *International Journal of Educational Research, 53*, 269–277.

Mills, C., & Ballantyne, J. (2010). Pre-service teachers' dispositions towards diversity: Arguing for a developmental hierarchy of change. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 26*(3), 447–454.

More Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Teachers Initiative (MATSITI). (2014). http://matsiti.edu.au. Accessed 18 Dec 2014.

Munns, G., Sawyer, W., & Cole, B. (2013). *Exemplary teachers of students in poverty*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2012). Equity and quality in education: Supporting disadvantaged students and schools. doi:10.1787/9789264130852-en. Accessed 24 Dec 2014.

Phillips, B., Miranti, R., Vidyattama, Y., & Cassells, R. (2013). *Poverty, social exclusion and disadvantage in Australia*. Canberra: UnitingCare.

Pink, W., & Noblit, G. (2008). *International handbook of urban education*. New York: Springer.

Productivity Commission. (2012). *Schools workforce research report*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.

Reid, A. (2010). Accountability and the public purposes of education. *Professional Magazine, 25*, 6–9.

Santoro, N., & Forghani-Aran, N. (2013). Interrogating practice in culturally diverse classrooms: What can an analysis of student resistance and teacher response reveal? *European Journal of Teacher Education, 38*(1), 58–70.

Saunders, P. (2005). A valuable contribution to research and policy: Reviewing four decades of Australian poverty research. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 40*(1), 13–32.

Sellar, S., & Lingard, B. (2014). Equity in Australian schooling: The absent presence of socioeconomic context. In S. Gannon & W. Sawyer (Eds.), *Contemporary issues of equity in education* (pp. 1–22). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Sen, A. (1983). Poor, relatively speaking. *Oxford Economic Papers, 35*, 153–169.

Singh, P., Märtsin, M., & Glasswell, K. (2014). Dilemmatic spaces: High-stakes testing and the possibilities of collaborative knowledge work to generate learning innovations. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 21*(4), 1–23.

Skattebol, J., Saunders, P., Redmond, G., Bedford, M., & Cass, B. (2012). *Making a difference: Building on young people's experiences of economic adversity: Final report*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Social Policy Research Centre.

Sleeter, C. (2008). Equity, democracy, and neoliberal assaults on teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 24*, 1947–1957.

Sommerville, M., & Rennie, J. (2012). Mobilising community? Place, identity formation, and new teachers' learning. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 33*(2), 193–206.

Thomson, P. (2014). 'Scaling up' educational change: Some musings on misrecognition and doxic challenges. *Critical Studies in Education, 55*(2), 87–103.

Thomson, S., De Bortoli, L., Nicholas, M., Hillman, K., & Buckley, S. (2010). PISA in brief: Highlights from the full Australian report: Challenges for Australian education: Results from PISA 2009: The PISA 2009 assessment of students' reading, mathematical and scientific literacy. http://research.acer.edu.au/ozpisa/8. Accessed 28 Dec 2014.

Tschannen-Moran, M., & Woolfolk Hoy, A. (2001). Teacher efficacy: Capturing an elusive construct. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 17*(7), 783–805.

Vickers, M., & Ferfolja, T. (2006). The classmates teacher education initiative. *Curriculum and Leadership Journal, 4*(28).

Villegas, A. M. (2007). Dispositions in teacher education: A look at social justice. *Journal of Teacher Education, 58*(5), 37.

More Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Teachers for Australian High-Needs Schools

Kaye Price

Abstract Australia does not define its schools under the label *high poverty*. However, schools with a high population of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students often are located within low socio-economic status or high-needs areas. Within these high-needs areas, the National Assessment Program—[English] Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) results generally show lower outcomes than the broader population. Teacher turnover and the shortage of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers within these schools can contribute to non-engagement of students in terms of attendance and participation. In the past, there have been a number of strategies employed to attract high-quality teachers to high-needs schools, but importantly, there is a need to have qualified Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers from the area who will stay in the area.

1   Introduction

Australian students are on average performing well, both by national and international standards. However, this 'on average' performance masks both a decline in the overall performance across the entire distribution of students and the significant underperformance of students from lower socioeconomic and Indigenous backgrounds. (Gonski 2011, p. 34)

High-poverty schools in Australia are those schools that are deemed to be the most disadvantaged, and the most needy and are those that serve, in most cases, remote and urban low socio-economic (SES) communities. This chapter will explore the concept of teacher education for high-poverty schools in Australia by first creating a definition that aligns with the model used in the United States. It will then identify a number of locations where high-needs schools exist, highlighting the particular issues experienced in these areas. The chapter will demonstrate that schools populated mostly or wholly by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students figure largely in the high-needs schools.

K. Price (✉)
University of South Australia, Adelaide, SA, Australia
e-mail: kaye.price@unisa.edu.au

A case study of Wadeye, which has been reported as having the worst results on the National Assessment Program—Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) in the country, will outline the particular high needs of this community. Teacher preparation for this area will be discussed as well as the impact of some of the policy and teacher-education programs in Australia that confront educational disadvantage.

2 High-Needs Schools

While urban low-SES communities feature among high-needs schools, Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and young people in remote, rural, *and* urban schools across the country generally achieve lower scores on NAPLAN than the rest of the school population (Hughes and Hughes 2009). Statistics also show that the longer Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students stay at school, the greater the difference in outcomes (Ladwig and Luke 2013).

Past efforts to reduce the gaps in relation to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander education equality have not significantly affected equality of outcomes. Particularly in remote areas of Australia, levels of numeracy and English literacy continue to lag behind those of the wider school population. This is especially true in high-needs schools, and in 2008, the Australian Government endorsed the *Closing the Gap* strategy that aims to reduce Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander disadvantage in a number of areas, including access to early childhood education and educational achievement (Department of Social Services 2013). As Munns (1998) points out "…most schools with Aboriginal students are those which serve low socioeconomic communities, and attendant conditions for students, and their families, living in poverty often appear to impact on what goes on in the schools and classrooms" (p. 174).

The *Closing the Gap* strategy is a formal commitment developed in response to the 2005 *Social Justice Report* (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 2005) with targets in the *National Indigenous Reform Agreement* to:

- ensure access to early childhood education for all Indigenous 4-year-olds in remote communities within 5 years (by 2013)
- halve the gap in reading [in English], writing [in English] and numeracy achievements for children within a decade (by 2018)
- halve the gap for Indigenous students in Year 12 attainment rates by 2020 (Council of Australian Governments 2009).

Statistics are unavailable in relation to how many children and young people of school age exist and how many do not attend school. In some communities, it is estimated that school enrollment does not reflect the number of school-aged children there, but this discrepancy may be due to fluctuating patterns of enrollment and attendance (Wilson 2014). According to Kronemann (2007): "It is estimated that as many as 7500 Indigenous children in the Northern Territory do not attend school

and preschool. In most cases, the teachers, classrooms, chairs and desks simply do not exist to accommodate them" (p. 6).

The recently elected Australian Government's election policy commitment to *Closing the Gap* was aimed at continuing the level of funding, but also at collecting evidence that the initiatives achieve the goals. As is usually the case, the policy focused on school absences as well as English literacy and numeracy attainment levels (Wilson 2014). An initiative of the previous Australian Government, the *School Enrolment and Attendance Measure* (SEAM) is used to align with the *Closing the Gap* targets in relation to the new *Remote School Attendance Strategy*, but there is no information about how teacher education might assist beginning teachers to work with their schools to encourage attendance (Australian Government 2013). The SEAM specifically provides information for parents and caregivers to become aware of their responsibilities in relation to regular school attendance. Parents who live in SEAM locations, have care of a child of compulsory school age, and receive a relevant income support payment are targeted under this measure.

While SEAM is aimed at Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal families, each phase has been directed at high-poverty and high-needs schools. Phase One of SEAM was rolled out in Term 1, 2013, to Angurugu, Umbakumba, Alyangula, Milyakburra, Numbulwar, Ntaria (Hermannsburg), Wadeye (Port Keats), Wallace Rockhole, Katherine, and Katherine Town Camps. Phase Two of SEAM was rolled out in Term 3, 2013, to Alice Springs, Ngukurr, Yuendumu, Lajamanu, and Tennant Creek. During 2014–2015, a new model of SEAM will be rolled out in a phased approach to Nhulunbuy, Tiwi Islands, Galiwin'ku, Gunbalanya, Gapuwiyak, Maningrida, Milingimbi, and Yirrkala—all communities with a majority Aboriginal population (Australian Government 2013).

3 The Definition of a High-Poverty School

In the United States, the school poverty measure is defined by the percentage of a school's enrollment that is eligible for free or reduced-price lunch (FRPL) through the National School Lunch Program. High-poverty schools are those in which 76–100 % of students are eligible for FRPL and low-poverty schools are those in which 0–25 % of students are eligible (United States Department of Education 2010). Children from families with incomes at or below 130 % of the poverty level are eligible for free meals. Children from families with incomes that are above 130 % and up to 185 % of the poverty level are eligible for reduced-price meals (Ralston et al. 2008).[1] For 2009–2010, the income of a family of four at 130 % of the poverty level was US$28,665, and the income of a family of four at 185 % of the poverty level was US$40,793.

---

[1] For the period July 1, 2013, through June 30, 2014, for a family of four, 130 % of the poverty level was US$30,615 and 185 % was US$43,568.

According to the United States Department of Education (2010), FRPL is commonly used to measure school poverty for three main reasons:

- it is found consistently across survey collections (unlike other measures such as household income)
- at the district level, it has a strong correlation with district poverty
- at the student level, it is correlated with measures of SES reported at the student/household level.

This measure does not exist within Australia; therefore, a discussion is offered that addresses the following questions.

- What types of schools are high-poverty schools?
- Where are high-poverty schools located?
- What are the characteristics of the students who attend high-poverty schools?
- What is the income level of families whose children attend high-poverty schools?

High-poverty schools, hereinafter referred to as high-needs schools, are those exhibiting a combination of poor student academic achievement, high teacher turnover, difficulty in attracting and retaining experienced teachers, educational disengagement of children and young people, irregular or no school attendance, isolation, and parents or caregivers who are in receipt of a relevant income support payment. This last criterion would qualify Australian students for FRPL.

3.1   Poor Student Academic Achievement

In Australia, poor academic achievement is measured by the high-stakes NAPLAN testing. This is an annual assessment for students enrolled in Years 3, 5, 7, and 9 and has been in place since 2008. NAPLAN tests the kinds of skills that are considered essential for all children and young people to move effectively through the schooling system. It goes without saying that in order to progress through life, every student in Australia needs to master the skills necessary to read, write, and spell in English and to understand language conventions such as grammar and punctuation (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) 2011). Numeracy is also tested; therefore, it is crucial that those being tested are not only literate in English, but also familiar with numeracy terms and concepts used in the English-speaking world.

Particularly for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children, there are many concepts in the English language for which there are no corresponding words in their home language. Simpson and Wigglesworth (2010) point out that in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages there are many names for methods of instruction, and it is important to recognize that, for many of these children, English is a second language/dialect or a foreign language/dialect. Standardized testing such as the NAPLAN presumes a standard to be reached by children who speak and

understand English; however, this fact is rarely addressed—rhetoric prevails as can be seen in the following statement:

> Educational outcomes for Indigenous children and young people are substantially behind those of other students in key areas of enrolment, attendance, participation, [English] literacy, numeracy, retention and completion. Meeting the needs of young Indigenous Australians and promoting high expectations for their educational performance requires strategic investment. (MCEETYA, cited in ACARA 2011)

National actions and strategies in the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) 4-year plan included the need to attract "quality principals, school leaders and teachers" to schools in disadvantaged areas and to "provide support and incentives to increase Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participation in the education workforces, especially in remote schools" (MCEETYA, cited in ACARA 2011).

The complex array of federal- and state-based policy and practice around both high-stakes testing and educational disadvantage (such as *Closing the Gap*) demonstrates the ongoing commitment of the Australian Government and the ongoing problems related to this commitment. In line with the policies already mentioned is the *Smarter Schools National Partnership* for improving teacher quality. The National Partnership was intended to deliver system-wide reforms over 5 years (2008–2009 to 2012–2013), with the Australian Government providing significant funding to improve teacher quality, boost English literacy and numeracy, and raise achievement in disadvantaged school communities in the form of National Partnerships with states and territories. The investment aimed to generate better outcomes for all students to ensure that every child progresses successfully through their schooling (Australian Government n.d.). These National Partnership agreements were premised on the evidence that "quality teaching can overcome location and other disadvantages and is the single greatest in-school influence on student engagement and achievement. Improving teacher quality requires both strong school leadership and new approaches to teacher recruitment, retention and reward" (Australian Government n.d.). These National Partnership agreements ended in 2013.

3.2 High Teacher Turnover

High turnover of teachers has long been considered a significant contributing factor to low academic outcomes for students in high-needs communities. This was highlighted more than 20 years ago by the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (HRSCATSIA) in its report of the inquiry into Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language maintenance, when it stressed that

> Adequate preservice training is essential as new teachers continue to be posted to remote schools and there is a high turnover. It must be remembered that the majority of Aboriginal

and Torres Strait Islander people live in urban areas and the committee believes that few teachers in their first three years of teaching will teach in schools having no Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. (HRSCATSIA 1992, p. 57)

Roberts (2004) maintains that "The provision of teachers, reduced teacher turnover and the personal and professional happiness of teachers directly relates to the quality of the education delivered in schools" (p. 9). That high teacher turnover can have a specific effect on student attainment is also reflected in a recent United States study. The study shows that turnover has a harmful effect on student achievement even after controlling for different indicators of teacher quality (Save Our Schools 2011). What is particularly concerning from the results of this study is that high teacher turnover has the strongest negative effect on student achievement in schools with populations of low-performing and black students.

Referred to by Lisa Hall (2012) as the *Come and Go Syndrome*, high teacher turnover is most likely to be found in high-needs schools. In an interview with Caroline Milburn of *The Age* newspaper in Australia, Chris Keightly, Director of the Northern Territory's Remote Teaching Service and a member of the National Alliance for Remote Indigenous Schools, indicated that the average length of stay of teachers in remote schools was 9 months (Milburn 2010).

Reports and reviews such as *Learning Lessons*, carried out by the Northern Territory Department of Education (1999), state that "It proved impossible for the review to gather reliable estimates of the average length of stay (ALOS) of either remote area or urban staff" (p. 161). However, anecdotal estimates for remote staff suggested 7 months for the southern region, and 18 months for the northern region.

The impacts on high-needs schools of a less than sustainable workforce could be alleviated if more Indigenous teachers who belong to the community were in a position to be employed on site.

3.3 Difficulty in Attracting and Retaining Experienced Teachers

Attracting and retaining experienced teachers in high-needs schools is an ongoing concern. Historically, however, beginning teachers have found it easier to achieve employment in remote and rural schools compared with schools in urban centers (Australian Primary Principals Association n.d.). The Australian Primary Principals Association's 2006 survey data supports the view that there are not enough incentives for teacher graduates to seek employment in Australia's less populated regions, reporting that 80 % of its respondents did not consider remote schools as employment prospects.

Nevertheless, for many recently graduated teachers with no experience of English as a Second Language/Dialect (ESL/D), it is their first teaching appointment. Teachers are often hopelessly unprepared for working in a remote situation and can have difficulty adjusting to a different lifestyle. Without adequate preparation,

appropriate support, and professional development, the situation is exacerbated, sometimes leading to *come and go*, which can only have a negative effect on students. This situation is not new. The HRSCATSIA report (1992) was clear that:

> All teachers should be adequately prepared by preservice training to appreciate the special [sic] needs of Aboriginal students. The courses should not be regarded as specialist qualifications in Aboriginal education. They also should not be regarded as special elective units, but should be seen as an integrated part of the teacher training program for all teachers to prepare them to teach in a multi-cultural Australia. (p. 58)

For some dedicated non-Indigenous teachers who work in remote and very remote schools, the exhaustion of living in a bicultural/bilingual setting can be overwhelming (Giles and Rhodes n.d.).

For those not familiar with Australia, the population density is indicated in Fig. 1. One can see from Fig. 1 and the state/territory maps (Fig. 2), the vast distances between Aboriginal/remote communities and larger towns and their isolation from major cities.
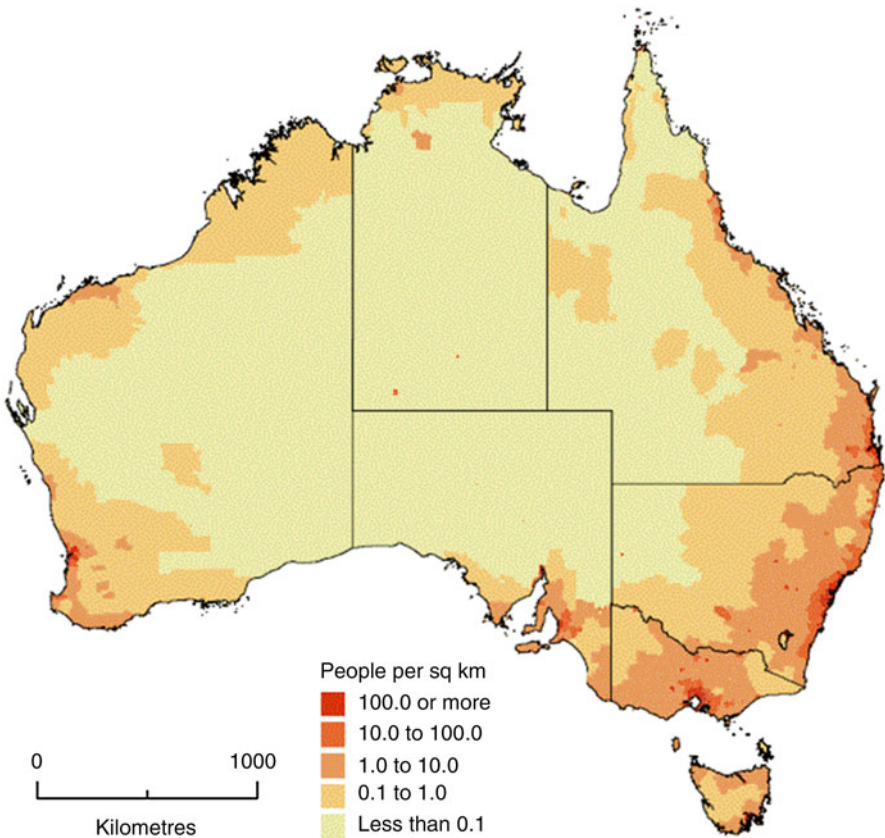
Fig. 1 Population density June 2010 (*Source*: Australian Bureau of Statistics 2014)
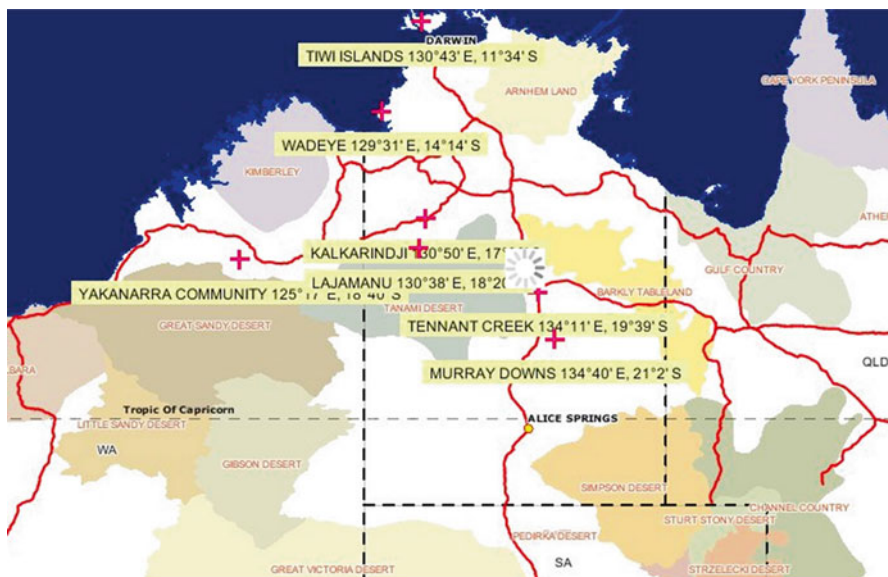
Fig. 2 Map of some Indigenous communities (*Source*: Simpson and Wigglesworth 2012)

4 Teacher Preparation: Some Key Reminders Regarding Teaching in Indigenous Communities

The following section of the paper discusses some of the challenges and issues specific (though not exclusive to) teaching in remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in Australia. While these issues may be touched on in some initial teacher education (ITE) courses, in general, only minimal attention is paid to preparing future teachers for these contexts.

4.1 Educational Disengagement of Children and Young People

The educational disengagement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and young people is often reflected in irregular attendance or overall absenteeism. Over the years, many theories have been posited in an attempt to explain the high rate of disengagement prevalent in some schools. These include lack of respect for teachers, racism and discrimination, assimilation practices, absence of relevant curriculum, and for some, learning in a language other than their home language (Bourke et al. 2000; Colman-Dimon 2000; Groome and Hamilton 1995; Harslett et al. 1999; Hogan 2000; Howard 2002; Malin and Maidment 2003; McRae et al. 2002; Reynolds 2005; Sarra 2006).

Fanshawe's (1989) key characteristics of an effective teacher of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adolescents mirror those of any teacher of any students:

- being warm and supportive
- making realistic demands on students (high expectations)
- acting in a responsible, business-like and systematic manner
- being stimulating and imaginative.

Fanshawe's key characteristics are confirmed by other more recent research about effective teaching, which includes having high expectations of students. For instance, Munns (1998) suggests that behavior-management issues and absenteeism, which at first appear to be examples of student resistance, may really be a matter of low expectations. He writes:

> There is a danger that in the face of persistent opposition teachers will compromise the curriculum, offer easier work, provide unproductive help and thus allow students to 'survive' and get through school. Dealing with opposition in such a way leads to the forms of classroom practice, which make educational inequality inevitable, and increases the likelihood of a future resistance to school. (p. 184)

Keeffe (1992, p. 90) also suggests that "school resistance often becomes the beginning of a track leading almost inevitably to social and economic marginalisation and alienation."

In discussing [dis]engagement (resistance), the *What Works Core Issues Paper 5* refers to "Student engagement: attendance, participation and belonging" (Australian Government n.d., p. 1). In order to effect engagement, Fanshawe's four points must go hand in hand with the evidence: what is found to have worked and been addressed within ITE.

4.2   Irregular or No School Attendance

The age at which schooling becomes compulsory in Australia is 6 years in all states and territories except Tasmania, where it is 5 years (ACARA 2009). In practice, most children start the preliminary year of primary school between the ages of four-and-a-half and five-and-a-half.

The Australian Government consistently highlights absences from school in Aboriginal communities. According to *Closing the Gap*, absenteeism among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students is markedly higher than among non-Indigenous students. Poorer access and absenteeism contribute to lower academic achievement, making it more difficult for many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students to successfully complete school. Missing one day a week of school from reception to Year 10 means missing 2 years and one term of schooling (Seaford Rise Primary School 2014).

A major factor in the high absenteeism rate is the failure of parents/caregivers to send their children to school. Evidence suggests that intergenerational illiteracy can

be a driving factor behind parents failing to see the value in sending their children to school. Tobias Nganbe (Robinson 2012, n.p.) explains how community members worked with schools to turn around this intergenerational illiteracy:

> The parents—the mums and dads—were schoolkids themselves. We were seeing children who were born in the 90s, who didn't come to school regularly, who are becoming mums and dads themselves, and the kids at school in 2007 were their kids. It's what we call the missing link. Our job was to make sure these parents sent their children to school.

While students may be less than literate in school (NAPLAN) English, they may be orally competent in their first (or second or third) language. Unfortunately, oral competence in first languages is not measured, with the result that students can be seen as unintelligent, a contributing factor further alienating students and contributing to absenteeism. And, as Giles (2010) points out: "If the students do not see the school, its English speaking staff and its curriculum as relevant to their emotional and educational needs, then the incentive to attend is reduced" (p. 57).

Listening to community voices is a crucial reminder that teachers in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities do not work in isolation and that a collaborative approach, something rarely taught in teacher-education courses, is a fundamental part of teaching in high-needs schools.

4.3   Isolation

Isolation from urban centers can have one of the most dramatic effects on a teachers' resilience. Many remote Australian areas are cut off from the rest of the country for months each year; there can be many cultural differences, various types of accommodation, unreliable telephone access, and on occasion, unreliable power and water supply. Coupled with these differences is the fact that housing is often very close to the students and staff members that teachers see each day—it can be difficult to have some personal time. For those teachers who have grown up and studied in a busy metropolitan or urban area, the simple pleasures of life such as picking up a chai latte on the way to work can amount to a nagging discontent. Teachers who enjoy teaching in remote schools and gain personal growth and satisfaction are those who

> …see beyond the day-to-day irritations of not having fresh milk or not being able to buy fresh celery for the salad they want to make because the barge with fresh food only comes once a fortnight to their Arnhem Land community. (Keightly in Milburn 2010)

For some teachers, the language differences were something they were not prepared for, or did not expect. At a school such as the one in Wadeye, 91 % of the students, according to MySchool (ACARA 2014), have a language background other than English. In 1986, the National Aboriginal Education Committee (NAEC) advocated a position where ultimately "Every teacher appointed to predominantly Aboriginal schools must first be prepared in understanding the culture/language of the surrounding area. It is cultural arrogance and educationally inexcusable to send

teachers to those areas without specific cultural and linguistic knowledge" (NAEC 1986, pp. 27–28).

In 1999, the Hon. Bob Collins, assisted by a small team of government officers, undertook a comprehensive, independent review of the delivery of education to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students in the Northern Territory. This review visited all schools with more than 25 % Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, covered an extensive number of topics, among them the issue of staffing, and provided a number of case studies. The review found that many of the schools relied on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander staff members for stability and "faced a constant stream of new staff" (Northern Territory Department of Education 1999, p. 71). In the words of one school principal with many years' experience:

> A few staff, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, have had a long association with the school. For some [non-Indigenous staff] it is their first teaching appointment. They are generally inadequately prepared for living in an isolated community and working in a cross-cultural environment…and have difficulty initially with handling children and working appropriately and sensitively with Indigenous assistant teachers. Without appropriate support and professional development, these difficulties can lead to early dissatisfaction with work, low morale, accepting standards below what is required, premature departure, which all tend to have a negative eaffect on children who respond by not coming to school. It should be axiomatic that a cross-cultural school needs a stable and committed staff to run an effective program. Not every teacher is suited to this type of situation. (Northern Territory Department of Education 1999, p. 71)

Nearly 30 years later, this preparation is still largely ad hoc and it is rare that a teacher-education institution addresses the particular needs of a high-needs school.

5   Smarter Schools National Partnerships

The role of teacher-education programs to prepare teachers to work in low-SES communities has long been acknowledged, for instance by Australia's *Smarter Schools National Partnership for Improving Teacher Quality*. Low-SES schools, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander schools, received additional funding from 2009 to 2013 to improve the quality of teaching. Within the areas of reforms in these National Partnerships, there were six priority areas, which included improving the quality of teacher training in partnership with universities (Australian Government n.d.). The Interim Evaluation of the Improving Teacher Quality National Partnership, in discussing preservice teacher education, focused on matters external to universities, but matters that were to be taken into account when developing ITE courses. It is difficult to see that a focus on "emerging national consistency of standards and requirements, and emerging work in support of quality practical experience for graduands to reach provisional standards by graduation" reflected a partnership with universities that benefited high-needs schools (Atelier Learning Solutions 2012).

The evaluation mentions "strategic overlays" that include "Facilitation of partnerships with higher education providers so that pre-service preparation and teacher

professional learning are informed by current research and evidence-based practice" (Atelier Learning Solutions 2012), but neglects to provide any firm evidence about where this is taking place. It mentions that school centers of excellence are being established to facilitate the pathway into teaching, but again cannot direct the reader to specific examples. Instead, it refers to "emerging work in support of quality practical experience for graduands to reach provisional standards by graduation" (Atelier Learning Solutions 2012). While all graduating teachers will need to meet the standards, there is again no evidence that quality practical experience will focus on high-needs schools such as Wadeye.

5.1   Case Study: Wadeye Aboriginal Community

As one example, a discussion of Wadeye Aboriginal community provides a snapshot of a remote school where new teachers may find themselves employed (see Fig. 3). Its inclusion here as a case study illustrates the unique needs of a community for which teachers would require special preparation.

Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (OLSH) Thamarrurr Catholic School is situated at Wadeye (Port Keats) in the Thamarrurr Region of the Northern Territory, 400 km south-west of Darwin. As had been the case in other areas from the earliest days of colonization, a mission was established on the Murrinhpatha estate of Werntek Nganaiyi in 1935 (Taylor 2010). W.E.H. Stanner, an anthropologist who accompanied the original missionary party, reported that the area between Daly and Fitzmaurice Rivers was one of the least known parts of the continent up to the time of the missionaries' arrival.

Prior to this advent, education

> took place on a daily basis; it was lived, breathed and passed on through the varying elements required to survive a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Education was necessary, because without it, survival was impossible. While numeracy and [English] literacy were not present, teaching took place via activities necessary to sustain life on a daily basis—the making of implements, construction of shelter, being aware of the seasons, identifying and tracking a varied array of foodstuffs and animals, gathering those foods, hunting larger game, and knowing one's whereabouts and how to return home. (Nganbe and McCormack 2009)

In 1939, due to there being an unreliable water supply, the mission was moved 10 km inland to what was known as Wadeye Creek in Diminin country and became known as Port Keats. All Aboriginal residents of this area were effectively wards of the state and came under the supervision of mission superintendents and became a subaltern society governed by their religions and policies.

With the arrival of three Sisters of OLSH in 1941, formal Western education was introduced that separated children from their families to ensure a focus on Western education and a deliberate devaluing of traditional culture[s] (Taylor 2010). Children were forced into a dormitory system that continued until the late 1960s, when a new open school was established where the OLSH Thamarrurr school currently stands.

Fig. 3 Map showing location of Wadeye in the Northern Territory (*Source*: Kimberley Kruiser n.d.)

There is a homelands[2] classroom at another location (Kuy), and between the two sites, the school caters for students from preschool to Year 12.

A step supported by the community took place in 2007 when the school was formally appointed a Catholic mainstream school. Over the last 10 years or so, the school has expanded considerably with the addition of a secondary campus, a renovation of the trade training center and kitchen, and a new library and science block. Also in 2007, Wadeye became subject to the Australian Government's Emergency Response (the *Intervention*) and was listed as a prescribed community.[3]

---

[2]According to Amnesty International (2014): "Homelands are communities established so that Aboriginal Peoples can maintain connection with their traditional, ancestral land. These communities have lower levels of social problems and significantly better health outcomes, and are home to around a third of the Aboriginal population of the Northern Territory."

[3]The Northern Territory Emergency Response, introduced by the former Australian Government, involves most Aboriginal townships and town camps in the Northern Territory. Many critical measures related to such areas as law enforcement and welfare apply over wide areas called *prescribed areas*. Prescribed areas are defined in the *Northern Territory National Emergency Response Act 2007*.

There are eight languages spoken in this area. School students' first language is Murrinhpatha, but the Northern Territory Government does not support a bilingual approach); consequently, the use of English as a Second Language underpins all study areas, which includes religion. Members of the community work with the school to produce Murrinhpatha texts in the Literacy Production Centre.

Local people are the majority staff members, employed as teachers, assistant teachers, literacy workers, and auxiliary staff. The school has a significant Aboriginal Leadership Team and there is a strong element of cross-cultural learning. Staff members are provided opportunities to continue their education through tertiary education, VET, and professional development. Nevertheless, student retention is a concern and the attendance rate is usually around 50 % (ACARA 2014). NAPLAN results are also a cause for concern, but the tests could be deemed totally inappropriate, considering that the tests are in English and more than 90 % of the students speak English as a Foreign Language (EFL).

According to the staffing list for 2012, only one teacher had English as a Second Language qualifications (Young 2012). This confirms the need, as outlined by many educators, for more Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers. Evidence from Canada shows that First Nations schools that have successfully overcome disadvantage are characterized by a high share of Indigenous [teaching] staff (Australian Government Productivity Commission 2012). It makes sense that if students have role models who have undertaken teaching training and returned to their community, they may see the benefit of attendance and engagement with the school. But, as Giles (2010) points out:

> [I]t can be particularly difficult for people from Indigenous backgrounds to undertake the necessary training to become part of the school's workforce. Attracting Indigenous students from remote locations is even more difficult as they have little access to resources such as the internet, libraries, computer and other students. They are not [always] able to travel and stay in larger centres to attend courses internally. Completing a professional experience placement in another school would be a daunting task for an individual to organise, given their extensive family commitments, and lack of resources and confidence. (p. 58)

While policies and incessant discussion almost always focus on parents, caregivers, and children themselves, responsibility must also lie with those charged with providing incentive and developing school experiences that are relevant; this is the responsibility of ITE and must include ways to work and live in communities where there are high-needs schools.

Within the Northern Territory, there is an increasing enrollment of Indigenous students across the five Indigenous Catholic Community Schools (ICCS). Within the ICCS, there is a high teacher turnover, which makes it extremely difficult for these remote high-needs schools to provide quality teaching by teachers who are not only experienced, but also who have an appreciation of the local community environment and who can maintain continuity.

5.2 'Growing Our Own': An Approach to Encourage Indigenous Teachers

In terms of Wadeye (and other communities in Australia's Northern Territory), *Growing Our Own* is a joint-venture project conducted by the Charles Darwin University and the Catholic Education Office funded through the National Partnerships Program. This approach to teacher preparation was established in response to *Closing the Gap* and the Northern Territory Emergency Response (the *Intervention*). It aims to develop an authentic *two-way* model of teacher preparation, learning, and professional growth, or to *up-skill* Northern Territory teacher aides in Catholic schools. Creative and accessible pathways are provided to allow Indigenous people to participate in an undergraduate program and train as teachers in their local community.[4]

Integral to this program is mentoring by a nominated classroom teacher who in turn is provided with cultural learning by the student teacher in the two-way model. According to Catholic Education Northern Territory (2014): "This two-way approach to learning allows the whole community to benefit from the expertise both the mentor teacher and Pre-Service Teachers bring to the classroom."

One-on-one tutoring is provided by the teacher mentors or assigned professionals to provide advice, when necessary, in relation to the learning tasks and to guide assignment completion in a similar way to the Australian Government's Indigenous Tutorial Assistance Scheme, which is available to eligible Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. It is essential that this takes place because courses are conducted in English, and for the participants, English is a second, third or fourth language.

Students study three to four tertiary subjects each term and relevant university staff members travel (by small plane once a week, 40 times a year) to Wadeye to work with preservice teachers, either one-to-one or on a small group basis for up to 8 h per week. This is equivalent to the face-to-face tutorial session that would take place for on-campus students. The majority of teaching and learning takes place during this time; tasks are mostly designed and personalized to make sure they are appropriate to each aspirant's teaching circumstance.

Representatives from the university visited Wadeye several times to discuss the proposed *Growing our Own* project. Following these visits, the community members nominated their choices of those they would like to participate in the course, and these nominees attended a full-day workshop at Wadeye, convened and run by university staff members. Importantly, community members pledged to support the students, all of whom were long-standing Teacher Assistants in the school and to assist (if necessary) the full-time Coordinator, who is based on site.

This program reflects the vision of Tom Calma, now Chancellor of the University of Canberra, but at one time the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission

---

[4] This should be read in conjunction with Bat and Shore (2014) (A project funded by MATSITI.)

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner. This is Calma's (n.d.) vision:

> Recruitment programs, skill development and employment retention programs are required so that the Indigenous labour market increases rather than decreases. Every school community needs a quantum of Indigenous teachers so that liaison between the Indigenous home and school environments is managed by a large, enabled Indigenous workforce. Indigenous teachers and teachers' aides need to be well-resourced and provided with first class professional learning and development. (p. 2)

Programs such as *Growing our Own* (with no guarantee of continued funding or sustainability) at Wadeye and the other Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory are just the tip of the iceberg.

5.3 The Australian More Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Teachers Initiative (MATSITI)

In 2011, the Australian Government clearly identified the need for more Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers in Australian schools. In order to progress this agenda, AU$7.5 million was injected into a project designed to increase the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people entering and remaining in professional teaching positions in Australian schools (MATSITI 2014).

MATSITI is a 4-year (2011–2015) program. Increasing the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers is a key factor in fostering student engagement and improving educational outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. A major concern identified at the beginning of the project can be seen in Fig. 4. While it illustrates the various pathways available for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to move into teaching careers, it also illustrates where students exit from study.

MATSITI has undertaken much quantitative and qualitative research into teacher education strategies and practice for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Research undertaken by Lampert et al. (2013) found that of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who undertake ITE only about 30 % graduate from the program. They found that there was a number of exit or *walking* points, among them professional experience (practicum). A major exit point is in the final year when some students feel *abandoned* by their teacher-education institution. Case studies also pointed to cultural differences presenting barriers between supervising teachers (mentors) and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ITE students.

An example of how an institution might mitigate practicum difficulties is carried out at the Wollotuka Institute at the University of Newcastle. Here, culturally safe school placements are planned for students, and students are assisted to develop explicit skills in the resilience required to deal with inappropriate attitudes from school staff, many of whom have had limited or no exposure to Indigenous people (MATSITI 2014). It is rare that teacher mentors understand Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culturally relevant ways of being, knowing, and doing; this affects students' opportunities to gain pedagogical knowledge when there is dissonance.
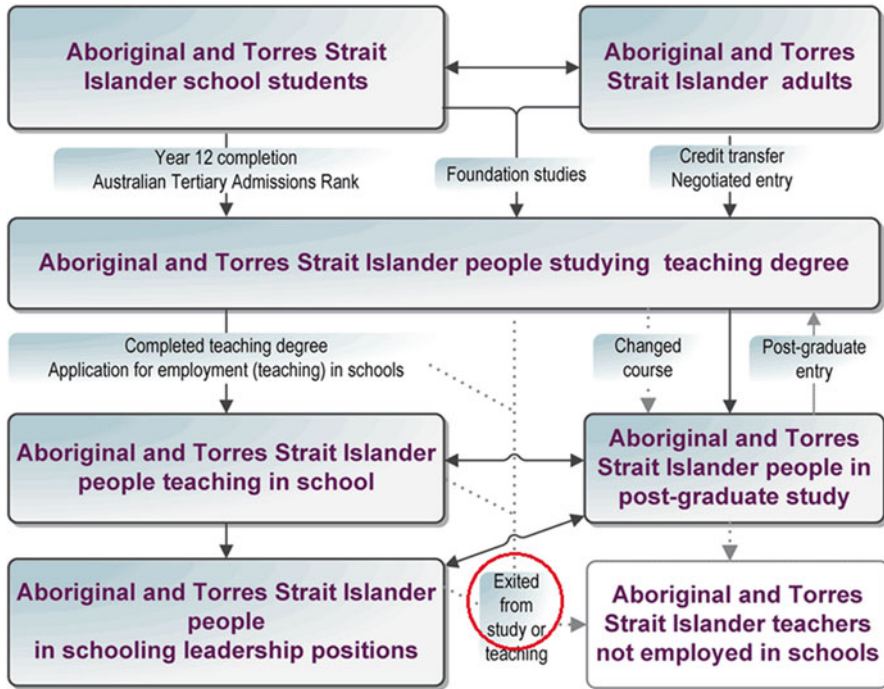
Fig. 4 A conceptual map of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander study and career pathways in teaching and educational leadership (*Source*: MATSITI 2014)

MATSITI has engaged in funding various projects across the nation, with a focus on sustainability of work beyond the life of the initiative. Most notably, MATSITI has worked with the Australian Council of Deans of Education in planning a sustainable framework to increase the engagement and success of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander student teachers. MATSITI also emphasizes that ITE providers should expand culturally appropriate and flexible pathways for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to enter and succeed in teacher education. Also under consideration, although not part of the remit, is a national review and forum with key stakeholders to consider the challenges of preparing teachers to work in remote Indigenous communities (MATSITI 2014).

6   Conclusion

Many factors influence teacher education for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander high-needs schools, including the many gaps in the ITE curriculum. In Australian teacher education, students are expected to study eight subjects a year for 4 years, 32 in all. What is absent from the majority of those 32 *boxes* is any real education about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, Aboriginal and Torres Strait

Islander communities, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander studies for the classroom.

How well do we prepare our teachers to succeed in high-needs schools with a majority Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students? While we might aim to staff these high-needs schools with dedicated, caring teachers, do we really prepare them for the day-to-day challenges they might encounter? The emphasis here must be on the word *prepare*: recruitment and preparation go hand in hand. Teacher education does not end with graduation and recruitment to high-needs schools must be undertaken in partnership with preparation.

References

Amnesty International. (2014). Indigenous rights: Homelands. http://www.amnesty.org.au/indigenous-rights/homelands. Accessed 28 Aug 2014.

Atelier Learning Solutions. (2012). Final report on analysis of activity and evaluation effort in the Smarter Schools National Partnership. http://docs.education.gov.au/system/files/doc/other/phase_1_evaluation_final_report.pdf. Accessed 9 June 2014.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2014). Population density 2010. http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/1301.0~2012~Main%20Features~Geographic%20distribution%20of%20the%20population~49. Accessed 10 May 2014.

Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA). (2009). National report on schooling in Australia 2009. http://www.acara.edu.au/reporting/national_report_on_schooling_2009/schools_and_schooling/school_structures.html. Accessed 19 May 2014.

Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA). (2011). NAPLAN. http://www.nap.edu.au/naplan/naplan.html. Accessed 17 May 2014.

Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA). (2014). My school. http://www.myschool.edu.au. Accessed 29 Sept 2014.

Australian Government. (2013). Improving school enrolment and attendance through welfare reform measure (SEAM). http://www.cms.nt.edu.au/PageFiles/458381/130415%20SEAMFact%20Sheet_Final%20UPDATE.pdf. Accessed 28 May 2014.

Australian Government Productivity Commission. (2012). *Schools workforce research report*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.

Australian Government. (n.d.). Smarter schools national partnerships. https://smarterschools.gov.au/improve-teacher-quality. Accessed 28 Sept 2014.

Australian Primary Principals Association. (n.d.). Experiences of beginning teachers. http://www.appa.asn.au/reports/Experiences-of-beginning-teachers.pdf. Accessed 21 June 2014.

Bat, M., & Shore, S. (2014). *Listening differently: An exploration of grey literature about Aboriginal teacher education in the Top End of the Northern Territory*. Darwin: Charles Darwin University.

Bourke, C. J., Rigby, K., & Burden, J. (2000). *Better practice in school attendance: Improving the school attendance of Indigenous students*. Canberra: Commonwealth Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs.

Calma, T. (n.d.). Our children our future: Achieving improved primary and secondary education outcomes for Indigenous students. Social Ventures Australia. http://socialventures.com.au/assets/Our_Children_Our_Future.pdf. Accessed 18 June 2014.

Catholic Education Northern Territory. (2014). Faith in their future. http://www.ceont.catholic.edu.au/employment/growing-our-own. Accessed 11 June 2014.

Colman-Dimon, H. (2000). Relationships with the school: Listening to the voices of a remote Aboriginal community. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 28*(1), 34–47.

Council of Australian Governments. (2009). Closing the gap in Indigenous disadvantage. https://www.coag.gov.au/closing_the_gap_in_indigenous_disadvantage. Accessed 20 May 2014.

Department of Social Services. (2013). Closing the gap: The Indigenous reform agenda. http://www.dss.gov.au/our-responsibilities/indigenous-australians/programs-services/closing-the-gap. Accessed 20 May 2014.

Fanshawe, J. P. (1989). Warmth, demandingness, and what else? A reassessment of what it takes to be an effective teacher of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 27*(2), 41–46.

Giles, W. (2010). Teacher education in a remote community: Learning on the job. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Co-operative Education, 11*(3), 57–65.

Giles, W., & Rhodes, D. (n.d.). Teaching teachers in a remote Northern Territory community.http://engagementaustralia.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/CS-3.1_Teaching-teachers-in-a-Remote-NT-Community.pdf. Accessed 30 Apr 2014.

Gonski, D. (2011). *Review of funding for schooling: Final report*. Canberra: Australian Government.

Groome, H., & Hamilton, A. (1995). *Meeting the educational needs of Aboriginal adolescents*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Hall, L. (2012). The 'come and go' syndrome of teachers in remote Indigenous schools: Listening to the perspective of Indigenous teachers about what helps teachers to stay and what makes them go. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 41*, 187–195.

Harslett, M., Harrison, B., Godfrey, J., Partington, G., & Richer, K. (1999). *Promoting success in schooling for Indigenous students: Long term alternative programs* (Indigenous Issues and the New Millennium). Adelaide: Social Education Association of Australia.

Hogan, J. (2000). Analysis of the Aboriginal education policy (New South Wales Department of School Education, 1996). *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 28*(2), 9–14.

House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (HRSCATSIA). (1992). *Language and culture: A matter of survival: Report of the inquiry into Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language maintenance June 1992*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Howard, D. (2002). Family, friends and teachers: Why Indigenous students stay at or leave school. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 30*(2), 8–12.

Hughes, H., & Hughes, M. (2009). *Revisiting Indigenous education*. St Leonards: Centre for Independent Studies.

Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. (2005). Social justice report. https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/social-justice-report-2005-home. Accessed 12 June 2014.

Keeffe, K. (1992). *From the centre to the city: Aboriginal education, culture and power*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Kimberley Kruiser. (n.d.) Map of Wadeye. http://info.kimberleykruiser.com/tag/wadeye/. Accessed 22 Aug 2015.

Kronemann, M. (2007). Education is the key: An education future for indigenous communities in the Northern Territory. Australian Education Union. http://www.aeufederal.org.au/Publications/Educationisthekey.pdf. Accessed 9 June 2014.

Ladwig, J., & Luke, A. (2013). Does improving school level attendance lead to improved school level achievement? An empirical study of Indigenous educational policy in Australia. *The Australian Educational Researcher, 41*(2), 171–194.

Lampert, J., Burnett, B. M., Patton, W. A., Lee Hong, A., & Anderson, J. (2013). Improving retention and graduation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students in teacher education programs. *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues, 16*(4), 27–42.

Malin, M., & Maidment, D. (2003). Education, Indigenous survival and wellbeing: Emerging ideas and programs. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 32*, 85–99.

McRae, D., Ainsworth, G., Cumming, J., Hughes, P., Mackay, P., Price, K., et al. (2002). *What works: Explorations in improving outcomes for Indigenous students*. Canberra: Commonwealth Department of Education Training and Youth Affairs.

Milburn, C. (2010). Wanted: Teachers to go the distance. The Age. http://www.theage.com.au/national/education/wanted-teachers-to-go-the-distance-20100820-138ot.html. Accessed 17 May 2014.

More Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Teachers Initiative (MATSITI). (2014). More Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers [in Australian schools] initiative. http://www.matsiti.edu.au. Accessed 29 Sept 2014.

Munns, G. (1998). "They just can't hack that": Aboriginal students, their teachers and responses to schools and classrooms. In G. Partington (Ed.), *Perspectives on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander education* (pp. 171–187). Katoomba: Social Science Press.

Nganbe, T., & McCormack, D. (2009). Education in Wadeye and the Thamarrurr region: Challenges and responsibilities across the generations. http://www.bowden-mccormack.com.au/WebsiteContent/articles-papers/education-wadeye.pdf. Accessed 18 Dec 2014.

Northern Territory Department of Education. (1999). *Learning lessons: An independent review of Indigenous education in the Northern Territory*. Darwin: Government Printing Office of the Northern Territory.

Ralston, K., Newman, C., Clauson, A., Guthrie, J., & Buzby, J. (2008). *The national school lunch program: Background, trends, and issues* (Economic research report, Vol. 61). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Reynolds, R. J. (2005). The education of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students: Repair of radical change. *Childhood Education, 82*(1), 31–36.

Roberts, P. (2004). *Staffing an empty schoolhouse: Attracting and retaining teachers in rural, remote and isolated communities*. Eric Pearson Study Grant Report. http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/committee.nsf/0/ccd8bea3f266c355ca256fe0007bdc01/$FILE/sub%2042%20Attachment%201.pdf. Accessed 12 July 2014.

Robinson, N. (2012). *Lessons in how to play fair*. The Australian. http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/features/lesson-in-how-to-play-fair-story-e6frg6z6-1226390518401. Accessed 29 Sept 2014.

Sarra, C. (2006). Armed for success. *Griffith Review, 11*, 185–194.

Save Our Schools. (2011). Teacher turnover harms student achievement. http://www.saveourschools.com.au/teachers/teacher-turnover-harms-student-achievement. Accessed 28 Sept 2014.

Seaford Rise Primary School. (2014). *Is regular attendance important?* Newsletter. http://www.seariseps.sa.edu.au/docs/2014/Term%203%20Edition%2011.pdf. Accessed 28 Sept 2014.

Simpson, J., & Wigglesworth, G. (2010). *Children's language and multilingualism: Indigenous language use at home and school*. London: Continuum Press.

Simpson, J., & Wigglesworth, G. (2012). Ecology, equity and ethics in education in aboriginal Australia. http://www.tesol.org.au/files/files/223_Simpson-Wigglesworth-Cairns-TESOLtalk-no-pix.pdf. Accessed 22 Aug 2015.

Taylor, J. (2010). *Demography as destiny: Schooling, work and Aboriginal population change at Wadeye* (CAEPR working paper, Vol. 64). Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, ANU.

United States Department of Education. (2010). *The condition of education 2010 spotlight: High-poverty schools*. National Center for Education Statistics & Institute of Education Sciences. http://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/analysis/2010-index.asp. Accessed 16 Apr 2014.

Wilson, B. (2014). Review of Indigenous education in the Northern Territory draft report. http://www.education.nt.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0016/36205/Indigenous-Education-Review_DRAFT.pdf. Accessed 2 June 2014.

Young, J. (2012). Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Thamurrurr: Annual report 2012. http://www.olshpknt.catholic.edu.au/__files/f/3065/2012%20OLSH%20T%20SAR.pdf. Accessed 23 June 2013.

Teacher Professional Development in a Complex and Changing World: Lessons Learned from Model Teacher Education Programs in Transnational Contexts

Arnetha F. Ball

Abstract One of the greatest challenges facing our global society is the preparation of teachers to teach in culturally and linguistically complex classrooms worldwide. This chapter reports on the author's recent research focusing on the preparation of teachers to teach diverse student populations in culturally and linguistically complex classrooms across national boundaries; and in particular, focusing on the preparation of teachers to work with students from historically marginalized, disenfranchised, or underserved groups. Part of a larger study that looks at teacher preparation in four transnational contexts, this chapter focuses on the efforts of a U.S. and a South African teacher education program designed to prepare pre-service teachers to teach in complex classrooms and examines the teachers' generative change after participating in a professional development institute focused on using writing as a pedagogical tool to affect teacher change. Building on generative change theories and Ball's *Model of Generative Change* (2009), the work explores what teachers learn through participation in a professional development that used writing as a pedagogical tool to become metacognitively aware of their own identities and the identities of their students. The findings confirm that teachers' discourses combine with their subsequent actions to give evidence of shifts in their beliefs and understandings. The chapter concludes by offering writing as a pedagogical tool that can be used by teacher education programs worldwide to assist them in gauging their effectiveness in affecting conceptual growth, depth of understanding, and change in teachers' attitudes and perceptions concerning the students in their classrooms.

1 Introduction

Changing demographics and high rates of poverty in urban communities around the globe pose special challenges for teachers in twenty-first century classrooms. The economic disparities in wealth distribution globally ensure that these issues

A.F. Ball (✉)
Stanford University, Stanford, CA, USA
e-mail: arnetha@stanford.edu

will become increasingly more acute for the educational outlook and for the teacher education programs that prepare teachers to enter into the challenging classroom environments that serve twenty-first-century students. Globally, 2.4 billion people live on less than 2 U.S. dollars a day and 22,000 children die each day due to poverty. Among those children who survive poverty, 121 million are unable to receive an education, even though it would cost less than 1 % of what the world spends each year on weapons to put every child into school (World Bank 2014). That has not happened, perhaps because large numbers of the children who are in need of this education live in poverty and come from racial, ethnic, and linguistic groups that have been historically marginalized, disenfranchised, or colonized by the dominant groups in our society. One of the greatest challenges in our global society is to prepare teachers to teach in culturally and linguistically complex schools and classrooms worldwide so they can provide these children with the education they need. Yet, a review of the literature reveals that we know very little about how to prepare teachers who have the skills, knowledge, and dispositions needed to teach diverse, marginalized, and historically disenfranchised students effectively.

Orfield (2014) noted profound differences in the quality of educational opportunity and the teaching staff for students from different socio-economic groups, with many urban and rural under-resourced schools functioning at a grossly inferior level. This persisting phenomenon can be found in countries such as the United States, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand (to name a few). Each of these countries has sizable populations that were historically marginalized and/or students of color who are disproportionately represented at the lowest quartile of economic and academic achievement—well below that of the dominant groups in each of these countries. Within this context, there is a great deal that can be learned from a transnational study of teacher education programs designed specifically to prepare teachers to work with poor, marginalized, and historically under-served populations. Such studies can lead to a better understanding of the intellectual and organizational structures that contribute to successful teaching and learning in culturally and linguistically diverse settings.

Earlier research by Foster (1993) revealed that teachers' knowledge of students' community norms and the position of teachers within that community helped to explain teachers' success with students from diverse backgrounds. She found that teachers' success when working with African American students, in large part, was linked to their proficiency in community norms and their understanding of the historic social, economic, and political relationships of the community to the larger society (p. 391). King (1991) reported that African American students' alienation in schools subsided when Black teachers used emancipatory pedagogy. Paris (2012) offered *culturally sustaining pedagogy* (CSP) as a term that embodies and supports the valuing and sustaining of pedagogies that are more than responsive or relevant to the cultural experiences and practices of young people. CSP has as its explicit goal the support of multilingualism and multiculturalism in practice and perspective for students and teachers and seeks to perpetuate and foster linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling. Paris suggests that the practice of CSP, which requires that teachers support young people in sustaining the

cultural and linguistic competence of their communities, while simultaneously offering access to dominant cultural competence, will result in improved teaching for multilingual and multicultural students. These and other researchers have contributed to the literature on what teachers need to know and do in order to enable all students to learn; however, their findings build on their U.S. based research. This study draws on these lines of inquiry, but goes beyond this prior work. Currently, few studies exist that focus on examining the practices of teachers and teacher education programs transnationally that specialize in preparing teachers for diversity. Another gap in research is documenting the changing perspectives and practices of teachers who have engaged in programs specifically designed to prepare teachers to work with marginalized, disenfranchised, and under-achieving students in transnational contexts. Given the rapid demographic changes worldwide, many education systems are experiencing similar crises because they are challenged to educate large numbers of poor and diverse students who come from backgrounds very different from their teachers' backgrounds, and teachers feel woefully underprepared to teach these students. Corporatization, privatization, and globalization—as well as changing demographics and high rates of poverty—are changing education worldwide and we are preparing teachers for classrooms that we have never seen before. These changes necessitate conversations across national boundaries about *approaches* that teachers can use when teaching students from diverse racial, ethnic, and language groups and the mechanisms through which teachers can become more confident about their sense of teacher efficacy and their ability to teach all students effectively.

We know that many programs worldwide draw on Western models of teacher preparation and that canonical conceptualizations of racial, ethnic, and linguistic difference are generally situated as *problems* that call for analyses of either individual traits or community variables from a *deficit* and/or *minority* perspective. However, we do not know much about the common paradigms, principles, and practices that contribute to the success of teacher education programs that prepare teachers across national boundaries to work in schools that serve poor, marginalized, and disenfranchised students. In this study, I use three strategies to reconceptualize traditional approaches and investigate what teachers need to know and do to help all students to learn:

- first, by situating my investigation within a transnational context where those who are generally thought of as *minorities* are actually the majority population
- second, by acknowledging the historical entanglements of race, language, teaching, and learning practices and preferences
- third, by exploring evidence-based findings and new knowledge that can support transformative and generative approaches to reform educational practices in classrooms serving poor, marginalized, and historically under-served populations.

This chapter grows out of a study that seeks to document important paradigms, principles, and practices that drive what goes on in model teacher education programs across national boundaries that specialize in preparing teachers to teach in schools that serve poor, marginalized, and historically under-served students. In most teacher education programs, much attention is given to how to control a

classroom, how to structure a lesson to meet particular content standards, classroom management, and how to teach literacy, math, or science skills. However, little attention is focused on cultural and linguistic issues or on how control and authority in traditional classrooms reflect and are designed to maintain current structures in society. There is often little analysis of cultural and political issues and linguistic structures in teacher education programs. While many traditional teacher education programs address issues of race, ethnicity, and linguistic difference in 3-h, or 1-day, surface-level lessons, the model cross-national programs that I am interested in investigating are noted for situating these issues as a central part of their successful preparation of teachers to work with students from diverse racial, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds. Most include critical and intentional discussions of culture and race in their curriculum. Initial investigations revealed that students in these programs gained new frames of thinking about the education of diverse populations from engaging with the work of scholars such as Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970), Luis Moll's (1992) notion of funds of knowledge, and Henry Giroux's (1988) notion of teachers as transformative intellectuals. These works give students theoretical support for their future pedagogical decision-making and for developing the belief that all students have value in the classroom and that all students can learn. I therefore draw on the theoretical framing of these and other scholars in this study.

2 What We Know About Teacher Education Programs for Diversity Cross-Nationally

Anxo Santos Rego and Nieto (2000), Ballou and Podgursky (2000), Conway et al. (2009), Cushner and Mahon (2002), Goodwin (2010), and Walters et al. (2009) have all been a part of the national and international dialogue on quality teaching and teacher preparation for diverse classrooms in the twenty-first century as previously excluded groups are gaining educational access and as classrooms are becoming increasingly heterogeneous. In addition, Sleeter and Milner (2011) focused on the need for a more diverse teaching force; Darling-Hammond and Bransford (2007) added to our knowledge base by focusing on core knowledge needed for teaching in a changing world; Franke et al. (2001) focused on school restructuring to encourage teacher reflection in generative ways; and van Laren et al. (2013) focused on gaining a deeper understanding of Ball's *Model of Generative Change*. Within this context, Ball (2009) proposed that teachers' strategic engagement with challenging theoretical perspectives, integration of action research—on and with diverse student populations—in the professional-development curriculum, ongoing work with diverse student populations, and the use of writing as a pedagogical tool are additional features that should be integrated into the professional-development program when preparing teachers for diverse classrooms. Globalization, corporatization, and privatization of schooling introduce new factors that demand consideration of many issues that promise to change fundamentally the very nature of teacher preparation. These issues are perennially salient and become ever more perplexing as they are played out on the world stage. To address these issues, we must begin to focus our

research transnationally and answer the following questions: What does it mean to provide a quality teacher education program to teachers who will be teaching students in culturally and linguistically complex classrooms in transnational contexts? What should globally competent teachers know and be able to do, and how do successful programs transnationally provide teachers with the training they need? For this particular chapter, I focused on one small subset of these larger questions: How do teachers' perspectives begin to evolve as they learn about cultural and linguistic diversity in model teacher education programs that focus on preparing teachers for diversity in the twenty-first century context? To investigate this question, I used writing as a pedagogical tool to facilitate deep thinking on the part of the teachers and to gain a glimpse into their changing perspectives. Building on generative change theories, I also used writing as a pedagogical tool to increase their knowledge and their metacognitive awareness about cultural and linguistic diversity in the classroom and to observe their changing identities as teachers. I used their written reflections, journal entries, critiques of course readings, and plans for their future classroom work as evidence of teachers' generative change and their shifting perspectives as they gain increased understanding of social and linguistic differences concerning the in-school and out-of-school lives of their students. Data collection took place in two model teacher education programs: one in the U.S. and one in South Africa. In these programs, I presented teacher education modules, conducted interviews with teacher candidates and administrators at each site, completed observations in the teacher education classrooms, talked with and about community partners, sat in on small focus group discussions, and collected reflective journal writing from teacher education candidates.

This research situates the study of language and literacy within the context of Ball's *Model of Generative Change* (2009) to move the profession toward generative trajectories of research on teacher professional development, while also suggesting new lines of inquiry. *Generativity* has been researched in psychology from varied and often seemingly contradictory vantage points, including developmental psychology (Erikson 1963; Erikson and Erikson 1981), behavioral psychology (Epstein 1993, 1999; Epstein et al. 2008), social psychology (Gergen 1978), and critical psychology (Strong 2010). Interesting insights emerge from bringing the voices of these diverse scholars into dialogue with one another and with work done in the areas of teacher education and educational research (Ball 2009, 2012). A multiperspectival (Kincheloe 2001, p. 682) body of work exists on generativity, which builds on the foundation of Erikson's conception of generativity (1963; Erikson and Erikson 1981) that portrays it as a multifaceted human capacity, with three significant dimensions (van Laren et al. 2013):

- responsibility: responsiveness to the needs of other people, particularly younger people
- productivity: contributing to the vocational/professional domain
- creativity: envisaging and enacting new possibilities.

In designing this study, I draw on this research and on the work of Vygotsky (1978) and Leont'ev (1981) to build a theoretical framework that can help to explain

teachers' developing perspectives on diversity as higher order thinking. I also investigate how teachers' developing perspectives are revealed in their oral and written discourses as they consider issues of teaching culturally and linguistically diverse students in model teacher education programs.

3   Research Methods

The South African program that I investigated was a 4-year undergraduate teacher education program that was offered at a major university located in the Gauteng province. This is considered to be a model teacher education initiative because of several special initiatives that have been integrated into the program. This program integrates the content area instruction within Education so that Faculty of Education not only teaches the practicum courses but they also provide the content area instruction. One benefit of this approach is that the content area faculty members are also specialists in practicum instruction and they are able to integrate content instruction right along with instruction on teaching strategies, classroom management, and educational theory in an effective and efficient manner. In addition, the same faculty members who teach the students about subject area content are able to integrate strategies about how to teach that content effectively to culturally and linguistically diverse learners. They have focused on developing and sharing specific tools and strategies that will assist the teacher candidates as they prepare to teach diverse students.

The *Languages in Higher Education Policy Report* (South African Ministry of Education 2002) and the ministerial committee report titled *The Development of Indigenous African Languages as Mediums of Instruction in Higher Education* (South African Ministry of Education 2003) affirmed the need for all universities to promote a particular indigenous language on the grounds that this promotes a diverse, integrated multicultural and nonracial society and widens the possibilities for students in terms of access. The South African university that I investigated offered instruction in Afrikaans and English and it offered translation services so that students from other languages could have access to instruction in their mother tongue in some courses. One teacher education candidate said: "The most powerful program is that we have translation services so that you can be educated in English if you do not understand English. This reminds me that not everyone speaks and understands the same languages as me."

A final initiative established in recent years by the English Education faculty is a new program called *the camps*. Early in each academic school year, students are invited to join the faculty at a weekend retreat where they have planned activities designed to encourage the very diverse student candidates to get to know each other better; they provide opportunities for lots of small group work; and students get to know all of the faculty members better. While participation in this weekend retreat is completely voluntary, both students and faculty alike who took part in this activity commented that they learned so much about individuals from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds by getting to know each other better. One teacher education candidate offered the following comment:

> I changed university campuses this year and it has authentically been wonderful for me because I've been a part of "the camp" program where the interaction between myself and my fellow students has improved. We did lots of group work with diverse students. The manner in which I had viewed my thinking concerning those of a different pigment has transformed into a much more broader sense. Having been given this opportunity was the most wonderful experience.

The U.S. program that I investigated was a 4-year undergraduate teacher education program that was offered at a major university located in the northeast region of the United States. This is considered to be a model program because of several special initiatives that were instituted to constitute an urban teacher education program. The overarching goal of the U.S. urban teacher education program in this study was to work collaboratively with university faculty, neighborhood schools, parents, district administrators, students, and community-based organizations to prepare a new generation of teachers who have the knowledge, dispositions, and skills necessary to teach effectively in urban schools with a sense of efficacy. Working together, the program collaborators planned to train a new generation of teachers who were excited about "Teaching To Change The World" and all participants shared the program's mission of improving the academic achievement of students in the nearby urban education environment. Now entering its sixth year of operation, this 4-year urban education program bases its 4-year curriculum on the four phases of teacher development identified in Ball's Model of Generative Change: awakening, agency, advocacy, and efficacy. Each year of the professional development programs for new and practicing teachers is aligned with a phase of the generative change model. The Urban Education Initiative consisted of the following components:

1. An enhanced and enriched atmosphere of dialogic engagement was established within the School of Education through a *Faculty Scholars* and *Small Grants Program* designed to provide seed funding to faculty for initiating research that focused on urban education issues and for the Urban Education Book Club that involved faculty and advanced graduate students in a reading club designed to stimulate ongoing school-wide conversations on issues of urban education. The book club's monthly meetings succeeded in establishing a safe space for faculty and graduate students to gather for ongoing dialogic engagement on books and issues related to their teaching practices and current topics in urban education.
2. A model *Urban Teacher Education Program* grew out of a collaborative community of scholars consisting of four key senior faculty members and six to eight early- and mid-career faculty members who came together to design and implement the program and recruit a specialized cohort of students that would participate in the regular teacher education program as well as benefit from all of the enhanced curricula and activities designed especially for the new urban teacher education cohort.
3. The *Urban Teachers' Pipeline Program* was established with the goal of growing their own *next generation of urban teachers*. This initiative provided mentoring, tutoring, scholarships, and partnerships with a nearby urban high school to facilitate high academic achievement and to establish a vision of a future career as a teacher in an annual cohort of high school students who would eventually return to the community as practicing teachers.

4. The first *Annual Urban Initiative Summer Conference* was launched in 2010 and held its fifth annual conference in 2014. The conference features keynote talks by nationally recognized scholars in Urban Education, a Scholar's Panel Presentation, Graduate Student Poster Sessions, faculty research roundtables, presentations by local and community scholars who are conducting research on urban issues, and recognition of outstanding work in the area of urban education.

Data were collected in these U.S. and South African teacher education programs. Building on my previous research (Ball 1999, 2000, 2012; Ball and Tyson 2011), I used writing as a pedagogical tool for gaining a glimpse into the teachers' metacognitive thinking and their changing perspectives as they participated in their respective teacher education programs. In addition, I used Ball's (2009) *Model of Generative Change* as a framework for understanding the teachers' changing perspectives. Writing prompts were used as tools for understanding teachers' increasing metacognitive awareness of the centrality of critical thinking on the part of teachers when teaching and learning. In addition, I used writing prompts in three ways: as tools for understanding teachers' use of introspection to facilitate ideological becoming; to understand teachers' use of critique to facilitate their internalization of new information; and to gain an understanding of teachers' problem-solving and generative thinking as they moved toward a sense of efficacy. As teachers engaged in and used *writing to learn* to make meaning of new theory, conceptual readings, and strategically selected course activities, they experienced an increased sense of agency, advocacy, and efficacy, as well as the emergence of their own voices concerning the teaching of diverse students.

Interview protocols and observation instruments were developed to record valued perspectives, practices, and paradigms voiced by the teacher candidates and teacher educators in each program. Content and thematic analytic methods were used to organize, classify, and examine the relationships among the data and to make sense of unstructured information collected from the focus groups, in-depth interviews, and ethnographic observations.

As I analyzed the extended writing of these teachers, I noticed that there were indications of the development of commitment among teachers who engaged in the activities in my course versus those teachers who chose not to engage in the activities. As I looked for indicators of developing commitment on the part of these teachers, the articulation of specific action plans and strategies that these teachers intended to implement in their classrooms was an important notion because commitment is defined as "the act of taking on the charge, obligation or trust to carry out some action or policy; to make a decisive moral choice that involves a person in a definite course of action" (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary 2014).

In the section that follows, I share the voices and reflective writings of a representative sample of the teachers in my course as they discuss their evolving perspectives on literacy and action plans for their future teaching. These teachers' shared reflections on the readings and activities that they encountered during the course that helped to alter their philosophies on literacy and their thoughts about their future teaching. Several teachers shared reports on how encounters with theoretical readings and activities were used as a vehicle (or catalyst) that helped them to con-

sider the challenges of teaching different students, while some of the teachers did not. These writings help to reveal the mechanisms that stimulate internal activity and change as developing teachers considered changing their perspectives on teaching in diverse schools. Building on Vygotsky's (1978, 1981) notion of the developmental or genetic method, these data are shared with the assumption that teachers' self-reports have value and that they can be used to help capture the cognitive and psychological processes that teachers experience. In their own words, some of the teachers have asserted that they have gained a broader understanding, appreciation, and respect for the conceptualizations of what it means to teach diverse students, while some of them have begun to embark on an active and decisive plan of action that includes diversity.

4 Taking a Look at Close Case Studies

In the next section, I report on the case studies of three participants, two Americans and one South African, who were enrolled in my teacher education professional development workshops. All three teachers were from middle-class backgrounds. Adriana is a European American female in her early twenties from the northeast region of the United States, Genoveve is a South African female in her early twenties who comes from an Afrikaans language speaking background, and DeShawn is a European American male in his early twenties from the northeast region of the United States. Through their written reflections, I trace these teachers' discourses that show evidence of their developing knowledge base and commitment to working with diverse students and I include discussions of their reflections on their participation in the course activities.

Following are the voices of these U.S. and South African student teachers. Their voices are used to provide a glimpse into these teachers' changing discourses that revealed how their development is being facilitated by carefully designed classroom activities. These voices show how those developing commitments are revealed in the teachers' discourse practices. My intent in presenting these voices is to help us better understand how applications of generative theory can assist us in addressing the global challenges that face teacher education programs today.

4.1 Changing Perspectives Represented in the Voices of the Teachers

4.1.1 Adriana

Adriana attended a 4-year undergraduate teacher education program in the U.S. In 2009, her university established a specialized pilot program in urban education for students majoring in elementary or secondary teacher education and Adriana volunteered to be a part of the program. Adriana specifically chose to enroll in the

initiative designed for future teachers who were seeking further training in Urban Teacher Education. Adriana began the program by stating that she had very limited experiences working with diverse student populations, but she was very energetic, personable, and eager to learn. An excellent student, Adriana maintained a high grade point average throughout the program. During my observation of Adriana's 11th grade American Literature lesson, I noticed from the outset that she had established good rapport with her students, greeting each of them as they entered the classroom and moving around the room to several students' desks to check in with them periodically and find out how they were doing. Although most of the students in Adriana's class were assigned to the lowest *track* (about half had individual educational programs based on identified special academic or social-emotional needs), the students indicated that they not only liked Adriana, but respected her because she treated them with respect as well. Her activities were varied throughout the lesson, with partner work, whole group discussion, and a small amount of lecture. The pacing of the lesson was very good and the students seemed engaged and eager to participate. A few students made minor disruptions but they were dealt with quickly and effectively without drawing too much attention to the students' behavior. Adriana utilized reflective listening, often repeating students' answers back to them, and also asked for elaborations and explanations to spark discussion. Additionally, Adriana did not put undue pressure on students to supply answers and if they were having trouble formulating a response she allowed them to seek help from classmates, thus limiting the risk that students would feel forced to supply the correct answer. This particular exercise was very useful for drawing parallels between elements of Gothic literature and the students' own lives and values, a powerful tool for making classroom learning relevant and motivating students to participate. Adriana appeared very comfortable in front of her class and expressed a genuine desire to help even her most difficult students. She demonstrated creativity in designing activities that utilized multiple modalities of learning to emphasize and reinforce information that was being taught. She was innovative, enthusiastic, and authentic in her approach to working with a very diverse group of students. In comparison to the other student teachers I observed, Adriana was clearly advanced in her ability to think critically and applied the information she learned about working with diverse students. In her classroom teaching, she was able to make connections between lectures and workshops she had attended as a member of the urban education cohort and was able to reach her students by employing the strategies and competencies she had learned about. When asked questions during our follow-up interview, Adriana was the only student who mentioned that her students had many things in common with the *urban* students we had talked about over the past couple of years. She referenced issues such as drugs, violence, homelessness, and others that she had encountered in her short tenure as a student teacher and how her preparation had helped her to navigate these sensitive topics with her students. Adriana clearly stated her desire to continue working with similar students and her commitment to applying what she had learned in the urban teacher education cohort to her professional work in the field.

Adriana's portfolio included reflections (with a newly written summary reflection), an annotated bibliography, reviews of several teaching strategies, and several artifacts

or exemplary works completed during her time in the program. Adriana clearly put a great deal of time and thought into the preparation of her portfolio. Her work was polished and organized.

The teaching strategies Adriana reviewed closely mirrored the competencies we noted as being particularly important for urban educators, specifically including "making the classroom experience relevant to the real world," "offering assignments where students are able to express their individuality and uniqueness," and more generally, using multiple modalities for the instruction and assessment of knowledge, and acknowledging the valuable contributions of each students' heritage, history and/or cultural background in the lessons (such as oral interpretations of literature, visual storytelling, and the uses of personal narratives). The artifacts Adriana chose to include in her portfolio demonstrated that she has tackled tough topics, such as information on the dismantling of multicultural education in Arizona and the racial inequities that exist in our justice system, and she has put critical thought into how these issues might affect her students. My impression of Adriana is that, overall, she is in a state of advocacy and critique. She is clearly awakened and impassioned about the need to become an agent of change in urban education, and she has developed a sense of efficacy, which allows her to integrate or oppose the views of others based on her own. She has begun to generate her own solutions to the problems she encounters and uses action research to test out her innovative tools in a quest to make learning accessible and engaging for her students, regardless of their apparent motivation or ability level.

Quotes from Adriana's reflective writing and critiques of the readings indicate that she is thinking deeply about how to apply what she is learning in the urban teacher education program to the work she is doing in diverse classrooms. Adriana notes the following:

> Throughout my time being involved in the urban teacher program I have picked up my own theories and knowledge regarding how to be the best urban educator I can be … The theory that stands out for me the most and that has inspired me more than others would be that which was presented to me by Dr. Patrick Camangian. It is known as *Humanizing Pedagogy*. This theory includes three key principle ideas. They are as follows: create culturally relevant lessons, arouse intellectual curiosity, and inspire humanization. My favorite quote from Dr. Camangian was, "don't teach your students that their lives are less important than the people you are teaching them about in their textbooks." This was powerful for me to hear. As an English major, I was used to being in a mindset where the classic authors held every importance in the world—William Shakespeare, Edgar Allen Poe, Ralph Waldo Emerson, etc. Now I know that these authors are not the center of my lessons. The students are. I need to understand my students and pick authors and texts that they can relate to in order to inspire them to learn and develop. This is one of the greatest lessons I have learned in college.

Adriana provides evidence that she understands that she is developing toward becoming a generative-thinking teacher who has the knowledge, skills, and disposition to work effectively with diverse students in her following reflections:

> …The model of generative change was a focal point for us in the urban teacher education program throughout the years and it was great to see how we were moving along from being researchers and learners to becoming advocates for different theories and ideas in the teaching

profession. The generative change article was wonderful for providing a map for me. This map showed me where I started and how I have moved along and developed through my time at this university.

 …While reading [Sonia Nieto's book] *Why We Teach*, I learned that it's okay to take risks as a teacher. It's okay to not always have the right answer. We have to experiment with our teaching styles and change things up every once in a while in order to engage different students. We need to evolve and change our classrooms based on the specific needs of our students. As our classroom dimensions change, we need to be flexible and change along with it in order to teach students in a way that makes sense for them.

4.1.2   Genoveve

Genoveve attended a 4-year undergraduate teacher education program that was offered at a major university located in the Gauteng province of South Africa. Early in her education, Genoveve realized that:

> …we as students stick with our own cultures and even though we do group work with diverse students, this has not helped much either. As people, we need to see this topic differently. We need to realize that diversity is a matter that still needs serious—and I mean serious—attention in our country.

She decided to become a teacher because "it gives the teacher a challenge to make a change in the child's life." In describing her goals, Genoveve said:

> I grew up in a diverse nation and so, of course, I plan to teach in a diverse classroom. In the English methodologies module we learnt different strategies and how to use them when encountering diverse learners. In our four years, this has been our most focused module where we learnt anything relating to diversity and how to teach it. The English module has given me the most tools and confidence to teach diverse learners. In the last year, a lot of attention has been given on how to teach learners from different backgrounds. In particular, the English faculty has taught us how to work with diverse students using English as a medium of instruction. They taught us how valuable and how right dialects are and that your dialect makes you unique and part of a culturally diverse society.

Genoveve further recalled the community involvements she had through the residence she lived in. That project took place at a school so she got first-hand knowledge and experience on how to work in the community. While working there, she recalled that she learned to "keep it simple":

> That is, to do difficult stuff in a simple way … don't compromise, but just don't over-complicate the process … I also learned to believe in your students and don't underestimate them.
>
> I learned a lot from the readings. We learned about cognitive learning strategies, from Vygotsky we learned about scaffolding and the zone of proximal development, from Bruner, Bloom, and Krashen we learned about discovery, visual support, and the additive hypothesis. I could talk a lot about Bruner, Vygotsky, Ausubel, and other important theoretical concepts that we studied over the four years that I've been in the program. But, what I have also learned is that no matter what culture or age you have in your classroom, you have to understand the learner, his background information in order to help them learn the things you teach. You as a teacher need to have subject matter information on a higher order of thinking to make sure your students look up to you and you have to be able to admit when you are wrong.

> …I have developed a philosophy that says: to respect your students and yourself, to believe in yourself, to trust other people, and to believe in other people. It also says to start small and go bigger; pick something the learners can relate to; and leave room for error because students learn from their errors as you help them to correct them.

Genoveve shared some interesting insights into the cultural/sociological aspects of teaching. She stated that teachers needed to be aware of the cultures of all of the students in the classroom in order to teach each of them most effectively. She said, "first and foremost, I will work to build a professional relationship with the learners so they feel free to ask questions … the most important thing is to treat all students equally and to respect their cultural beliefs."

After participation in a professional development that used writing as a pedagogical tool to facilitate her becoming metacognitively aware of her own identity and her students' identities, Genoveve was able to critique her perceived need for more practical application of what she was learning in the teacher education program. She said:

> I didn't really feel fully prepared well enough to teach diverse learners but your workshop has made me feel more prepared to create a learner-centered classroom—your module has meant so much to me. The theory is being taught, however, the practical application of it is not taught nor implemented enough. For example, during the first year of the teacher education program, we undergo a Practical Teaching program that helps us learn how to work with diverse learners within the school system. This happens twice a year and you are physically out in the schools teaching for three weeks. We need more opportunities for practical application with diverse students.

Genoveve was aware of many strategies that she planned to use to motivate and engage her diverse learners:

> Learners should be able to express themselves in their language of choice. I must learn about my learners' background and then make my lessons relevant to their everyday lives. I will teach the students in my class by referring back to their mother tongue and I will have them write their first drafts in their mother tongue then translate it into the language of instruction. I will have them draw about what they are reading about then write about what they learned. I will keep what I'm teaching relevant to their age and culture. I will also use traditional methods, second language methods, drama activities, writing-to-learn strategies, and bridge methods in my class. I will also use communicative strategies, paired work, and cooperative learning strategies, and I will give them free range on creative elements when choosing task-based activities. I plan to ask interesting questions that will engage the learners in group work that will get them actively involved and thinking critically. I plan to incorporate culturally rich and culturally relevant materials and student choice activities to give students the opportunity to express themselves in their own way—making them feel free to write about their own opinions so they will enjoy the activities. I want to learn a whole lot more so I can promote the quality of my teaching and inspire my learners to learn and enjoy learning … I would love to be able to get to know my learners more personally—to be able to understand where they are struggling. I would help them to think critically, to value their own opinions, and to have confidence in themselves.

Genoveve was becoming metacognitively aware of the fact that, while she had gained many strategies that she planned to use to motivate and engage her diverse learners, she needed more real life, experiences in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms during her training program. She was also developing a voice of her own and was beginning to express that voice and the ideas that she was generating. She said:

No, I don't really feel fully prepared well enough to teach diverse learners. But who said teaching would be easy. Right? Although I would really like to have more real life experiences with diverse learners during my teacher training program, I believe that you can never be 100 % prepared for the real world and all the possible obstacles that can lay and wait for you. Teachers must be life-long learners after all. When you have the right tools, you can get the job done. Teaching is the greatest profession. It's not just a job. It is a lifestyle and an absolute privilege. Thank you for your most memorable lessons.

…Yes, I have been prepared over the last four years. So I think it is time to spread my wings and fly … by teaching my learners everything that I have gained in my schooling. The way I see it is that my learners are born with wings … and as a teacher, I will teach them how to fly.. I'm really excited to have the privilege to be a teacher and a mentor to children. Obviously there will be challenges. But it is how I as a teacher approach these challenges and difficulties that makes all the difference. The feeling that I am now feeling is a feeling of adventure and excitement about learning more ways to improve my abilities as a teacher. Mostly, I feel there is still a lot more I can learn, but then again, we never really stop learning.

4.1.3   DeShawn

DeShawn was also a first-year student in the U.S. 4-year program who specifically chose to enroll in the initiative designed for future teachers who were seeking further training in urban teacher education. An excellent student in his early twenties, DeShawn maintained a very high grade point average throughout the program. He recalled that:

Before coming to college, my only knowledge of how schools are run was based on my own educational experiences. I went to a suburban, primarily White, middle-class high school; obviously much different than any urban area. There were hardly any students who could be considered to be "in poverty," if any at all. The first step for becoming an aspiring urban teacher was to make myself aware of the areas where students are considered underprivileged or at-risk. I chose to join the Urban Teacher Education Program because it is something that holds close to my heart. I feel it is an essential part of me becoming a teacher. The most important part of this cohort was to learn about the competencies I needed and the model for generative change. The model allows an urban teacher to locate where they are in terms of our development and where we want to be. The first step in the model of generative change is the awakening stage. For me, this began freshman year when I walked in to the urban cohort. This *awakening period* is a time of metacognitive awareness and understanding of one's own thought processes. First, I realized that these students were not "so different" from any other student—all students like playing basketball or video games, but my job is to help them have that same motivation about school work … Later we went to visit the Boys and Girls club. Something else I realized there was that … some kids were coming to the Boys and Girls club instead of going home to their families [after school]… because there was nobody at home to take care of them. If there is no one home … it is obvious that they have no one to … support them with their homework … and what if they can't help because they don't know the material? Or if they can't afford to pay a tutor? … So it dawned on me that realistically, sometimes the students are dependent on themselves and what they learn in the classroom. Lastly, I realized that a lot of these kids are responsible for their younger siblings because their mom or dad may not be around to take care of them for various reasons. When it comes down to taking care of your siblings versus getting your schoolwork done, it would seem to me that family comes first.

…In the second half of my freshman year, we created a field trip experience for the urban elementary students to visit our university. We treated then as if they had been accepted into the University … We planned events for the day that included an icebreaker, continental breakfast, a scavenger hunt, lunch, physical activity, and a book project. Each activity was meant to show the students different parts of the university. Many of the students were blown away by the activities … In the end of the day, I honestly believe that these college students were touched as much as the elementary students were touched by the experience. The light in these students' eyes helped me to see where their hard work can take them in the future. The light in their eyes also engrained in my heart a clear vision of what I wanted to do with my life: become an urban educator. After this event, we received letters from the students thanking us for the experiences they had and telling us their future plans—plans for the years to come; it was truly inspirational.

…The awakening period continued with me into my sophomore year as a member of the cohort. This year was more research based than experience based because our regular program demanded so much of our time. However, we heard many influential speakers and read several urban educational texts … As I went through the program, at first, I was timid on including issues of race and gender in my lessons, considering I had my own personal beliefs and so did they. I knew we saw the world differently so it was up to me to separate what the lesson was [trying to teach] versus what I wanted to teach them about the world. In separating the lesson, I was able to make the lesson comparable to their lives. As the weeks went by, I learned that my students were fired up by issues of race and gender. After recognizing this, it was easier for me to include race or gender in the lessons I wanted to teach.

…My favorite lesson of the summer was when I taught a lesson about stereotypes. In this lesson, I asked my students to write on a notecard how they perceived me on the first day they met me. I received the following answers: "boring, lazy, mean, scary, funny." I then asked my students why they had these perceptions of me without knowing me. They identified why: "Because you're a boy … Because of how you look." I then identified students by how they appeared. I told one student he was smart because he was wearing glasses and then I told another student he was good at sports because he was black. This got the kids fired up, which led to a group discussion about stereotypes and how they affect the way they perceive situations … Then I had them watch a video called *Silent Beats*. I asked them to take notes on the stereotypes they see as well as the behaviors of the people who see them. The reason this lesson was effective was because it was something that my students could relate to … After I felt they had a solid grasp on the concept, we compared it to a story of people who are handicapped. We discussed whether a world of no stereotypes would be better or worse. My students loved the opportunity to speak their voice both in smaller groups and among the entire class.

…My favorite memory from this summer came on the Monday morning of the fifth week. I walked up to one of my students at breakfast in the cafeteria, and I asked him if he would like to have naptime in my class today instead of learning a new concept. Obviously, I was joking around, but he looked at me with a saddened face and said, "No DeShawn, I do not want to sleep in your class, I like your class." I cannot explain how good that made me feel as a teacher. This leads me to the most important thing I learned this summer … The behaviors and attitudes of my students changed tremendously as the summer went by. This student in particular, I'm going to call him George for confidential purposes, was unquestionably the least attentive and most distracting student of my classroom [at the beginning of the summer]. At first, I was frustrated and didn't want to deal with the student all together. I felt that it was his fault if he didn't want to pay attention, but he didn't have to distract others. However, it occurred to me that it was my job to make it so he stopped distracting others and started paying attention. Instead of yelling at him for doing something bad, I began to praise him every time he did something good. I would also talk to him more often outside of the classroom to establish a relationship other than one between a teacher and a student. As the summer continued, he would come to me with any questions he had, and he began to stay on task in class. Not only did staying on task help him to learn, but it increased

how hard he worked … I personally believe that he tried harder in my class than any other because he wanted to impress me … I realized that I became the respected favorite teacher for George. I was there for him and I pushed him to be the best he could be. He respected that and made sure my homework was always done on time … This urban summer internship taught me so much about how to work with students. There is no clear-cut way for any student to learn, especially in an urban setting. The most difficult part of stepping into an urban classroom, as a White middle-class teacher, is gaining respect from my students. Almost all students believe, and rightfully so, that we do not understand their lives because we have never experienced them. The first step in getting respect, is giving respect. Not all students will warm up to you right away; that does not mean you give up on them. That means you continue to show you care about them as people and the work they produce.

…Although I may not have experienced some of the traumatic things that they may have seen or experienced, I have my own set of experiences that I can share that will touch their hearts. For example, one day when they were frustrated with the assignment they were doing, they asked me why I would choose to be an English teacher. I told them a story about how my grandmother died of cancer when I was in high school. At her funeral, there were literally thousands of her students who told me how amazing she was and how many lives she had touched. English is a subject that allows you to reflect on life. Although some stories that you read about in books may be different from their own lives, they can still take lessons from these stories and apply it to their lives. After I explained that to them, they couldn't believe that I would open up to them like that. I made myself vulnerable to my students and they realized that I was okay with dropping my guard. In their eyes, I was not a teacher, but a human, who experienced pain. After that, my students felt more comfortable coming to talk to me about their problems. Obviously, that was not written in my job contract, but it made me a role model that they needed.

In reflecting on the course readings, DeShawn noted that *Why We Teach* had gotten him excited to gain teaching experience, and *Shame of the Nation* was relatable because he, like Kozol, is a White teacher hoping to work with students from diverse backgrounds. He reported that *Through Ebony Eyes* was his favorite book, and he noted that the way the book addressed the hyper-focus of schools on language was something that was directly relevant to him as an English/language arts/reading content teacher:

I feel that sometimes teachers focus too much on the language of students instead of trying to use this language to push them to learn. I do not necessarily think it is appropriate in all circumstances, but it should not inhibit their ability to learn other skills. I will use this book to address discussions of race and language in my classroom. It would be cool to use Ebonics in a Shakespeare lesson to teach students the story and make it comparable to their lives.

DeShawn's teaching strategies included promoting a positive and respectful classroom environment to promote student confidence and safety, utilizing cooperative learning and differentiated instruction strategies to reach students at various levels of mastery, connecting with students' families to promote student engagement, and implementing culturally responsive teaching (CRT) techniques. Regarding CRT, he said:

It allows them an opportunity to ask questions, think critically, and put themselves in the other person's shoes … Teachers must incorporate relatable aspects of students' daily lives into the curriculum. I think this is effective in teaching students in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms because it allows students to look, question, and think about others in relation to themselves. The hardest part of English for students with literature is seeing the story through the character's lives.

DeShawn concluded his portfolio with the following reflection:

…As I continue my path in becoming an aspiring teacher in the world of education, I think my urban experiences helped me more than my research. Having a conscious understanding of how these kids feel and pushing them to realize they can be more than they think is the most important part of my job. Yes, I will always be there as a mentor and role model, but it is my duty to be there as their teacher; to open doors that they thought they didn't have access to … it is often tough for them to see an optimistic future. In reality, it is my job to create this vision for these students; that they can be more than what society says they are "supposed to be." At my age, most people are talking about making money as the number one goal in life. For me, it's to change the lives of students who do not think they can do it. I know I'm going to change the world one day, I am just waiting for the opportunity.

5　Conclusions

These teachers' voices combine with their subsequent actions to give evidence of their growing knowledge base and shifts in their beliefs and understandings over time. Through a growing sensitivity to the students' resources, teachers begin to understand the students' repertoires of knowledge in combination with their other cultural practices. Teachers can then draw on this knowledge and combine it with what they are learning in their teacher education program to include it in their repertoire of teaching practices that build on students' multiple identities as a resource in their classroom teaching. This paper also offers writing as a pedagogical tool that can be used in teacher education programs to assist those enrolled in gauging their effectiveness in affecting conceptual growth, depth of understanding, and change in teachers' attitudes and perceptions about the students in their classrooms in relation to issues of race, language, and socio-economic status.

The knowledge gained from this cross-national study can be used to improve our understanding of what teachers can learn to do in order to enable all students to learn. Lessons learned will inform a developing *model of generative change* that can be used in teacher education reform transnationally, where twenty-first-century teachers are challenged to meet the educational needs of poor, marginalized, and historically under-served students and encourages deeper examination of the issues involved. In doing so, it is intended to raise questions that can suggest avenues for reform in teacher education and point the way towards possibilities for cross-national research. One primary goal of this chapter is to engage the larger world community in conversations on the need to develop globally competent and informed teachers who are generative thinkers and who participate in the reform of teacher education that moves beyond local borders.

Transnationally, increasing numbers of students from diverse backgrounds are entering classrooms where teachers are in desperate need of models about what to do to serve these students effectively. This chapter offers early findings from a longitudinal study of the discourses and practices of effective teacher education programs found across national boundaries; these programs focus on teachers' ability

to understand students' racial and linguistic identities in order to do a better job of meeting their educational needs. Drawing on classroom observations, document analysis, and interview analysis, the findings testify to the central role that language plays in classroom life and reports on a common recurring theme: the critical importance of successful teachers' consideration of the social and ethnolinguistic repertoires that students bring into classrooms in two transnational contexts. Through a growing sensitivity to students' resources, teachers begin to understand the repertoires of students' knowledge in combination with other cultural practices. Teachers can then draw on this knowledge and include it in their repertoire of teaching practices that build on students' multiple identities and on students' valued community norms and practices as resources in their classroom teaching.

The current research is designed to advance work in the areas of sociocultural theory, generativity theory, and linguistic theory. This is done through studies that integrate sociolinguistic, discourse analysis, and ethnographic approaches to investigate ways in which semiotic systems in general, and oral and written language in particular, serve as a means for mediating teaching and learning in culturally and linguistically complex settings. This research helps us to better understand teacher education resources that can contribute to successful teaching and learning. It also helps us to better understand how teachers' thinking and attitudes can evolve concerning their thoughts on teaching poor, marginalized, and historically under-served populations. This research can help us to identify ways we might change teacher education programs in the interests of a more just and prosperous society. A major goal of this study was to gain a better understanding of the emerging complexity of teachers' thinking as they systematically study the cultural and linguistic practices of students through activities guided by teacher educators and notice their own emerging critical cultural consciousness. In the long run, this study hopes to point our field toward important advancements in understanding teachers' cognitive change over time so that knowledge may be used to improve their teaching. To accomplish this, we must take a close look at our teachers and their preparation as we proceed.

Upcoming global demographic shifts will allow us an opportunity to influence teaching methodologies in a far-reaching and large-scale manner. It is predicted that more than half the teachers in today's workforce will reach retirement age within the next 10 years. Gallup estimates that schools in the United States will need to hire about two million teachers over the next decade due to teacher attrition and the rest of the world is facing a similar challenge. This impending changeover in the world's teaching force gives us an unparalleled opportunity to influence how and what our children learn. Think of the system's ability to try new methods, strategies, and concepts! Teacher education programs should take this opportunity to share with teachers the knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed to educate all students effectively. Those who run teacher education programs should see this as an opportunity to re-evaluate the programs they are offering and the methods needed to develop teachers who can engage this new generation of learners.

References

Anxo Santos Rego, M., & Nieto, S. (2000). *Multicultural/intercultural teacher education in two contexts: Lessons from the United States and Spain*. Waltham: Elsevier.

Ball, A. F. (1999). Preservice teachers' perspectives on literacy and its use in urban schools: A Vygotskian perspective on internal activity and teacher change. In C. Lee & P. Smagorinsky (Eds.), *Worlds of meaning: Vygotskian perspectives on literacy research* (pp. 314–359). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge Press.

Ball, A. F. (2000). Preparing teachers for diversity: Lessons learned from the U.S. & South Africa. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 16*, 491–509.

Ball, A. F. (2009). Toward a theory of generative change in culturally and linguistically complex classrooms. *American Educational Research Journal, 46*(1), 45–72.

Ball, A. F. (2012). To know is not enough: Knowledge, power, and the zone of generativity. *Educational Researcher, 41*(4), 283–293.

Ball, A. F., & Tyson, C. A. (Eds.). (2011). *Studying diversity in teacher education*. Washington, DC: AERA Publication/Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Ballou, D., & Podgursky, M. (2000). Reforming teacher education and licensing: What is the evidence? *Teacher College Record, 102*(1), 5–27.

Conway, P. F., Murphy, R., Rath, A., & Hall, K. (2009). *Learning to teach and its implications for the continuum of teacher education: A nine-country cross-national study*. Cork: School of Education, University College, Cork.

Cushner, K., & Mahon, J. (2002). Overseas student teaching: Affecting personal, professional, and global competencies in an age of globalization. *Journal of Studies in International Education, 6*(1), 44–58.

Darling-Hammond, L. D., & Bransford, J. (2007). *Preparing teachers for a changing world: What teachers should learn and be able to do*. Somerset: Wiley.

Epstein, R. (1993). Generativity theory and education. *Educational Technology, 33*(10), 40–45.

Epstein, R. (1999). Generativity theory. In M. A. Runco & S. R. Pritzker (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of creativity* (Vol. 1, pp. 480–487). San Diego: Academic.

Epstein, R., Schmidt, S. M., & Warfel, R. (2008). Measuring and training creativity competencies: Validation of a new test. *Creativity Research Journal, 20*, 7–12.

Erikson, E. H. (1963). *Childhood and society* (2nd ed.). New York: WW Norton & Company.

Erikson, E., & Erikson, J. (1981). On generativity and identity: From a conversation with Erik and Joan Erikson. *Harvard Educational Review, 51*, 249–269.

Foster, M. (1993). Educating for competence in community and culture: Exploring the views of exemplary African-American teachers. *Urban Education, 27*, 370–394.

Franke, M., Carpenter, T., Levi, L., & Fennema, E. (2001). Capturing teachers' generative change: A follow-up study of professional development in mathematics. *American Educational Research Journal, 38*(3), 653–689.

Freire, P. (1970) *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

Gergen, K. J. (1978). Toward generative theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36*, 1344–1360.

Giroux, H. A. (1988). *Teachers as intellectuals: Toward a critical pedagogy of learning*. New York: Bergin and Garvey.

Goodwin, L. A. (2010). *Globalization and the preparation of quality teachers: Rethinking knowledge domains for teaching*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Kincheloe, J. L. (2001). Describing the bricolage: Conceptualizing a new rigor in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 7*, 679–692.

King, J. (1991). Black students' alienation and Black teachers' emancipatory pedagogy. In M. Foster (Ed.), *Readings on equal education: Qualitative investigations into schools and schooling* (Vol. 11, pp. 245–271). New York: AMS.

Leont'ev, A. N. (1981). The problem of activity in psychology. In J. Wertsch (Ed.), *The concept of activity in Soviet psychology* (pp. 37–71). Armonk: Sharpe.

Merriam-Webster's Dictionary. (2014). Springfield: Merriam-Webster.

Moll, L. (1992). Literacy research in community and classrooms: A sociocultural approach. In R. Beach, J. L. Green, M. L. Kamil, & T. Shanahan (Eds.), *Multidisciplinary perspectives in literacy research* (pp. 211–244). Urbana: National Conference on Research in English and National Council of Teachers of English.

Orfield, G. (2014). Tenth annual Brown lecture in education research: A new civil rights agenda for American education: Creating opportunity in a stratified multiracial nation.http://mp125118.cdn.mediaplatform.com/125118/wc/mp/4000/5592/5599/29082/Archive/default.htm. Accessed 12 Sept 2014.

Paris, D. (2012). Culturally sustaining pedagogy: A needed change in the stance, terminology, and practice. *Educational Researcher, 41*, 93–97.

Sleeter, C., & Milner, R. (2011). Researching successful efforts in teacher education to diversify teachers. In A. F. Ball & C. A. Tyson (Eds.), *Studying diversity in teacher education* (pp. 399–416). Washington, DC: AERA Publication/Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

South African Ministry of Education. (2002). *Languages in higher education policy report*. Johannesburg: Author.

South African Ministry of Education. (2003). *The development of indigenous African languages as mediums of instruction in higher education*. Johannesburg: Author.

Strong, T. (2010). Collaboration, generativity, rigor, and imagination: Four words to focus and animate our practice-oriented inquiries. *Human Systems: Journal of Therapy, Consultation & Training, 21*, 380–396.

van Laren, L., Mudaly, R., Pithouse-Morgan, K., & Singh, S. (2013). *Starting with ourselves in deepening our understanding of generativity in participatory educational research*. Natal: School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1981). The genesis of higher mental functions. In J. Wertsch (Ed.), *The concept of activity in Soviet psychology* (pp. 144−188) (from Razvitie vysshikh psikhicheskikh funktsii [The development of higher mental functions]. Moskow, 1960, pp. 182−223). Armonk: Sharpe.

Walters, L. M., Garii, B., & Walters, T. (2009). *Learning globally, teaching locally: Incorporating international exchange and intercultural learning into pre-service teacher training*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

World Bank. (2014). Poverty overview. http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/poverty/overview. Accessed 15 Aug 2014.

You Teach Who You Are: The Experiences and Pedagogies of Literacy/English Teacher Educators Who Have a Critical Stance

Clare Kosnik, Pooja Dharamshi, Lydia Menna, Cathy Miyata, and Yiola Cleovoulou

Abstract This study involved 28 literacy/English teacher educators in four countries: Canada, U.S., UK, and Australia. The goal of the study was to examine their backgrounds, pedagogies, research activities, identity, and turning points in their lives. Eight of the participants self-identified as having a critical stance which they actualized through specific pedagogical choices. Their broad goals for schooling are to support pupils who are traditionally underserved. Data analysis (using NVivo) revealed commonalities across the participants; each participant had a pivotal experience in early childhood (e.g., marginalized as English Language Learners) that continues to influence their current pedagogy. Each participant provided experiences beyond the confines of the course for student teachers to work with children in high needs situations. In some cases, student teachers embraced the opportunity (and commitment to social justice), while others, would have preferred a much greater focus on practical skills and resources.

1 Introduction

Those of us who have the privilege and responsibility of teaching literacy teachers are charged with designing learning experiences that support their development of the knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed to work confidently with culturally and linguistically diverse children and families, especially those from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. This charge has never been more pressing (Rogers 2013).

Literacy is the currency of schooling, and some would say, of life. The Toronto District School Board (TDSB) (2011) argues: "Language is the most powerful tool

C. Kosnik (✉) • P. Dharamshi • L. Menna • C. Miyata • Y. Cleovoulou
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: ckosnik@oise.utoronto.ca; poojadharamshi@gmail.com; lidia.menna@utoronto.ca; cmiyata@cogeco.ca; y.cleovoulou@utoronto.ca

learners have for developing ideas and insights, for giving shape to their experiences, and for making sense of their world and their possibilities in it" (p. 1).

As Rogers notes above, there is an urgency to prepare student teachers to be effective literacy teachers. With approximately 50 % of the nation's unemployed youth (age 16–21) deemed functionally illiterate, with virtually no prospects of obtaining good jobs (Literacy Company 2014), we need sustained and creative efforts now.

Teacher educators who prepare student teachers, offer inservice courses, and do research on literacy theory and practice, are central to our collective efforts to support the literacy development of children and adolescents. Yet our understanding of the work of teacher educators is limited (Kosnik et al. 2013, 2014; Murray and Male 2005). To address this gap, we conducted a large-scale study of 28 literacy/English teacher educators (LTEs) in four countries: Canada, United States, England, and Australia. Our overall goal was to study in-depth the backgrounds and practices of a specific group of teacher educators: those who educate literacy/English teachers. We focused specifically on this subgroup because each discipline places different demands on teacher educators (Boyd and Harris 2010); for example, student teachers had expectations and external credentialing bodies imposed standards. In this chapter, we considered eight LTEs who had a critical stance; drawing on a subset from the larger sample allowed us to go into depth on their backgrounds and pedagogies. We begin this chapter with information regarding literacy achievement followed by a description of a critical stance framework.

2   Impact of Poor Literacy Skills

Being able to fully participate in society requires strong literacy skills. For example the "17 % of Canadians [who] scored at Level 1 or below … have skills that enable them to undertake tasks of limited complexity, such as locating single pieces of information in short texts in the absence of other distracting information" (Literacy Company 2014). With such limited literacy skills, employment opportunities would be scarce and even accessing support to improve one's literacy skills could be a challenge. Although we drew from a number of sources regarding literacy achievement, we recognize that statistics are open to interpretation because different measures are used, definitions of literate achievement vary, and standardized tests only measure certain skills (e.g., simple decoding skills).

Not surprisingly, literacy achievement and poverty are often linked. For those living in poverty, their situation is not simply a result of low literacy skills; an array of factors (e.g., limited access to healthcare) can create a difficult web of limiting factors. We have provided these statistics because LTEs must be mindful of the context in which student teachers work: schools are often heavily influenced/controlled by performance on standardized tests, and the prevailing discourse of accountability as measured by test scores cannot be ignored. While statistical measures of literacy can at times oversimplify and decontextualize, the situation it is worth considering the restrictive consequences often associated with limited literacy proficiency.

In the American context:

- More than 20 % of adults read at or below a fifth-grade level—far below the level needed to earn a living wage.
- More than three out of four of those on welfare, 85 % of unwed mothers, and 68 % of those arrested are illiterate. About three in five of America's prison inmates are illiterate.
- 44 million adults in the U.S. cannot read well enough to read a simple story to a child.
- 60 % of America's prison inmates are illiterate and 85 % of all juvenile offenders have reading problems (Literacy Company 2014).

These statistics on specific segments of the population that have limited literacy skills were alarming and sobering.

3   Preparing Inclusive Teachers: A Call to Action

In order to prepare pupils for full participation in society, student teachers need to acquire a repertoire of pedagogies, as well as a disposition that includes a commitment to teaching all learners. LTEs play a key role in their student teachers' development because they help them to acquire the skills to teach effectively, introduce them to new ideas about teaching and learning, and encourage them to unpack their own assumptions and embrace practices they may have not encountered in their own schools (Williamson 2013; Yandell 2012). When student teachers come to their literacy methods courses their own backgrounds and views influence how they respond to the material and engage in the learning opportunities offered. For example, Ghiso et al. (2013) "showcases pedagogies within her courses that invite pre- and in-service teachers to disrupt deficit assumptions about students' languages and literacies, and to view these as connected to their own varied histories and identities" (p. 52).

All LTEs in this study conceptualized and delivered their courses in a unique manner by making choices and prioritizing topics. Their own experiences as readers and writers, their work as classroom teachers, their research activities, and their life experiences influenced how they structured their courses, the goals they set for themselves and their student teachers, and the messages (both subtle and overt) they sent.

4   Critical Stance

There is a growing trend for teacher educators to adopt a critical stance. This includes attitudes and dispositions that link "individuals to larger groups and social movements intended to challenge the inequities perpetuated by the educational status quo" (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009, p. vii). In *Creating Critical Classrooms: K–8 Reading and Writing with an Edge*, Lewison et al. (2008) identified four dimensions of a critical stance:

1. consciously engaging;
2. entertaining alternate ways of being;
3. taking responsibility to inquire; and
4. being reflexive.

These dimensions should not be considered linear; rather they are cyclical in nature. Since they are interactive and recurring they lead "to renaming (Freire 1970) and [re-theorizing], which reactivates the critical stance cycle" (p. 13). Assuming a critical stance is a deliberate choice that is "intended to be a lifelong and constant pursuit" (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009, p. 28). The four dimensions of a critical stance (Lewison et al. 2008) are outlined in more detail next; although presented separately they are interrelated.

4.1 Consciously Engaging

To adopt and develop a critical stance, educators must consciously engage by monitoring their use and interpretation of language and actions to see how they maintain or disrupt the status quo. They not only respond to events but they also decide how to respond to them (Lewison et al. 2008, p. 13). This includes developing a mindfulness and awareness of social issues. For instance, Skerrett (2009) responded to neighborhood inequalities by having her student teachers examine "how social class was constructed in relation to race and gender and how social class was evidenced in the infrastructures and political capital of their neighborhoods" (p. 58).

4.2 Entertaining Alternate Ways of Being

Lewison et al. (2008) describe entertaining alternate ways of being as "creating and trying on new discourses" (p. 16). Educators modify their teaching when they realize what they believe about teaching, learning, and curriculum is not working. "Tension" is used as a resource (e.g., analyzing the discrepancies in topics covered in teacher-education courses vs. practice-teaching placements) to support alternate ways of being. Ghiso et al. (2013), for example, aimed to "foster an orientation that values students' languages, identities, and histories as resources" (p. 57).

4.3 Taking Responsibility to Inquire

Developing a critical stance includes the responsibility to inquire. This means placing inquiry, interrogation, and investigation at the forefront. Lewison et al. (2008) explain that taking responsibility to inquire means "we push our beliefs out of their

resting positions and engage in a cycle where new knowledge provokes new questions and where new questions generate new knowledge" (p. 17). Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2009), who coined the term *inquiry as stance*, argue that "working from and with an inquiry stance involves a continual process of making current arrangements problematic … [and] … questioning the ways knowledge and practice are constructed, evaluated, and used" (p. 121).

4.4 Being Reflexive

Being reflexive means "being aware of our own complicity in maintaining the status quo or systems of injustice" (Lewison et al. 2008, p. 18). Kamler (1999, p. 191) noted: "catching ourselves in incongruent and contradictory behavior is hopeful. It is a sign that we are engaged in the struggle of trying on new identities and discourses" (as cited in Lewison et al. 2008, p. 18). Many teacher educators require their student teachers to write an autobiography to help them increase their awareness of their involvement in current systems of injustice (Sleeter 2013, p. 154). By actively questioning "who was present and absent in communities where they grew up, core values they learned in their families, beliefs they hold about people who differ from themselves, and their conceptions of what 'good teaching' looks like" (Sleeter 2013, p. 154), student teachers can begin to "outgrow" themselves.

5 Methodology

The eight LTEs we focused on in this chapter were clearly in line with a critical stance as described above. In selecting them, we considered three sources of information. First, their pedagogical practices exemplified the four dimensions of a critical stance. Second, their research and publications often considered issues such as marginalized students, the hidden values of language, and issues of equity and social justice. And third, the theorists who resonated with them (e.g., Freire, Delpit, Luke, Gaye, Ladson-Billings, Kress, and Genishi) come from a critical perspective.

We interviewed participants twice over the period April 2012 to August 2013. Each semi-structured interview took approximately 60–90 min. We asked the same questions of all participants, but added probe questions and welcomed additional comments. Most of the questions were open-ended in that they sought more than a yes/no responses or simple factual answers.

The first interview had five parts:

- background experiences
- qualities (in their view) of an effective literacy educator

- identity (e.g., their academic community)
- turning points in their career (personal and professional)
- and research activities.

The second interview had four parts:

- framework and goals for their literacy course(s)
- pedagogies used and reasons for using them
- assignments and readings
- how and why their views and practices have changed over the years.

Interviews were done either face to face or on Skype and were audio-recorded and transcribed.

Much of our methodology was qualitative, as defined by Merriam (2009) and Punch (2009). Qualitative inquiry was justified as it provided a depth of understanding and enabled the exploration of questions that did not on the whole lend themselves to quantitative inquiry (Guyton and McIntyre 1990; Merriam 2009). Qualitative inquiry opened the way to gaining entirely unexpected ideas and information from participants, in addition to finding out their opinions on simple pre-set matters. We used a modified grounded theory approach: not beginning with a fixed theory, but generating theory inductively from the data using a set of techniques and procedures for collection and analysis (Punch 2009). As the analysis progressed, we identified key themes and refined them—adding some and deleting or merging others—through "constant comparison" with the interview transcripts. As Strauss (2003) stated: "The basic question facing us is how to capture the complexity of the reality (phenomena) we study, and how to make convincing sense of it" (p. 16). For data analysis, we used NVivo, and went through a number of steps, which included coding the interviews and analyzing course outlines.

Our eight participants have a range of experience as both classroom teachers and instructors in higher education (see Table 1).

Table 1 Background of participants

Name	Years at the university	Years as a classroom teacher
Pietro	5	7
Maya	3	4
Giovanni	10	10
Melissa	7	6
Justin	10	20+
Sara	13	10
Dominique	4	8
Misa	5	7

5.1 Influence of Personal Experience

Data analysis revealed that all participants had key formative experiences (e.g., in childhood) that heavily influenced their views and practices as both teachers and teacher educators. This strong link between early life experiences and their current views and practices revealed that their philosophy was not driven by abstract theory; rather, personal experiences seemed to be the impetus for their critical stance.

Maya experienced first-hand the stigma of being an English Language Learner (ELL), which led to her emphasizing in her teacher-education courses the needs of ELL students who are often marginalized in school.

> I became very aware of the stratification [in school]. I was a very successful student on Saturday [Spanish class] but I was the same student [in elementary class] where I was not recognized. My lack of English was really [seen as] a lack of intelligence—I just got a sense of how school structures perceive and label students and give very unequal types of educational opportunities.

Pietro's own traumatic elementary schooling experiences set him on a lifelong mission to recognize the potential in each student:

> I was a rotten student. I flunked second grade. I was considered to be learning disabled … I was diagnosed with all sorts of things, including dyslexia. I was branded as someone who would never read and write. And obviously, as a PhD from Stanford, that was an inaccurate diagnosis, which is infuriating … I had some very well-intentioned teachers who tried to fix the problem, but the truth is that that was a life-shaping experience.

Events in adulthood also proved to be powerful. Pietro, as a beginning teacher, worked with incarcerated youth, while Giovanni as a graduate student interviewed his grandfather for a course assignment only to discover the marginalization he had experienced as an immigrant. These experiences had a profound influence on them as teacher educators: Pietro had his student teachers visit a jail for young offenders, while Giovanni involved his student teachers in a church-based program for the local immigrant community. As a secondary school teacher, Justin's school received a failing grade by the Office of Standards in Education, Children's Services, and Skills (OFSTED), which then required the teachers to implement a draconian curriculum. Justin described the consequence of the inspectors' intervention as catastrophic. "It turned a school that was a challenging place to work into a school that was impossible, and it closed … that was a kind of very traumatic turning point." As an LTE, Justin encouraged his student teachers to consider the impact of political decisions on schooling. Melissa identified a host of life experiences that affected her work as a teacher educator:

> I think being a mother influences me, but also being a woman, a woman of color, being a speaker of English as another language, being someone who has been barred from entering my place of work because of the way I look. [They] tried to buy me out of baby-sitting my own child in the upper west side. So those are experiences that I bring to my classroom.

When each of our eight LTEs was considered holistically, we could appreciate that they teach who they are. Life experiences greatly influenced their work as LTEs. Giovanni felt that "my own narratives and memories … are very much a resource for my teaching and pedagogy."

6   Critical Stance Pedagogy

Across our participants, we found a number of commonalities regarding their pedagogy: commitment to their student teachers, a willingness to be flexible, a thoughtful approach to course development, and creative ways to fully involve student teachers in courses. We now describe in more detail how our eight participants actualized the four aspects of a critical stance.

6.1   Consciously Engaging

The first dimension of the framework focused on mindfulness, intentionality, and awareness of social issues (beyond basic teaching and learning skills). Our participants actualized this dimension by establishing clear goals for their courses and by providing *space* for working through difficult topics. Because the LTEs believed in walking their talk, they modeled many of the innovative and inclusive practices they advocate.

6.1.1   Goals of Literacy Course

All eight LTEs set clear and expansive goals for their courses, which gave student teachers opportunities to think critically and creatively about issues of power and privilege in teaching. Maya said, "the goal is for [student teachers] to understand that literacy isn't neutral … And for them to disrupt some of the hierarchies." Justin explained that his goal was to "prepare beginning teachers for a life-time of teaching [which] involves them being able to be both critical of initiatives that are thrust upon them and creative in their approaches." Pietro wanted his "student teachers to problematize … [and] to think about literacy as being broader than traditional views about reading, writing, and speaking."

All LTEs used a critical lens to frame the content of their courses. Dominique included "a lot about teaching diverse learners particularly and diverse communities and multi-lingual communities but with a twenty-first century literacies perspective." Melissa involved her student teachers in a school-based tutoring project. As part of this work, "student teachers must get to know [a] child" and were required to "to document the child's interests" while being "culturally responsive." Her overall goal was for her student teachers to understand the lived experience of the children.

6.1.2   Exploring Difficult Topics Through Class Discussions

Exploring difficult issues in a deliberate manner was a strategy to help student teachers appreciate the complexity of education. For example, Giovanni aimed to have student teachers recognize how social injustices and power imbalances can manifest themselves in teaching. Class discussions addressed "issues of power or racism or

class … it could also be related to the erosion of the public education system." To understand the complexity and long-term impact of these systemic issues, student teachers were encouraged to draw on experiences (both personal and from their practice-teaching placements), which they shared in class discussions. Because their reflections/comments were rooted in their lived experiences, the discussions were often intense. Giovanni noted: "When you take a socio-cultural perspective and you address the politics of literacy and identity and culture and power, it's really intense." Dominique acknowledged the difficulty her student teachers faced because the issues cannot be easily resolved. She described the process of taking up difficult topics as "nerve racking." Pietro described a powerful learning moment:

> [Initially] I talk a lot about English Language Arts without talking about race and culture … the identity of your students is very likely not your identity, particularly in urban schools. And then we [use the] Delpit [framework to guide our discussion]. It is a hard conversation every year. They are scared, they feel vulnerable. I try to broker this conversation. I'm a White, gay man in front of you talking about all of this stuff. How do we position ourselves in the classroom? How do our own identities inform our teaching practices? Some of them are terrified. I've had a class where ironically, here we are, talking about race and identity in the classroom and all of the people of color in my class did not talk. So we are reading the silence … Even in our class where we have all this safe space there is stuff going on. And then I have to say what's that? What just happened here?

By creating a space to address difficult issues, our LTEs modelled the language and dispositions of consciously engaged teachers and demonstrated the courage required to recognize and address social inequities.

6.2 Entertaining Alternate Ways of Being

This dimension of a critical stance focused on "creating and trying on new discourses" (Lewison et al. 2008, p. 16). By first helping student teachers to expand narrow conceptualizations of literacy and then acquire more inclusive literacy practices, the LTEs created new discourses about literacy.

6.2.1 Helping Student Teachers Unlearn

When asked about goals for their course, many of our LTEs stated that having student teachers *unlearn* what they knew about literacy was a priority because many came to the teacher certification program with a narrow understanding of literacy. The LTEs often had to disrupt the notions student teachers had about literacy because they often viewed literacy as a discreet set of autonomous skills (e.g., reading, writing) separate from a pupil's social, cultural, and historical contexts. Many student teachers understood literacy in the same way it had been presented to them as school-aged children. Misa described her motivations for having her students "detach" from their previous school-based experiences, or in other words, unlearn:

> You have to unlearn what it means to be a school student … they've been in schools for years with a certain type of culture and norms, so they know how to do school, they know how to be good students. I don't care about that. Now you've got to learn, you are a teacher, you are part of a learning community…

To help them unlearn, the LTEs created space for new discourses in their classrooms. Melissa and Justin discussed at length the challenge of having student teachers who held very traditional views of literacy, views that were inadequate for effectively teaching those students who were most vulnerable. Melissa created several opportunities for student teachers "to really appreciate young children" and in turn "to realize that they are already [literate] regardless of whether they are doing [literacy] in traditional ways."

Five of eight LTE asked their student teachers to do a literacy autobiography as a way for them to understand their own relationships to literacy and schooling. This in turn often led to them expanding their narrow view of literacy. Justin believed that writing a literacy autobiography provided an opportunity to "create and try on new discourses." He shared the reaction of one of his student teachers who came from a multi-lingual background: "It was the first time in the whole of her educational career that she had been encouraged to take a positive view of her bilingualism or of her culture." Justin was able to create a new discourse around language in his classroom. By drawing on his student teachers' diverse backgrounds, he challenged English as the dominant language of power.

6.2.2 Using Alternate Texts and Forms of Expression

To help student teachers gain an expansive view of literacy (beyond traditional print-based text), the LTEs accessed alternative texts, and alternative forms of expression. These were a way to *unsettle* their student teachers from the dominant discourses about literacy. These included slam poetry, greeting cards, Twitter, Facebook, Boalian theater, graphic novels, and hands-on art projects. The LTEs noted that after engaging with an alternative text, student teachers commented that some pupils who were not successful with traditional paper and pencil may be able to excel in multimedia and multimodal environments.

Using non-traditional literacy texts provided examples of literacy beyond the course textbook and helped student teachers unpack issues related to equity. Maya included graphic novels to "purposefully unsettle the reader." She used "*American Born Chinese* (Yang 2006), which raised a lot of issues around identity and language, ethnicity … and also has some uncomfortable stereotypes." By using alternative texts (not traditional academic readings), Maya encouraged student teachers to question their own reading practices and asked: "What position do you read from?" This, in turn, raised their awareness of the multiplicity of literacy practices required by teachers and that should be available to students. Both form and content of course readings proved to be powerful tools.

Videos were often used in very creative ways. After showing a video about a mother and son's experience as sweatshop workers, Giovanni and his student

teachers identified and discussed the literacies enacted by the mother and son in their challenging work environment. Alternatively, Dominique had her student teachers create, rather than analyze, videos based on inquiry questions (that they generated from their practice-teaching placements). She described the assignment along with its outcomes:

> They create a video case. They go into a classroom to document the ways that kids are taking those ideas up in small groups and then they share those with each other and talk about practice and relate it back to some of the theories they've been learning about in the class … new understandings we have, things that don't make sense at all … any of those types of questions.

6.3 Taking Responsibility to Inquire

Taking responsibility to inquire, the third dimension of the critical stance framework, encouraged educators to question how knowledge was constructed, to consider how students are positioned within educational contexts, and to investigate the multiple perspectives that impact teaching and learning (Lewison et al. 2008). An inquiry stance challenged student teachers to "push [their] beliefs out of their resting positions and engage in a cycle where new knowledge provokes new questions and where new questions generate new knowledge" (Lewison et al. 2008, p. 17). The eight LTEs adopted an inquiry stance as a central component in their pedagogy of literacy-teacher education.

6.3.1 Viewing Teachers as Intellectuals

The LTEs encouraged student teachers to see teaching as an intellectual practice, rather than a technical act focused on the rigid application of a scripted curriculum. Justin, for example, described his goal for teacher education "as being about the development of teachers as public intellectuals." His aim "is not simply to prepare beginning teachers for whatever the particular curricular or pedagogic demands of policy here now are, but for a lifetime in teaching." Similarly, Misa set high expectations for student teachers in an effort to motivate them to see themselves as teachers who were part of an intellectual "learning community." She used an inquiry approach to urge student teachers to critically probe the assumptions about schooling they brought with them to their teacher-education studies. Accordingly, she noted: "I don't want [them] to enact the same types of pedagogies that [they] brought to this space of just consuming what somebody wants"; rather, she encouraged student teachers to be "generative" and "creative thinkers." She wanted student teachers to consider how literacy practices function to marginalize students within school contexts. She explained:

I want to engage the student [teachers] in inquiry … I want them to discover some things about how literacy works to position people or to exert power through their own inquiring into text. So I see my role as a facilitating conversations between the readings and then providing particular examples and scaffolds so that we can inquire together and they can arrive at different understandings.

One of the ways Maya enacted this goal was by using the schoolwork of children as a tool to disrupt student teachers' assumptions of what counts as legitimate knowledge within school spaces:

So, rather than say language learners are really smart, even though the ways that they are assessed in schools doesn't necessarily show that, instead I just bring in a lot of student work. We talk about it together and they [student teachers] think about it in relationship to the [course] readings. We were talking about the idea of who counts as literate in school and whose knowledge counts.

6.3.2   Considering Multiple Perspectives

The LTEs employed an inquiry stance to encourage student teachers to consider how the inclusion of multiple perspectives can enrich their understanding of teaching and learning. For example, Maya complicated the notion of expertise through the use of dual language texts to "trouble dominant assumptions" about "whose knowledge counts." She used a text "partly written in Spanish" in her literacy class to prompt student teachers to question the teacher's role as "expert" within the classroom. The activity provoked varying responses from student teachers and raised provocative questions. She explained:

Some [student teachers] feel uncomfortable. Some people might feel indignant that it's not English so they turn to Google translate. It makes us ask a lot of questions like: Are you the primary audience for this? What was the purpose of structuring the book in this particular way? Whose perspectives are included, excluded, who's privileged?

Sara recognized that her knowledge of a topic relevant to the surrounding community was limited, and so she invited community-based members into her university class to share their experience. This practice allowed the student teachers to gain valuable insight into the community. She explained:

We've been working with the Somalian population. So we would have someone from the community come in to provide cultural [and] linguistic background about traditions [and] stories.

An inquiry approach encouraged student teachers to base their teaching practice around the needs of the community and the issues relevant to the lives of their pupils. Misa suggested that an integral part of her literacy pedagogy was "maintaining an ongoing dialogue that extends beyond the classroom." Correspondingly, she encouraged student teachers to actively engage with the community. Misa was "always inviting [her] students to volunteer or participate in [community] activities because you've got to make what you are talking about in class real." Engagement with the community can motivate student teachers to situate their pedagogical

practice around issues important to their pupils' lives, rather than strictly adhere to a decontextualized curriculum.

6.4   Being Reflexive

The fourth dimension of a critical stance required LTEs to investigate themselves and allow their student teachers to do the same. This included looking at "beliefs they hold about people who differ from themselves, and their conceptions of what 'good teaching' looks like" (Lewison et al. 2008, p. 154). Through this process, both LTEs and student teachers could *outgrow* themselves. To this end, our LTEs adopted an organic and flexible structure for their literacy courses.

6.4.1   An Organic and Flexible Course Structure

When asked if their courses were pre-set or organic, all eight LTEs responded that their courses were flexible and evolved according to the needs and responses of their student teachers. Maya explained that her student teachers "bring in things from the field, and based on what they give us or what kinds of questions they have, we move things around or I plan the activities based off that for the course." Her flexibility allowed her student teachers time to question what they had noted during practice teaching and then compare their observations to critical perspectives advocated in the literacy course. Maya's student teachers were constantly reflecting, which in turn helped them to grow as educators.

By Misa not tightly scripting her individual classes, she and her student teachers engaged in "conversational dialogue." She admitted that at times this felt like a "digression," but "sometimes those digressions [were] where some of the most powerful learning happen[ed]." Misa's organic approach allowed her student teachers to discuss topics that mattered to them and engage "in the struggle of trying on [the] new identities and discourses" that were needed to develop a critical stance (Kamler 1999). Yet, this flexible approach was demanding in many ways, especially on personal time. Misa explained:

> In terms of being inclusive, you have to be so present and in the moment to know if different students have different needs. [S]tudents seem to have no problem emailing me all hours of the night [with] questions, concerns, pleads for an extension or combinations. I think I try to be a human professor, in terms of just understanding that we are all human and things happen.

Misa's enactment of a critical stance involved sacrificing her personal time. By being readily available to her student teachers, she showed them that teachers must attend to their pupils' needs beyond formal class time. She was willing to do whatever it took to prepare her student teachers to work in schools where demands on their personal time were often extraordinary.

In addition to sacrificing personal time, an organic approach was challenging for our LTEs because many were still required to address a formal curriculum (e.g., cover specific topics). In order to address the mandated topics and help student teachers think more broadly, they carefully selected readings, which often considered wider political-cultural contexts (e.g., readings by Delpit). Giovanni explained how topics "arise organically in the [university] classroom" and as a result, "this year we devoted more time than usual to mental health issues … and that was very different than last year." Because these discussions were important to his student teachers, he provided the time they needed to grapple with the issues not on the official course syllabus.

By using a flexible pedagogy our LTEs offered courses that challenged student teachers to *outgrow* themselves; they addressed pertinent and relevant issues and met the student teachers as individuals.

6.4.2   Providing Authentic Learning Experiences

A second strategy our LTEs used to develop reflexivity was to provide student teachers with *authentic* learning experiences. To achieve this, they often connected with local communities and schools.

Sara felt that it was necessary to keep "[the] community–school–university partnership" thriving. By being actively involved in schools, her student teachers had opportunities to work with struggling children on a regular basis. This gave them first-hand experience with teaching literacy; because of her particular model, the student teachers were accountable for the children's learning. Similarly, Melissa's student teachers were responsible for the children they were tutoring:

> Initially, they are little bit overwhelmed because they realize that they do have a responsibility … that they have a responsibility to an elementary school child and there are specific expectations that they need to fulfill because that child is waiting for them. So there is a relationship instead of just being about the content of the course. Working with the children, they are really responsible and responsive.

Although challenging and at times frightening for the student teachers, they acquired skills for effectively teaching literacy to struggling/marginalized children.

It was not sufficient for these LTEs to teach their student teachers *about* children; rather, as Misa noted, they wanted their student teachers to "get to know children and plan around their interests and get to know their cultural backgrounds." Only in this way could the student teachers recognize how they needed to adapt and grow in order to be effective agents of social change.

6.5   Student Teacher Response

As the findings above show, our eight LTEs used a rich and thoughtful pedagogy. Yet some student teachers were *resistant* to the ideas and practices presented. There were a number of reasons for the opposition. Some believed there was a standard

pedagogy that should be used with all children. Dominique felt her student teachers just wanted her "to tell [them] how to do it right, like what's the right way." Similarly, Sara's student teachers did not understand why she did not have "the right answer … they see it as complicated, well it is complicated, complex. So it's been a life struggle." Other student teachers drew heavily on the pedagogies used in their childhood and could not see why these would not work with all children. Dominique found it was difficult for some student teachers to embrace a more critical stance because "throughout their whole career they have had a path of how to do it well and how to do it right." When they came into her class she said "we are going to think differently about literacy instruction because each of your kids is different" This was hard for them. She noted that the "whole time they were skeptical"; for some, it was fear of the unknown, while for others it was the narrowness of their vision of literacy that filtered their response to the course.

Another reason for student teacher resistance was not ideological, but logistical. The courses developed by our eight participants often included an off-site experience (e.g., tutoring children in high-needs schools) that required student teachers to travel. Some felt this inconvenience was unnecessary, believing everything they needed to learn could be taught on the university campus. Sara, who set up a tutoring program, felt that "even though I believe it's a great model, there is a lot of resistance … Some of them want to go to a lecture and want to go to a tutorial and want to have a textbook and want to have all of my knowledge … want it laid out for [them]."

Of course, some of our participants described student teachers who found their courses very helpful because they opened up a whole new dimension of teaching. One of Justin's students commented at the end of the course that "it took me quite a while to realize that what you do with us in the seminar on Friday is modeling the kind of practice you'd like us to adopt in school." Nevertheless, the resistance from student teachers, who were often very vocal, was troubling for our LTEs.

7   Discussion

The eight LTEs presented in this chapter adopted a critical stance. They are remarkable individuals who worked tirelessly for their students and the wider community. Having been formed by their personal and professional experiences, they teach who they are. It was not simply their advanced academic studies (e.g., completion of a PhD) that influenced their views; rather, their lived experiences shaped them as individuals, which influenced their specific goals for schooling. These were thoughtfully determined and were matched with appropriate pedagogies in order to help student teachers think differently about schooling. The teacher educators modelled a critical stance, provided readings, and set assignments consistent with their stance, yet they were realistic about the context in which they worked. Misa described her situation:

> I want to cultivate their confidence as teachers, I also have to be confident in what I'm doing and clear about my goals and my teaching objectives so that when I'm faced with this kind of resistance, disrespect, disregard, in the classroom by students that I don't let it thwart me off my mission and where I'm going.

Our eight LTEs often had to *soldier on* in difficult conditions: restrictive government mandates, lack of university support, resistant student teachers, and unsympathetic colleagues. Their efforts need to be recognized, yet we wonder to what extent they can continue these extraordinary efforts over the long term. In order for them to provide such a dynamic pedagogy and rich learning opportunities, they need more institutional support. For example, setting up and running tutoring programs should not be the sole responsibility of a course instructor.

It is very difficult for a single course to expand and/or shift student teachers' entrenched deficit views of children, expand narrow goals for schooling, and challenge a belief in a limited set of teaching practices. If schools of education are truly committed to helping all children thrive, they must move beyond rhetoric to practice, so that student teachers are immersed in a teacher-education program with a consistent and overriding philosophy. If student teachers are to truly grasp the complexity of education, each course must enact similar practices (e.g., authentic learning experiences). In the case of our LTEs a program-wide approach may have lessened the resistance from student teachers because the message of what needs to be learned would have been reinforced by all instructors. Further, schools of education in the future need to select teacher educators not based simply on their publication records and grants secured, but should look at them as individuals. What lived experiences do they bring to their courses?

Looking forward schools of education need to take a leadership role in countering the prevailing discourse, which focuses on test scores as a sign of achievement and a for a more expansive curriculum. Pietro believed that we need to "prepare [student teaches] for the schools that we have while simultaneously preparing them for the schools that we want." Yes, this will all take time, but time is not a luxury for many children who are wallowing in poverty or are offered a substandard education because of the color of their skin or where they live. As Rogers (2013) noted in the opening quote to this chapter, their needs have "never been more pressing" (p. 7). Individually, and as a society, we need thoughtful re-visioning of education now.

We believe these eight outstanding LTEs will influence the views and practices of their student teachers. When these student teachers begin their role as teachers, we hope that they will enact what they have learned about an inclusive and dynamic pedagogy. In turn, this may help their pupils to acquire literacy skills that will allow them to see themselves as literate, and may provide their pupils with the skills to secure a decent-paying job, which may eventually lift them from poverty.

References

Boyd, P., & Harris, K. (2010). Becoming a university lecturer in teacher education: Expert school teachers reconstructing their pedagogy and identity. *Professional Development in Education, 36*(1–2), 9–24.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (2009). *Inquiry as stance: Practitioner research for the next generation*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder.

Ghiso, M., Spencer, T., Ngo, L., & Campano, G. (2013). Critical inquiry into literacy teacher education: Accounting for students. In C. Kosnik, J. Rowsell, P. Williamson, R. Simon, & C. Beck (Eds.), *Literacy teacher educators: Preparing student teachers for a changing world* (pp. 51–64). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Guyton, E., & McIntyre, J. (1990). Student teaching and school experiences. In W. R. Houston (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teacher education* (pp. 514–534). New York: Macmillan.

Kamler, B. (1999). The lovely doll who's come to school: Morning meeting talk as gendered language practice. In B. Kamler (Ed.), *Constructing gender and difference: Critical research perspectives on early childhood* (pp. 191–213). Cresskill: Hampton Press.

Kosnik, C., Menna, L., Dharmashi, P., Miyata, C., & Beck, C. (2013). A foot in many camps: Literacy teacher educators acquiring knowledge across many realms and juggling multiple identities. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 39*(5), 534–540.

Kosnik, C., Dharmashi, P., Miyata, C., Cleovoulou, Y., & Beck, C. (2014). Beyond initial transition: An international examination of the complex work of experienced literacy/English teacher educators. *English in Education, 48*(1), 41–62.

Lewison, M., Leland, C., & Harste, J. (2008). *Creating critical classrooms: K–8 reading and writing with an edge*. New York: Routledge.

Literacy Company. (2014). Reading, literacy & education statistics. http://www.readfaster.com/education_stats.asp#literacystatistics. Accessed 20 Sept 2014.

Merriam, S. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Murray, J., & Male, T. (2005). Becoming a teacher educator: Evidence from the field. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 21*(2), 125–142.

Punch, K. (2009). *Introduction to research methods in education*. London: Sage.

Rogers, R. (2013). Cultivating diversity through critical literacy in teacher education. In C. Kosnik, J. Rowsell, P. Williamson, R. Simon, & C. Beck (Eds.), *Literacy teacher educators: Preparing student teachers for a changing world* (pp. 7–20). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Skerrett, A. (2009). Teaching critical literacy for social justice. *Action in Teacher Education, 31*(4), 54–68.

Sleeter, C. (2013). *Power, teaching, and teacher education: Confronting injustice with critical research and action*. New York: Peter Lang.

Strauss, A. (2003). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists* (14th ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Toronto District School Board (TDSB). (2011). *The TDSB expected practice series in literacy*. Toronto: Author.

Williamson, P. (2013). Engaging literacy practices through inquiry and enactment in teacher education. In C. Kosnik, J. Rowsell, P. Williamson, R. Simon, & C. Beck (Eds.), *Literacy teacher educators: Preparing student teachers for a changing world* (pp. 135–148). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Yandell, J. (2012). Different ways of reading, or just making the right noises? *Changing English, 19*(3), 283–294.

Yang, G. L. (2006). *American born Chinese*. New York: First Second.

Poverty, Schooling, and Beginning Teachers Who Make a Difference: A Case Study from England

Joanna McIntyre and Pat Thomson

Abstract Education policy makers in England have, over the last 30 years, radically changed schooling. The introduction of a national curriculum, national testing regimes, school inspections and school league tables has been at the heart of these changes as they constitute the basis for claims for and concerns about school and system improvement. The pre-service education of teachers has also been transformed during this period. Once dominated by time spent in higher education, teacher 'training' as it is known, now consists of diverse routes, all much more school-based. The latest policy shift to 'teaching schools' and the 'school direct' route intentionally makes universities even more marginal to teacher preparation. At the same time, policymakers, schools and university faculties of education remain concerned about children from low-income families whose life opportunities are not enhanced by educational success. The 30 year policy settlement of marketization and privatization has produced some overall increase in the mass level of education but has not shifted the tenacious correlation between parental income and levels of formal education and educational attainment. Teacher educators in higher education and in schools have little time or space to address this question directly. In this chapter we present a case study of the teacher education programme which is deliberately designed to address questions of poverty and educational disadvantage—Teach First, a 'leadership development' scheme which takes 'high calibre graduates' into the most disadvantaged schools in the country.

1 Introduction

> In Britain today 3.6 million children are growing up in households so poor, providing basics like heating and food is a daily struggle.
>
> It takes time and persistence to change the story of a child's lifetime, but with every day that goes by thousands more children get left behind.

J. McIntyre (✉) • P. Thomson
University of Nottingham, Nottingham, UK
e-mail: joanna.mcintyre@nottingham.ac.uk; patricia.thomson@nottingham.ac.uk

The stark reality is that children from the poorest families, who are eligible for free school meals, are only half as likely to get five A*-C grades at GSCE as other children.

The achievement gap begins long before a child starts primary school, and continues long after. A child growing up in poverty can all too often become trapped in a downward spiral of job opportunities, poor health and involvement in crime. In some areas they will even die sooner than their wealthier neighbours.

The reasons are complex. The problem looks different for different children in different parts of the country but stems from a lack of opportunities, a lack of resources, and the low expectations others have of them. Put simply, a child's socioeconomic background—things they can't choose like the street they grew up on and how much their parents earn—have too much of an impact on how well they did at school and the choices they have later in life.

Educational inequality in the UK is real. It's happening here, it's happening now and it's preventing too many children from living the lives they could and should.

We are Teach First and we believe this can change. (Teach First 2014d)

In this chapter, we address the Teach First teacher-education program,[1] which, in England, is deliberately designed to address questions of poverty and educational disadvantage. Teach First, a charity, is based on Teach for America, and other variations are now operating in many parts of the world. This scheme takes 'high calibre individuals' into the most disadvantaged schools in the country (Teach First 2014a). Teach First is often seen as undermining 'quality' teacher education, as participants begin with a short 6-week university-based induction program before they are placed in schools to work as teachers. However, schools generally like the program. They see it as not only alleviating a teacher shortage, but also providing enthusiastic and by and large very capable people who want to work in circumstances that many more qualified teachers do not.

Here, against the backdrop of increasing poverty and the current neoliberal English policy settlement, we offer a case study of a university education faculty, two schools, and their Teach First teachers. We suggest that, in the context of radical school autonomy, working for equity in the short term is less a question of systemic intervention, and more a question of systematic school-by-school action. In this situation, universities still have an important coordinating role to play, if they can maintain good working relationships with schools and their staff.

We begin by outlining the current policy context in England before going on to signal the depth and spread of poverty.

2   Teacher Education in England: A Brief History

English education policy can be understood, as Apple (2001) suggests, as an uneasy combination of two approaches: neoliberal (market approach to provide greater freedoms) and neoconservative (tightly controlled and centrally governed systems of restrictions and sanctions). Beginning in earnest with the 1988 Education Reform

---

[1] The Teach First charity does not identity itself as an initial teacher education program; the website describes instead a 2 year 'Leadership Development Programme' (Teach First 2014a).

Act, devolved schools and increasingly powerless local authorities have become subject to centralized audit and governance. The rhetoric of parent choice, competition, transparency, and autonomy has accompanied the ever-growing importance of examination results, league tables, and inspections (Ball 2008; Gunter 2011; Whitty 2002). Today, English parents can choose to pay for private schooling or, depending on their geographical location, can opt for selective grammar schools, centrally financed academies, free schools, schools within a teaching school alliance, local authority schools, or they can even set up their own free school with government funding. A similar pattern of market choice and increased accountability has emerged in relation to teacher training.

The picture of initial teacher education (ITE) within England is now very complicated. Potential teachers can choose from various routes, ranging from Troops to Teaching (an attempt to attract former service people skilled at enforcing discipline), employment-based routes (such as Teach First), and more traditional programs such as the undergraduate Bachelor in Education (B. Ed) and Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE). More recently, schools have been encouraged to offer placements through School Direct, a program that can lead to qualified teacher status (QTS) and, if universities are involved, may also lead to the award of PGCE, in many cases with masters level credits. Accrediting providers of ITE can be universities or high-performing schools designated as the lead school within school-centered initial teacher training (SCITT). This is a markedly different picture from 40 years ago when all teacher education involved university provision and government involvement was limited.

How did we get here?

In 1979, Prime Minster Callaghan challenged the 'secret garden' of schools and declared that there would henceforth be greater government interest in assessment, curriculum, and teacher training (Callaghan 1976). This pronouncement heralded the beginning of a myriad of ITE policy initiatives. Increased monitoring and control of university teacher training began in earnest in the early 1990s when the government prescribed the amount of time trainee teachers should spend in schools (Department for Education 1992); implemented a centralized inspection body for schools and ITE; and introduced the first SCITTs. At the heart of this policy agenda was the desire to involve schools more in teacher training and to challenge traditional university provision, which was perceived as being too theoretical and out of touch (Judge et al. 1994). Successive government policy initiatives effectively introduced centralized control of the content of ITE courses, including a short-lived prescribed national ITE curriculum (Department for Education and Employment 1988). Lists of competencies morphed into a set of prescribed 'standards', outlining the skills, knowledge and understandings required for successful qualification as a teacher.

Higher education now has an ambivalent place in ITE within England. The coalition government's White Paper (Department for Education 2010) and accompanying Implementation Plan (Department for Education 2011) further shifted the direction of policy from school-based to school-led ITE. The government view that "teaching is a craft and is best learnt as an apprentice observing a master craftsman or woman" (Gove 2010) produced the School Direct route. Schools that bid for

School Direct placements can choose to work with SCITTs to accredit the provision, rather than with universities. It is claimed that bids for School Direct trainees have increased over the last 3 years from 3000 to 17,700 (from a pool of 35,000 places) (Taylor 2014). However, there is as yet no localized system of monitoring supply and demand for these places; these are awarded to lead schools and universities who perform well in Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education) inspections. And while the White Paper did discuss the importance of Master's level qualifications for teachers, this seems to have been subsequently downplayed. In 2012, the government announced that academies and free schools could employ unqualified teachers.

This chapter focuses on Teach First, the other major school-led ITE route. Teach for America and Teach First are the founding models of a national Teach For All movement with a shared mission to place highly qualified graduates in schools serving communities with high levels of socio-economic deprivation. Teach First was launched in London in 2002, adapting Teach for America's model to the English context. The 2-year Teach First program begins with a 13-month university-accredited route, leading to both QTS and a PGCE; some of the PGCE modules are assessed at Master's level and participants are encouraged to complete their Master's level qualification during the second year of the program. Unlike the Teach for America model, Teach First and universities work in partnership and collaborate with schools to support participants during their initial training year. During the second year of the program, the training focuses on leadership development and is led by Teach First and other local partner organizations. The 2010 White Paper (Department for Education 2010) announced a considerable expansion of Teach First.

Teach First is ambitious. Its goal is "to end inequality in education by building a community of exceptional leaders" (Teach First 2014a). It recruits highly qualified graduates "to become inspirational classroom leaders in low-income communities across England and Wales" (Teach First 2014a). Since 2002, it has placed over 5000 teachers into low income communities (Teach First 2014c). At the time of writing, Teach First is committed to retaining collaboration with university partners.

However, Teach First is no longer the only program to officially focus on poverty. The new Ofsted framework for teacher education (implemented from June 2014) demands that all trainee teachers are prepared to teach in schools serving socio-economically deprived communities. While Teach First is now not unique in its concern with poverty, it is still the only route that centralizes the relationship between poverty and schooling as its major mission and raison d'etre. And the reality is that there are plenty of schools serving communities marked by economic inequality and poverty to go around.

3   Poverty in Britain

Britain is a profoundly unequal society. The Great British Class Survey (Savage et al. 2013) reported seven social class groupings: the elite (6 %), the established middle class (25 %), the technical middle class (6 %), new affluent workers (15 %), traditional working class (14 %), emergent service sector (19 %), and the precariat

(15 %). The economist Guy Standing (2011) argues for a broader definition of the precariat than this, suggesting it represents a 'new poverty' experienced by immigrants, young educated people struggling to find employment, and members of the traditional working class and service sector. Poverty is not confined to those on benefits: many Britons now work several part-time jobs or get by in the gray economy and the majority of the poor are now in relatively secure work for which the wages are below the national poverty line (Living Wage Commission 2014).

Poverty statistics are inevitably contested, but Oxfam suggests one in five people in Britain lives below the official poverty line and the Child Poverty Action Group suggests a rate of one in four children. It is highly probable that child poverty will be even greater by 2020, despite government reduction targets, because of slow growth in employment and wages (Reed and Portes 2014). There is now significantly increased food poverty in Britain: this affects children and young people in particular (Cooper et al. 2014). Young people also report concerns about the hidden additional costs of schooling—trips, equipment, tutoring—as well as assumptions about their circumstances, ranging from alleged lack of ambition to having space for homework and access to online provision (Save the Children and Scottish Commissioner for Children and Young People 2014).

What is generally agreed, however, is that poverty, as a marker of social inequality, is strongly associated with poor health and increased accidents at home, insecure and overcrowded housing, lack of access to green space and clean air, reduced life expectancy, and reduced life opportunities (National Children's Bureau 2013). University entrance figures (Higher Education Funding Agency for England 2013) and PISA data (OECD 2013) confirm the longstanding correlation of poverty with early school leaving, lower levels of qualifications and lower participation in further education and training. It is this nexus of income, education, and other associated social issues that Teach First aims to redress.

4   Research About Teach First

There is to date very limited research about Teach First and its graduates. Evaluations are mostly positive (e.g., Hutchings et al. 2006). Allen and Allnutt (2013) report that Teach First graduates did generally improve GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) examination results. Muijs et al. (2013) examined the engagement of Teach First teachers in their second year and argued that they exercised leadership, particularly in informal roles in which they could initiate and manage change. In order for this to happen, Muijs et al. suggest, the school needs to provide practical hands-on support at the departmental level, as well as a senior management committed to distributed leadership. This is congruent with our research and that of Bell and Cordingley (2014), who also stress the need for a strong professional learning environment. Goodlad and Hull (2014) suggest this can be found in part in the university Master's course that follows on from the PGCE. Blandford (2014) suggests that Teach First's focus on core values, purpose, and ethos are important contributory factors in its teachers becoming leaders.

However, not all research is uniformly approving. Smart et al. (2009) argued, using Bourdieu, that the predominantly middle-class entrants to the Teach First program used the experience to their own advantage, accumulating social and cultural capital for themselves, while perpetuating 'truths' about working class students and 'ability' as the primary mode of success in schooling. This chimes with research on Teach for America (Straubhaar and Gottfried 2014), which suggests that recruits see themselves as committed to ending social injustice, but also as competitive and entrepreneurial people who are teaching for a brief time before pursuing a more lucrative and prestigious career.

5 Our Research

In this chapter, we focus on two secondary schools involved in the Teach First program; they are partners for The University of Nottingham teacher-education programs. We selected the schools on the basis of their good practice in supporting trainees, and Teach First teachers flourished in them. We wanted to investigate positive examples so that we could understand the principles that led to this 'success'. Our sample is thus purposive, and intended to yield insights potentially of interest to other schools and ITE programs. We do not suggest that these schools are representative in any sense; rather, our interest is in gaining an insight into school practices that not only support, but also retain, Teach First trainees in the profession.

We are insider researchers (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 1993). We know the city and its schools well. The first author of this chapter, Jo, is Director of all ITE programs (PGCE, School Direct and Teach First) and brought considerable knowledge and experience to this research. The second author, Pat, has undertaken other research in both schools but has very little day-to-day contact with ITE, and this lack of direct engagement helped to 'defamiliarize' the experiences of the teachers we interviewed. We recorded conversations with the five teachers (see Table 1) and their two mentors, and here, we draw on a thematized analysis of these conversations, as well as our ongoing knowledge about the program and the schools.

Table 1 The five teach first teachers

English teachers	A1: Oxbridge, B.A. History and English literature (First) The Blue School	E: Post 1994 university, B.A. English Studies and History (2.i) The Green School
Mathematics teacher	B: Russell group university, B.A. Management Studies (2.i) The Green School	
Science teachers	A2: Russell group university, PhD Human Genetics, BSc Human Genetics (2.i) The Blue School	H: Russell group university, B. Eng. Medical Engineering (2.i) The Green School

Both of our case study schools serve different parts of very substantial areas of council housing. The first school, The Green School, is in North Nottingham, one of the poorest neighborhoods outside of London. North Nottingham is regularly subject to alarmist readings of its high teenage-pregnancy rates, high levels of young people not in education, employment or training, poor health, and low university entrance rates. Most of the secondary schools in the area have recently been judged as 'failing' by OfSTED on the basis of below-target GCSE results. The second school, The Blue School, is located just to the west of North Nottingham in a former coal-mining village.

The first school, The Green School, recently converted to academy status and was judged as "requires improvement" in its 2014 inspection. It has about 600 enrolled pupils. It struggles to attract and retain teachers and sees Teach First as one way to ensure a supply of enthusiastic and committed staff. The second school, The Blue School, has an enrollment of 1050 and has also recently become an academy. Before converting to academy status, it was judged by inspectors as having "serious weaknesses." It now claims to be one of the most improved schools in the county. The Blue School has no serious staffing difficulties, but switched from taking PGCE students to Teach First because school leaders were interested in what they understood to be the quality and commitment of the trainees.

6   Teach First: Why Join?

Both The Green School and The Blue School programs suggest to us that when the program is working optimally, there are three key processes at work: a 'call' to young graduates, a holistic vision of social justice in education, and building disciplinary identities.

6.1   A 'Call' to Young Graduates

Teach First offers a compelling and attractive vision to many young graduates. The program is unique in that it selects placement schools based on high levels of deprivation. Because the program aims to decrease the gap between children from different economic backgrounds, it could be argued that the program is predicated on social justice. The Teach First participants we interviewed confirmed that they were attracted to the Teach First vision:

> Teacher A1: I hadn't even thought about being a teacher, I wanted to work in the charity sector so I was looking through jobs that were advertised … I always felt that the charity jobs sounded like they were going to make a difference and then you were never actually doing anything meaningful, you were just sat behind a desk and it was going to be boring or you would be doing something that was so far removed from anybody having any impact that it would just be frustrating. So when I started reading about Teach First what I liked

was that it seemed you could feel straight away you were on the frontline doing something important, doing something where you felt that it was valuable…

Teacher A1 goes on to explain that she had attended a challenging school and wanted "*to make things better*." Teacher B also shared this sense of "giving back."

Teacher B: My parents were in poverty. I thought I'd be teaching kids like me and I thought it was quite nice because I'll be giving back to where I came from … I know that if I'd gone into banking, into the city, I would have just moved out and that's where I would be forever, so I thought it was nice to give back mostly because of where I came from … I wanted to go into banking but a friend of mine had done the program and she encouraged me, she said you get loads of support, you go into these schools, and it is really … she said to me about not having to stay after the two years and that was quite appealing. She said they've got all these partners you could go and work for … so if you don't like your two years, you don't have to stay. And I think that is what pushed me into it, the thought I could leave and still go into a grad program. But having gone into it, I don't think I want to leave.

However, this was not what attracted E and A2. They had wanted to train to teach from the outset, but were attracted to Teach First in particular as an employment-based route. Although they agreed with the program's values and vision, it was the structure of the training and working that first attracted them.

6.2 A Holistic Vision of Social Justice in Education

The Teach First social justice vision is congruent with that held for all ITE programs at Nottingham and this is foregrounded from the start of each pathway. A central aim across all ITE provision is to help beginning teachers "*to develop strategies to promote social justice through both their teaching and by engaging more broadly with the life of a school and its wider community*." The ITE programs all aim to help beginning teachers "*to develop positive relationships with young people which value them for who they are and what they bring to education*" (extracts from unpublished aims and ethos statement, University of Nottingham). Trainees on the Teach First route are encouraged to compare the School of Education ethos statement with the aims of the Teach First program and to understand that they are joining a university partnership with a long-standing commitment to addressing issues relating to inequality and disadvantage.

6.3 Building Disciplinary Identities

Teach First teachers are offered a way to fulfill this vision through the identification they have already developed with their discipline.

Teacher A2 gave up a successful career as a university-based scientist to join Teach First:

I love my subject … I want to encourage kids to go to university and study it and be that scientist and I want to inspire them in that subject.…Teach First has put me in a school which isn't where I would have thought about … but I like being here and I can do the same

thing with these kids and maybe that is even more reason to be here because that thing that I am passionate about—these kids need the opportunity to do that as well .…I've now got those connections to take the kids … to university and I can share my experiences. When I talk about being in the lab, I can have the bottom set classes, who are normally noisy and a nightmare, staring at me for the whole lesson if I just talk about stuff that I am passionate about.

Fulfilling the possibilities inherent in disciplinary and professional identity formation (e.g., Brown and McNamara 2011) may be important, we suspect, in the retention of Teach First graduates; this has not yet been researched.

7 Teach First: The Partnership Process

While there was strong commitment to the Teach First mission, our five teachers saw themselves as part of their school and its community:

> I think you realize when you are in the school, not that Teach First isn't real, obviously it is real, but that's no longer why you are there. The culture of Teach First … you kind of grow away from it … you get stuck in to what's going on … (Teacher H)

Our five teachers very quickly found that the development of their teacher 'identity', their sense of who they were, what they were doing, and how, was intertwined with their location. They felt part of the struggles of the school to make a difference.

How did this happen? The shared values across the partnership of Teach First, the university provider, and the placement school are a necessary but insufficient step. The partnership must work together for the entire period of the traineeship: there must be a shared approach between the university and school partners, and a joint commitment to 'learning to be a teacher' and sensitively managing external pressures.

7.1 A Shared Approach Between Partners

The process of becoming inducted into Teach First can be a lengthy one. It begins with a pre-ITE phase: potential trainees, some of whom might be career changers, speaking to a Teach First recruiter; attending events; demonstrating commitment to Teach First values and an ability to meet the desired competencies at the assessment center; and then signing an agreement to meet the program's expectations. Throughout this period, potential participants are invited to attend a range of social and professional events. Then the ITE year begins: they attend a summer institute, a structured induction program at a regional university, which focuses on the vision, the charity's impact goals, and dimensions of leadership. Summer institutes are broadly similar across different locations: they focus on the developing self, the notion of teaching as leadership, and the need to build a sense of personal values

strongly aligned to the priority of redressing educational disadvantage and raising pupil attainment—but each regional team is able to adapt these foci to suit their local contexts. After the regional phase, the participants join the National Summer Institute, where they are inducted into the national cohort of Teach First participants and they meet with the previous year's cohort.

The support given to the trainees by teacher educators during their induction is crucial. At Nottingham, the Teach First Summer Institute is accompanied by a planned ITE curriculum taught by experienced teacher educators. The focus of this curriculum is deliberately designed to counter-balance some of the prevailing discourse about challenge and disadvantage, especially through the development of understandings about place-based (e.g., Gruenewald and Smith 2008) and asset-based principles and pedagogies (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993). A socially just approach to schooling (e.g., Wrigley et al. 2011) is reinforced through activities carried out in the early days in the placement school and revisited through assignments and a year-long reflective journal. This spiral curriculum allows Teach First, and other ITE participants, to continually engage with the reasons they entered the program in the first place.

7.2 University and Schools Are Jointly Committed to 'Learning to Be a Teacher'

Most importantly, support is given to the schools about how to induct and support the trainees. As well as tackling deficit discourses about schools and communities with the trainees, the university also works closely with school mentors to counter any potentially damaging misunderstandings about the beginning teachers, for example, how to mediate the tag line "*exceptional graduates*" (Teach First 2014b). During the first week of the summer institute (and beyond) mentors work alongside tutors in university-based sessions to examine the detail of the program and its values, and to better understand the reasons trainees opt for it. School mentors are involved in activities with their beginning teacher(s) from the outset to understand that they are at the beginning of their ITE program and in need of appropriate support; this is accompanied by explicit guidance on how to offset criticism and misunderstandings about beginning teachers on the Teach First program. This was explicitly referred to by our case study participants, who stressed that their initial and good introduction into their schools was made possible by the school's understanding of the program and the acknowledgment that they were training throughout the year, rather than being 'exceptional' teachers from the outset. This recognition ensured that they could turn to school colleagues for help if and when needed.

Before becoming involved with Teach First, both The Blue School and The Green School were already known to us as strong ITE partnership schools with the capacity to support beginning teachers. They had a positive attitude to teacher education. The Blue School mentor said:

> We were looking for something where we could work with the university but kind of mold them to our way of doing things because they are with us from day one … I think there are some schools that look at Teach First as a cheap recruitment route, but we didn't. We looked at two faculty areas that would be supportive, but would also benefit from that extra teacher to enhance the timetable. So it isn't driven by a need to recruit. It is driven by what can we offer someone who is coming into the teaching profession.

Successful induction and progress towards qualified teaching status on an employment-based route seems to us to be fundamentally linked to the placement-school culture. Our two schools foregrounded the importance of relationships between pupils, between teachers and pupils, between teachers, and between teachers and school leaders. Each school prioritized support for beginning teachers to feel part of a professional learning community and to understand and share the school ethos. Our five beginning teachers described supportive departments, open access to senior leaders within the school, and pupil-centered approaches to teaching and learning.

7.3   University and Schools Sensitively Manage External Pressures

The schools also shared a sensitive stance towards the way you have to 'do' policy, without it corrupting the core of what you believe in. Teacher A1 believed that The Blue School's unsatisfactory inspection status was the reason it supported innovation: "*Because of the situation that the school is in, there is more scope for people to try different ideas and experimenting is really celebrated.*" This runs counter to the usual narrative of inspection pressure producing curriculum conservatism (see Gillborn and Youdell 2000 for an extended exemplar of this).

Both our case study schools openly discussed the need to balance accountability requirements, for example, to quality assure teachers across the school through leaders inspecting performance, with the needs of new entrants to the profession who might not be able to perform the acts necessary to meet the demands of this accountability system. University staff worked with schools to ensure that observations of the beginning teachers' lessons were seen as formative rather than summative. The five beginning teachers and the school mentors all spoke positively about this approach. In both case study schools, there was a point towards the end of the ITE year when the beginning teachers felt that they did want to be part of the school quality systems.

Teacher B described this as a turning point; while she could see that this style of lesson feedback would not be as developmentally useful as observations on the ITE program, she felt that she was ready to fit in with the school systems. Reflecting on why she made this choice, she explained that she realized that "*I'm not really university or Teach First anymore. I am The Green School.*"

8   A Partnership for Growing Activist Professionals

Our five Teach First teachers developed a strong sense of professionalism and its practices. Rather than see teaching as 'job', which requires following curriculum and best pedagogical practices determined elsewhere, these Teach First teachers saw themselves as producers of professional knowledge and practice. This happened in three ways:

- The teachers believed they had the responsibility to adapt curriculum and design new approaches
- The teachers exercised initiative with their colleagues in order to encourage the kinds of professional conversations and activities that they thought were needed and valuable
- The use of formal assignments supported a reflective approach and cycles of reflection on practice.

8.1   The Teachers Believed They Had the Responsibility to Adapt Curriculum and Design New Approaches

Both chapter authors were pleasantly surprised, given the general state of commentary about the de-professionalization of teachers in England (e.g., Mahony and Hextall 2000), to hear Teacher B say: "*The school lets us try new things and it doesn't matter if it goes wrong because change is dynamic and it is good, we don't want to be stale, we don't want to be stagnant.*"

The five teachers we interviewed all felt they had to develop what some might call resilience: "*How can you grow if you don't make mistakes?*" Because they were constantly in the moment, in the action, they were making mistakes publicly on a daily basis as they were on full teacher timetables teaching their own classes.

> Teacher A1: You learn how to cope with it … because you know that you are their teacher. It is not like you are in there for some of their lessons and then their real teacher is back in. You know that sense of responsibility is the worst thing, that feeling that you are doing a disservice to a whole group of students who would be better off without you. But I think that is a positive way to feel because all it does is force you to want to improve as quickly as you possibly can, you've got the ownership. If you want to do something, you can do it and if you want to keep trying things, you can keep trying them. There are no limits.

Teacher A2 had a strategy for innovation:

> So what I did was pick a class, which was my class that I would try things with. Which was useful because we have built up a great relationship while I was trying things and they were responding to that and I got to the point where I know how they were going to react. Which is why I knew I could feel confident about trying something new and it wouldn't matter if it didn't work. I teach them this year and I think it has had a massive difference in our relationship this year.

The school's attitude to 'trying things out' was clearly key. The Green School mentor told us:

> We have prioritized the timetable so that the participant and their mentor share two lessons, so that they can discuss strategies and observe each other. So if the participant wants to take risks, then they can, and the teacher can help with that and back them up if needs be.

The relationship between the university tutor and the school mentor was also important to allow risk taking to occur. A dialogue about development rather than assessment was crucial:

> Teacher A2: Definitely we had a really supportive university and really supportive mentors in school and it was all about that development, not about judgment, and I have never felt like it was a judgment, ever.

All five participants also spoke about 'the peer effect': support derived from being placed in a school with others on the same program. Our five teachers observed each other with similar groups and offered each other advice and pedagogical support. They exchanged information about what they had seen other more experienced colleagues do. The opportunity to share, and offload during difficult times, with others in a peer network within the school was a key factor in their successful progress. In addition, the teachers all spoke about the value of re-meeting their peers during the university days across the year. As Teacher A2 put it: "*Teach First is about networking and working together and supporting each other; they encourage that*".

8.2   *The Teachers Took the Initiative with Their Colleagues*

The training teachers were very proactive about taking responsibility for their own development. They acknowledged that this was partly due to the kind of people that the program appealed to: self-motivated people committed to the Teach First vision. The university also encouraged ownership of professional development from the first days on the course and throughout tutor visits, when participants are encouraged to set the agenda for the observation and the post-lesson discussion. One of the school mentors noted: "*Nothing really comes from the mentor, it all comes from you, you're constantly reflecting … you might run ideas past us, but everything you do is initiated by you*."

Teachers in The Green School and The Blue school routinely organized trips, transition activities, and after school clubs, and were involved in whole-school events such as the awards evening. The five teachers initiated innovative activities over and above these and they often had wider impact than their own classroom or department. In The Green School, Teacher E began a debating team, held after-school sessions, and took the teams to debates in other local schools. Teachers A1 and E took part in a city-wide university film project involving after-school work. Teacher B regularly changed her classroom. It became a snowscape to teach rotational symmetry, a mocktail bar to teach conversions and measurements, and the

whole class became zombies at Halloween to learn about the Fibonacci sequence. The two Blue School teachers collaboratively designed and taught a cross-curricular unit of work, which involved pupils solving a murder mystery, drawing on the science of forensics, and a range of English skills, such as inference and language analysis; this involved them team teaching in each other's classrooms and sharing assessments.

Teachers A1 and A2 realized that their ITE program afforded them opportunities their experienced colleagues did not have: to be able to observe good practice across a range of lessons and subject areas. At a time of low morale following a difficult Ofsted inspection, they decided to develop a staff bulletin describing aspects of the good practice that they had access to. This served two purposes: first, it shared what strong practitioners were doing in their classrooms to encourage others to try similar approaches; and second, it raised morale by focusing on the good work happening in the school. In the following year, their approach was implemented across the school at faculty meetings, when examples of themed good practice (e.g., collaborative learning) were shared. Both teachers, however, felt that this was less successful as some colleagues were cynical about an imposed 'best-practice' approach, as opposed to their 'bottom-up' initiative.

It is unusual for training teachers to be able to introduce a whole school initiative in this way. When asked about why and how they were able to do this whilst still undergoing all of the other work associated with gaining a PGCE qualification on an employment-based route, their response was linked to two main factors. First, the participants felt that the university tutors and the school mentors actively encouraged them to take risks and to be creative:

> Teacher E: You are encouraged to try things out and you are supported if it doesn't work. As long as you have thought out what you want to do and it has a purpose, they don't mind you trying. So, yes, it could go wrong and you learn from it. But at the same time it could be phenomenal, it could be great and be exactly what the school needed but no one has been willing to try it.

Second, the participants felt an obligation to be innovative because of the program they had signed up for:

> Teacher A2: I do think there is something about the way Teach First sets things up, about this vision, this aim. I do think it encourages you to be a bit more ambitious and a bit more willing to take risks with what you are doing…

The support of the school was critical in encouraging this kind of innovation, and our cases concur with those researchers who have highlighted the importance of a supportive school culture and middle management, particularly at departmental level (Blandford 2014; Muijs et al. 2013). However, while other scholars have called this leadership, we want to argue for this being better understood as the beginnings of pedagogically focused, institutionally based professionalism that Judyth Sachs describes as "activist professionalism" (Sachs 2003).

8.3   Becoming a Reflective Professional

Interestingly, at a time when there is a policy shift towards school-led initial teacher training with a reduced focus on theoretical understandings, the teachers in this case study spoke about the necessity for a theoretically informed approach to their program. This theoretically informed teaching is provided by university tutors through face-to-face teaching alongside online teaching through the university's virtual learning environment, tutor visits, and assignments.

Although the beginning teachers acknowledged that the timing of the assignments meant that they often lost holiday time to complete the necessary reading and then writing, none complained that the work had been irrelevant or unhelpful.

> Teacher A2: I think researching and writing assignments are important because it makes you step back from your classroom, your kids, and your marking, and your drowning in whatever data you are drowning in … that assignment, it makes you think about what you're doing and why you are doing it … I always felt like it re-motivated me … you start doing the assignment and you think, yes, this matters, this is why I am doing this.

Reflective teaching is a key component of the Teach First program. Alongside assignments, participants must complete a reflective journal. Weekly key readings and reflection points for discussion with school mentors and university tutors are provided. For the participants in this case study, having a strong grounding in relevant educational theory was very important:

> Teacher A1: If I don't know the theory behind something then I don't want to do it … I need to understand the why of what I am doing…
>   Teacher B: Because I had to read around theories and literature for my assignments, I began to see the link to my practice, and it moved from having to do it, to wanting to do it. So now if there is something I want to understand better about how a child learns, I read about it in journals and things, it just informs your planning and your practice.

The assignments and the opportunity to reflect on practice using a lens of a formal assignment was often very productive. Furthermore, it supported a reflective habit, which involved not simply thinking about what had happened, but also seeking out reading that would help the teachers think critically about their practice.

9   Conclusion: Some Good News and Some Not So Good

We have suggested in this chapter that there are a set of 'optimum' practices for Teach First—a teacher-education program specifically designed to address educational injustice—to work well. These are strong partnerships with strongly congruent and locally adapted practices; support for learning how to teach; and permission, support, and space to develop as a reflective and activist professional.

Despite the concern about the role of higher education and teacher education in England, we believe that this demonstrates universities still have an important coordinating role to play in ITE, if they can maintain good working relationships with schools and their staff.

We do, however, see some potential difficulties in scaling up the good practice we have described in this chapter. The most obvious lies in the difficulties and reluctance some schools experience in stepping away from a short-term view driven by rigid inspection criteria and targets. Focusing on the longer term requires school leaders to be courageous in the face of considerable external pressure to show quick changes in test results. The second challenge lies ironically in one of the things that makes the Teach First program work: in moral call and mission.

Teach First teachers are instilled with a strong sense of personal responsibility for making a difference:

> Teacher A1: I often feel bad if I'm not taking risks because I think I'm not being a good enough teacher. Like if I'm doing a lesson that I have vaguely done something similar to before, then obviously I am doing a good enough job.

In our experience, many Teach First teachers do feel very acutely disappointment, anxiety, and a sense of failure if they are not able to demonstrate tangible turnarounds in their classes:

> Teacher B: … waking up at five in the morning worrying about my Year 11 s having gone to bed at 2 because they are not doing as well as they should be … If you don't get it right then the kids have lost that learning time and they can never get it back and that's your fault.

Often this sense of responsibility acts as motivation to keep going:

> Teacher A1: Because Teach First highlights there is an issue [with schools in disadvantaged communities] it gives you more motivation to keep going. I think there are some people who don't respect teaching as a profession as much as they need to and maybe the best thing about Teach First is that you really respect teaching and you think that it is a really valuable thing to be doing. And when things get tough and it gets hard, then that's what you come back to: no, I really want to be doing this and you know why you are doing it.

While teacher educators and school mentors do their best to help trainees understand that there are immediate policy, as well as long term historical, social, economic, cultural, and political issues at work in the production and reproduction of educational inequality, this more nuanced doing-what-is-possible stance works against the very reasons Teach First recruited them in the first place. As with other ITE routes, there are significant dropout rates from the program, during and at the end of the 2 years, and we do think that this is a key issue to be addressed by Teach First, schools, and university partners.

However, the Teach First teachers that we have focused on have all decided to stay in teaching and not leave at the end of their 2 years. While two are moving schools for personal reasons, three are staying on in their initial placements, demonstrating that identification with the profession and with an institution does not necessarily stop at the end of the mandatory 2-year period of work.

References

Allen, R., & Allnutt, J. (2013). *Matched panel estimates of the impact of teach first on school and departmental performance* (DoQSS working paper, Vol. 13–11). London: Institute of Education.

Apple, M. (2001). *Educating the "right" way: Markets, standards, God and inequality*. New York/London: Routledge Falmer.

Ball, S. (2008). *The education debate*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Bell, M., & Cordingley, P. (2014). *Characteristics of high performing schools*. London: Curee.

Blandford, S. (2014). Leading through partnership: Enhancing the teach first leadership programme. *Teacher Development: An International Journal of Teachers Professional Development, 18*(1), 1–14.

Brown, T., & McNamara, O. (2011). *Becoming a mathematics teacher: Identity and identifications*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Callaghan, J. (Ed.) (1976). *A rational debate based on the facts*. Oxford: Ruskin College. http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/speeches/1976ruskin.html. Accessed 14 June 2014.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. (1993). *Inside-outside: Teacher research and knowledge*. Columbia: Teachers College Press.

Cooper, N., Purcell, S., & Jackson, R. (2014). *Below the breadline: The relentless rise of food poverty in Britain*. London: Church Action on Poverty/Oxfam/The Trussell Trust.

Department for Education. (1992). *The new requirements for Initial Teacher Training* (Circular 9/92). London: HMSO.

Department for Education. (2010). *The importance of teaching: The schools white paper*. London: HMSO.

Department for Education. (2011). *Training our next generation of outstanding teachers*. London: HMSO.

Department for Education and Employment. (1988). *Teachers: Meeting the challenge of change*. London: HMSO.

Gillborn, D., & Youdell, D. (2000). *Rationing education: Policy, practice, reform and equity*. Buckingham/Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Goodlad, C., & Hull, J. (2014). New teachers and masters level study: Researching tensions in the policy-practice interface. In H. Gunter, D. Hall, & C. Mills (Eds.), *Education policy research: Design and practice at a time of rapid change*. London: Bloomsbury.

Gove, M. (2010). Speech to the national college annual conference, 16 June, Birmingham. https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/michael-gove-to-the-national-college-annual-conference-birmingham. Accessed 14 June 2014.

Gruenewald, D. A., & Smith, G. A. (Eds.). (2008). *Place-based education in the global age: Local diversity*. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Gunter, H. (2011). *Leadership and the reform of education*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Higher Education Funding Agency for England. (2013). *Trends in young participation in higher education*. Bristol: HEFCE.

Hutchings, M., Maylor, U., Mendick, H., Menter, I., & Smart, S. (2006). *An evaluation of innovative approaches to teacher training on the Teach First programme: Final report to the Training and Development Agency for Schools*. London: London Metropolitan University.

Judge, H., Lemosse, M., Paine, L., & Sedlak, M. (1994). *The university and the teachers: France, the United States and England*. Wallingford: Triangle Books.

Kretzmann, J., & McKnight, J. (1993). *Building communities from the inside-out*. Chicago: The Asset-Based Community Development Institute.

Living Wage Commission. (2014). *Working for poverty: The scale of the problem of low pay and working poverty in the UK*. York: Joseph Rowntree.

Mahony, P., & Hextall, I. (2000). *Reconstructing teaching: Standards, performance and accountability*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Muijs, D., Chapman, C., & Armstrong, P. (2013). Can early career teachers be teacher leaders? A study of second-year trainees in the Teach First alternative certification programme. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership, 41*(6), 767–781.

National Children's Bureau. (2013). *Greater expectations: Raising aspirations for our children*. London: Author.

OECD. (2013). *PISA 2012 results: Excellence through equity: Giving every student the chance to succeed* (Vol. 11). Paris: PISA, OECD.

Reed, H., & Portes, J. (2014). *Understanding the parent employment scenarios necessary to meet the 2020 Child Poverty Targets*. London: Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission.

Sachs, J. (2003). *The activist teaching profession*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Savage, M., Devine, F., Cunningham, N., Taylor, M., Li, Y., Hjellbrekke, J., Le Roux, B., Friedman, S., & Miles, A. (2013). A new model of social class: Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey experiment. *Sociology, 47*(2), 219–250.

Save the Children, & Scottish Commissioner for Children and Young People. (2014). *Learning lessons: Young people's views on poverty and education in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Author.

Smart, S., Hutchings, M., Maylor, U., Mendick, H., & Menter, I. (2009). Processes of middle-class reproduction in a graduate employment scheme. *Journal of Education and Work, 22*, 1.

Standing, G. (2011). *The precariat: The new dangerous class*. London: Bloomsbury.

Straubhaar, R., & Gottfried, M. (2014). Who joins Teach for America and why? Insights into the "typical" recruit in an urban school district. *Education and Urban Society* doi: 10.1177/0013124514541463. 2014.

Taylor, C. (2014). *A school led system of teacher training* (Speech to the Westminster Education forum, 1 April). London: Royal Society.

Teach First. (2014a). About us. http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/about. Accessed 1 June 2014.

Teach First. (2014b). Invest in inspirational secondary teachers for your pupils. http://www.teach-first.org.uk/sites/default/files/TF_Partnership_Leaflet_Secondary_Feb_2014.pdf. Accessed 1 June 2014.

Teach First. (2014c). Our history. http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/about/our-history. Accessed 1 June 2014.

Teach First. (2014d). Why we exist. http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/why-we-exist. Accessed 1 June 2014.

Whitty, G. (2002). *Making sense of education policy*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing.

Wrigley, T., Thomson, P., & Lingard, B. (Eds.). (2011). *Changing schools: Alternative approaches to make a world of difference*. London: Routledge.

Preparing Teachers for Social Justice in the Context of Education Policies that Deepen Class Segregation in Schools: The Case of Chile

Christine Sleeter, Carmen Montecinos, and Felipe Jiménez

Abstract This chapter asks what it means to prepare teachers for social justice in a highly class-segregated education system, with Chile as an example. We begin with a discussion of the context of Chile, where social-class segregation of schools has increased because of the market-driven model that has been implemented over the last 40 years. We critique education policies that both create and attempt to address the segregation of schools and teacher-education programs. Then, we develop a conceptual framework for educating teachers about social justice that connects multiple forms of diversity and oppression. Using our conceptual framework, we analyze in detail the current state of research about preparing teachers in Chile for social justice, particularly research focused on relationships between teachers and parents in vulnerable communities. Based on this analysis, we make recommendations for preparing teachers to work productively with children in poverty and to work collaboratively with their parents.

1 Introduction

Teacher preparation for schools serving children and communities in poverty must take into account the wider national policy context that creates high-poverty schools, as well as policies that attempt to target their underperformance. In the case of Chile, initial teacher education (ITE) operates within an education system that has been developed since the 1980s by successive governments adhering to a market model for the provision of educational services; this education system has reached

C. Sleeter (✉)
California State University, Long Beach, CA, USA
e-mail: csleeter@gmail.com

C. Montecinos • F. Jiménez
Pontifica Universidad de Valparaiso, Valparaíso, Chile
e-mail: montecinos.carmen.l@gmail.com; golfat@gmail.com

international notoriety as an example of one of the most socially segregated systems in the world (OECD 2009; Treviño et al. 2011). As we will show, Chile's distribution of teachers reinforces social segregation, serving as a call for examining the extent to which robust teacher-education programs with a focus on social justice education can make a difference. In this chapter, after surveying the main policies accounting for segregation, we discuss a social justice framework for ITE. Then we synthesize research on teacher education conducted in Chile over the last 20 years, highlighting important gaps for the preparation of teachers for social-justice education. We conclude with implications for the preparation of teachers working in high-poverty schools.

2   Policies Creating a Highly Segregated Educational System in Chile

In Chile's constitution, promulgated in 1980, the right to an education is not protected. What is protected is a market model that includes the right of parents to choose the school their children will attend, and the right of the private sector to offer educational services at all levels of the system (Inzunza et al. 2011). This market model has resulted in increased social segregation of schools and teacher-education programs in Chile.

2.1   Effects of the Market Model on School Segregation

By 1981, school governance became decentralized in terms of administration, but centralized in terms of curriculum. Since then, parents have been afforded a choice among three types of schools: municipal state-subsidized, private state-subsidized, and private non-subsidized (students from this last type account for 7.7 % of the school-age population). The OECD's (2004) review of Chile's educational policies concluded that the level of coverage is similar for children from different socio-economic groups; however the structure of the social distribution of results, as measured in national standardized tests, was highly unequal. For example, in 2010, on the national college-entrance examination, the average score was 471.2 for graduates of municipal schools, and 502.8 and 605.4, respectively, for graduates of private subsidized, and private non-subsidized schools (Compendio Estadístico Proceso de Admisión Año Académico 2010). In 2012, the national exam in mathematics (SIMCE) for fourth graders showed significant discrepancies among these types of schools: an average of 248 among municipal schools, 265 among private subsidized schools, and 299 among private non-subsidized schools (Ministerio de Educación 2013).

The distribution of outcomes is associated with social segmentation in the school system, which has steadily increased since the 1990s. Children go to school with children from their same socio-economic background (Kremerman 2007; OECD 2004). In 2006, 39 % of students in municipal schools were growing up in social vulnerability,[1] compared with only 9 % of students in private subsidized schools (70 % of which charged additional tuition) and none in private non-subsidized schools (García-Huidobro 2007). By 2009, 80 % of students in municipal schools were from low-income or middle low socioeconomic backgrounds, with this percentage reaching 20 % in private subsidized schools and 0 % in schools fully funded by parents (García-Huidobro 2010).

Most social segregation is attributed to a shared financing formula, implemented in 1994, which allowed private subsidized schools to charge parents a fee to complement the state per pupil attendance-based subsidy. Enrollment in private subsidized schools increased from 32.5 % of the total in 1995, to 36.6 % in 2001 (OECD 2004). In 2001, 53.1 % of the students were enrolled in a municipal school, a percentage that dropped to 40 % in 2012. The flight from municipal schools shows partly how scores on national examinations have been used successfully in a marketing campaign to sell the idea that private providers educate children better than the municipal providers. What is omitted from public discussion is the fact that these differences reflect differences in the social composition of schools. In fact, as Mayol et al. (2011) show, when working with the same socio-economic group, municipal schools are as good as or better than private schools as measured by standardized test scores.

Differences in enrollment and social composition are not explained by family choice alone, a key principle of the market model for the provision of educational services. In Chile, private schools implement a rigorous selection process that does not apply in most municipal schools. Instead of families choosing schools, schools choose families based on their ability to pay and their social characteristics. In an effort to homogenize the student body and increase the likelihood of obtaining high scores on SIMCE, most private providers select the most capable students and avoid those with learning or behavioral issues (OECD 2004; Redondo et al. 2007).

To address this situation, the Preferential Subsidy Law was passed in 2008 so that schools serving a high proportion of vulnerable children can receive up to a 60 % higher subsidy per student. This higher subsidy reflects the fact that it is more expensive to provide educational services to children living in conditions of vulnerability, but also offers an incentive to private schools to enroll more low-income students. To get this funding, the school must sign a performance agreement associated with the implementation of specific improvements, and not select pupils or charge a fee. Almost all municipal schools had signed the agreement by 2011, but

---

[1] Educational policy calculates the social vulnerability index (IVE) based on a student's family income, level of education attained by parents or guardian, and the neighborhood in which the school is located. For each municipal and private-subsidized school, through a census of first graders and ninth graders, the IVE is calculated based on the number of pupils eligible for the free school-meal program (Julio Maturana 2009).

about half of the private subsidized schools opted out (Valenzuela 2011). These schools tended to enroll low numbers of vulnerable children and charge higher fees to parents. As Valenzuela (2011) pointed out, shared financing is an incentive to opt out of one of the main policies designed to increase social integration. By May 2014, the new government proposed eliminating the 1994 law that allowed shared financing.

Legislation introduced in May 2014 also proposes that state-subsidized schools must become non-profit corporations. Currently, the law allows state-subsidized schools to operate as for-profit businesses. As Valenzuela (2011) explained, the state should expect private providers receiving a state subsidy to offer free education for three reasons. First, families' constitutional right to education is compromised when they are excluded by their inability to share the financial burden imposed by a school fee. Second, excluding certain families compromises the role of education in developing social cohesion and the values associated with democratic societies where diversity is recognized as an asset. Third, the positive impact of educational policies designed to improve quality can have a greater impact in socially integrated schools.

2.2   Effects of the Market Model on Segregation in Initial Teacher Education

The increased number of private providers and social segmentation is also evident in higher education. By 2010, 56 institutions of higher education offered programs leading to a teaching certificate, up from 34 in 1997. In private institutions created after 1980, enrollment in teacher education grew from 9000 in 2000 to over 46,000 in 2009 (Panel de Expertos 2010). These institutions included both universities and a few technical/vocational institutes that started offering ITE during a brief period in the 1980s when the state decided it was not mandatory for teachers to be trained by a university. In the traditional universities existing prior to 1980, during that same period, enrollment grew from 25,000 to 42,000. This growth cannot be attributed to a growth in staffing needs, but rather to the fact that ITE programs are profitable because they entail low levels of expense and high enrollment.

Since the expansion of private teacher-education providers, access to ITE programs has been linked to the type of high school that teacher candidates attended. Whereas traditional university students and some private university students must score at least 450 in the college-entrance exam, other private institutions do not require a test score at all (Panel de Expertos 2010). Legislation currently under discussion proposes a number of measures to remove ITE providers who fail to assure minimum conditions defined in a weak accreditation system.[2] Among these is the introduction of a mandatory high-stakes standardized examination of teacher-

---

[2] Accreditation is run by private for-profit agencies.

education graduates that would have consequences for employment (Inzunza et al. 2011). The results would be published in national newspapers to inform prospective ITE students' choice of a program.

The distribution of teachers among the different types of schools mirrors the social segmentation of schools. Ortúzar et al. (2012) analyzed the hiring practices in 6 municipalities, 3 networks of private subsidized schools, and 23 independent private subsidized schools differing in the fee charged to parents. They found a high level of social stratification among teachers applying for employment in these different types of schools. Municipal and private subsidized schools with low or no fees were more likely to receive applicants graduating from professional institutes than from universities. Applicants seeking to work in municipal schools or schools charging low or no fees were also more likely to come from a low socio-economic background. Administrators from high-poverty schools reported difficulties in two areas: attracting teachers who had graduated from prestigious, selective universities, and retaining teachers. There are high levels of turnover in high-poverty schools, particularly among teachers who come from universities that offer stronger ITE programs (Ortúzar et al. 2012).

This distribution of the teaching force reinforces social segregation, an issue that most ITE programs in Chile do not directly address. In a review of ITE curricula in Chile, Venegas (2013) concluded that there was a lack of recognition of the socio-economic and cultural contexts in which prospective teachers will work. The prevailing idea is that teachers working in high-income and low-income schools need an identical set of competencies. In just 5 of the 56 institutions preparing teachers, Venegas was able to identify a course or two that specifically addressed questions of context, such as a course on rural education, diversity, social inclusion, multiculturalism, or school–community relations.

ITE curricula in Chile largely ignore the idea that to afford equal opportunities, teachers must learn to differentiate, so that they can develop a curriculum that is culturally relevant. Given the context of social segregation in Chile, we advocate the need for robust teacher-education programs with a focus on social justice education. To address this suggestion, we offer a conceptual framework of what it means to teach for social justice, then analyze research in Chile that has examined the issues addressed in this framework.

3 Teaching for Social Justice: Conceptual Framework

Over the past two decades, the concept of teaching for social justice has become highly popularized, but lacks clear consensus about its meaning (Carlisle et al. 2006; North 2008). Writing at an abstract level, Ayers et al. (2009) explain that "social justice education rests on three principles: (1) Equity, the principle of fairness… (2) Activism, the principle of agency… [and] (3) Social literacy, the principle of relevance" (p. xiv). Carlisle et al. (2006) define it "as the conscious and reflexive blend of content and process intended to enhance equity across multiple

social identity groups (e.g., race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ability), foster critical perspectives, and promote social action" (p. 57).

What might these broad principles mean for teacher education, and for classroom teaching, especially in high-poverty contexts? We examined various frameworks (Carlisle et al. 2006; Chubbuck 2010; Cochran-Smith 2004; Dover 2009; Gorski 2013; Jones and Vagel 2013), synthesizing them into four dimensions:

- situating families and communities within an analysis of structural inequities
- developing relationships of reciprocity with students, families, and communities
- teaching to high academic expectations by building on students' culture, language, experience, and identity
- creating and teaching an inclusive curriculum that integrates marginalized perspectives and explicitly addresses issues of equity and power.

In the following sections, we discuss the four dimensions in more detail.

3.1   Situate Families and Communities Within an Analysis of Structural Inequities

Chubbuck (2010) explains that, as teachers try to understand students who struggle in their classrooms, especially students from poverty families, most teachers focus on what the student does not know, which leads to deficit thinking. Some teachers generalize beyond the specific area of struggle to the child's overall ability to learn, drawing on common stereotypes that presume personal problems or failures of students and families. According to Gorski (2013), stereotypes about poor people in the U.S. characterize them as not valuing education, being lazy, abusing drugs and alcohol, not using language well, and parenting ineffectively. Poor people themselves often internalize these stereotypes (Jones and Vagel 2013). These stereotypes, which purport to explain why poor people are poor, uphold the ideology of meritocracy, the notion that a culture of poverty exists, and that those who do not succeed in school are "responsible for their own demise" (North 2008, p. 1186).

A structural analysis situates students and families within multiple inequitable social, economic, and power relations. These inequitable power relations limit access to societal resources such as health care, jobs that pay a living wage, and healthy living and work environments, and to school-related resources such as preschool, well-funded and adequately resourced schools, high expectations and supportive teachers, relevant curricula that develop higher order thinking, and instructional technology (Chubbuck 2010; Gorski 2013). In other words, social justice teaching requires a shift from seeing problems of poor people as personal failures to seeing them as personal effects of unfair policies and systems (Jones and Vagel 2013, p. 131). The latter perspective can enable teachers to identify barriers to change within the school and classroom, as well as the resilience and knowledge of students that can be built on in the classroom (Chubbuck 2010). This perspective can also reposition teachers to become advocates for students in and outside of school, and become allies rather than antagonists of these students' families.

3.2 Develop Relationships of Reciprocity with Students, Families, and Communities

Less emphasized in the literature, but highly important in our view, is the ability of teachers to develop reciprocal relationships with students and families, especially those from marginalized backgrounds. Poor relationships between educators and high-poverty communities are commonly taken as *normal*. Professionally trained educators often believe that what they know is superior to what students' families know, and encourage young people to use education to escape their communities, which drives a "wedge between students and their families" (Cochran-Smith 2004, p. 73). In their study of a school in a low socio-economic community, Carlisle et al. (2006) noted various ways in which teachers, the school, and parents reinforced a prevailing belief that communication was virtually impossible.

Cochran-Smith (2004) defines reciprocal relationships as "working with (not against) individuals, families, and communities" (p. 72). Gorski (2013) explains that developing such relationships requires work. He suggests starting by building relationships of trust and reciprocity with students, recognizing that students from poor backgrounds have often learned that teachers are not necessarily trustworthy. Teachers who listen to students' concerns and take their concerns seriously will begin to earn their trust. Gorski emphasizes the importance of engaging persistently in efforts to reach out to the community, treating them as much-needed partners in children's education, and ensuring that opportunities to meet with parents are accessible and affordable from parents' perspectives.

3.3 Teach to High Academic Expectations by Building on Students' Culture, Language, Experience, and Identity

A great deal has been written about social justice education as including high academic expectations built on a foundation of intellectual resources that students bring, in which gaps in their knowledge and skill are carefully scaffolded (Gay 2010; Ladson-Billings 1995; Sleeter 2009). Teachers begin instruction at the level students are at, carefully attending to students' prior conceptions and understandings, and supporting and encouraging them toward increasingly complex learning (Cochran-Smith 2004) and higher order thinking (Gorski 2013), without assuming that their current level of academic performance indicates their learning potential. Social justice teachers recognize that culture and language are not only foundational to learning, but also to identity.

Standardization of curricula and pedagogy, however, direct attention away from deepening culturally responsive, student-centered approaches to teaching. For example, Crocco and Costigan (2007) found New York City teachers frustrated with a shrinking amount of time to forge relationships with students, and pressure to adhere closely to a mandated curriculum and to organize their teaching in prescribed ways. The result for students from poor backgrounds was a routinized drill using curriculum

that students often found irrelevant; their disengagement then reinforced deficit thinking about their intellectual abilities. Teaching for social justice pushes against classroom processes that may be well-institutionalized, but work against the academic engagement and achievement of students from marginalized backgrounds.

3.4 Create and Teach an Inclusive Curriculum that Integrates Marginalized Perspectives and Explicitly Addresses Issues of Inequity and Power

Teaching for social justice includes developing democratic activism: preparing young people to analyze and challenge forms of discrimination that they, their families, and others face, on behalf of equity for everyone. Carlisle et al. (2006) call this work "direct social justice action and intervention," in which curriculum "teaches an understanding of the nature and manifestations of all forms of social oppression; provides strategies for intervening in oppressive situations; and seeks to facilitate a living and learning environment for the development of liberatory thinking and action" (p. 61). Cochran-Smith (2004) explains that "part of learning to teach for social justice is struggling to make visible and explicit—at whatever level developmentally appropriate for students—the inequities of society and the institutional structures in which they are embedded" (p. 78). Teachers who work in high-poverty communities, for example, can include working-class literature, "student produced texts about their own lives and experiences," analysis of issues of power, perspective, and positioning (Jones and Vagel 2013, p. 135), and may include explicit attention to the realities of poverty and social class (Gorski 2013).

4   Teacher-Education Research for Social Justice in Chile

Within our social justice framework, an important area of action and concern for teacher education is the development of knowledge, skills, and dispositions that enable family–school interactions through relationships based on reciprocity. The need for continuities between school and family cultures recognizes the importance of students' cultural heritage (culture, language, previous experiences) as constitutive and foundational for learning (Sleeter 2013). As proposed by the social justice framework, how teachers make sense of family–school relations and families who are living in poverty are critical elements. We analyzed empirical studies conducted in Chile to ascertain how ITE programs were addressing family–school relationships in the contexts of poverty and vulnerability.

 To locate published studies in Spanish,[3] we used the following keywords: teachers, initial teacher education, poverty, vulnerability, family–school relations, and social

---

[3] We decided to restrict the search to Spanish-language journals in these databases for two reasons: these are where most Chilean researchers publish and these entail an open-journal system.

justice. We used terms to scan three databases that contain the largest number of publications in academic journals in Chile and Latin America: Latindex Redalyc, SciELO, and Scopus. We limited our search to the literature of the past 20 years (1994–2013) because the educational reform that started in 1994, following the 1990 restoration of democracy in, was guided by the principles of quality, equity, and participation (see Avalos 2004; Donoso 2005).

4.1 First Level of Analysis: A Panoramic Overview

We identified 26 publications that met the requirements above. Of these, 11 reported empirical studies and 15 were essays.[4] Among the 11 studies, a classification based on the topics addressed yielded the following results:

- two addressed inservice teachers, family–school relations, and contexts of poverty
- one addressed ITE and poverty
- two examined continuities in family–school culture in contexts of poverty
- six examined the family–school relationships.

Grouping studies by year revealed a clear pattern showing that attention to these topics has increased. Among the 26 publications, 19 % were published between 1994 and 2003; 81 % were published between 2004 and 2013. A longitudinal look suggests an increasing concern with a problem that also began to be highlighted by the OECD's 2004 report in response to the government's request for an external policy review.

4.2 Second Level of Analysis: Zooming in on the Studies

4.2.1 Inservice Teachers' Perspectives on Family: School Relations in the Contexts of Poverty and Vulnerability

The two investigations into inservice teachers' perspectives reported contrasting findings. Turra et al. (2013) examined how elementary teachers working with Indigenous communities understood the competencies that should be developed by ITE. Through focus groups with teachers in areas serving Indigenous low-income students, the authors identified the need to prepare teachers to work in the multi-grade classrooms that are common in rural schools. Participating teachers suggested

---

In Chile, access to literature in English is highly restricted and few universities offer faculty access to paid databases.

[4] In these databases, for the same period, we could identify over 100 publications related to multicultural education, inclusion, intercultural education, and diversity that did not address issues related to teachers' work with families or their work in high-poverty schools.

involving Indigenous educators from those communities in ITE coursework. Additionally, these teachers expressed the need to learn how to work with families and to develop networks with local agencies and organizations. They proposed having multiple opportunities for field experiences in schools serving low-income Indigenous groups. For the curriculum to be culturally relevant, teachers argued that family participation was crucial when working with Indigenous students.

Using ethnographic methodology, Jadue et al. (2005) examined the within-school factors that could provide resources for developing resiliency to cope with the adverse conditions faced by low-income students. The study involved two eighth-grade classrooms. Through a survey, parents' perspectives on the education of their pupils were examined. All parents expressed desire and hope for their pupil's education, and reported attending parent–teacher meetings. About two-thirds, however, did not show evidence of a good understanding of their children's academic strengths and weaknesses. All parents expected children to continue their education in a technical-vocational high school because they could not afford a college education. In interviews, all except 1 of 18 eighth-grade teachers expressed a deficit perspective on students and families, describing irresponsible students, lack of discipline among pupils, unmotivated students, and a lack of support from homes as hindering their work. Jadue et al. (2005) concluded that the greatest risk factor for these students was their teachers' low expectations, the lack of adequate teaching strategies to motivate pupils, and teachers' efforts to control pupil behavior through punishments and disqualifications.

4.2.2 Preservice Teachers' Perspectives on Family: School Relations in the Contexts of Poverty and Vulnerability

To examine possible social-class and gender bias among 108 elementary (n=50) and early childhood (n=58) preservice teachers, Del Río and Balladares (2010) used vignettes to manipulate the socio-economic status and gender of pupils in an academic situation. Findings showed that prospective teachers held significantly lower expectations for students belonging to lower income groups. Additionally, they assumed these children would be more likely to need extra academic support and would be less likely to experience academic success.

4.2.3 Continuity Between School Culture and Families in Contexts of Poverty and Vulnerability

Through ethnographic participant observation in 24 social studies lessons in a sixth-grade class in a semi-rural location, Muñoz et al. (2013) documented the existence of antagonistic relationships between school culture and students' home culture. The prevailing pedagogical practices failed to value the cultural capital that students brought to school because the observed teaching and learning activities involved content irrelevant to participating students' daily lives. Teachers, under pressure to

fully cover the official curriculum, taught from the textbooks, without considering children's *habitus*. From these findings, the authors warn that by ignoring children's cultural capital, not only do students learn less, but they are also subjected to symbolic violence because their home cultures are made invisible.

Espinoza et al. (2011) interviewed a sample of 25 elementary students in a low-income neighborhood of Santiago who had dropped out of school and 25 peers who remained in school. Findings showed that students who dropped out were more likely to come from homes in which parents had not completed formal education and had fewer resources to transmit the norms and cultural capital valued by schools. Among those dropping out, families and students developed fewer practices that could protect them from the dangers of street violence. The authors posed that, to the extent that the family was a protective factor in preventing school dropout, a strong family–school relationship was a key tool for promoting student retention. Among students dropping out, there was a perception that schools either pushed them out or did little to retain them. Schools were not systematic in their initiatives to retain pupils, and these mostly involved finding external resources and specialists to help students. However, what students valued most was the personal concern of teachers who they believed showed an interest in their learning by, for example, providing after-school tutoring.

4.2.4   Studies Seeking to Strengthen Family: School Relationships

This group of studies did not explicitly involve teacher preparation, but we include them because they advocated defining as a priority the development of productive family–school relationships to boost students' academic success. Alcalay et al. (2005) and Rivera and Milicic (2006) examined programs to prepare parents to offer academic support (homework and learning) in response to demands from the schools. The authors suggest that teachers need to develop a pluralistic and diverse perspective on family contexts, thus avoiding a homogeneous and prototypical approach.

Similarly, Pizarro and Clark (1998) and Navarro et al. (2005) positioned families as legitimate school partners that can help provide a functional and harmonious environment to comply with the academic requirements requested by schools. This positive and inclusive perspective, however, is predicated on families' willingness to comply with school requirements, without considering reciprocal relationships. The authors conclude that schools and teachers must expand the margins they afford for family involvement and how decisions are made with respect to such participation.

Finally, Anabalón et al. (2008) and Navarro et al. (2001) call for a new perspective to understand the family and the family–school relationship. Unlike the other studies discussed, both argue that the benefits of promoting the articulation between these two contexts of socialization do not fall solely on academic outcomes. This relationship should be concerned with the affective and values dimension of children's development, such as self-esteem and the educational expectations of students themselves. Despite this broadening of the spectrum, the authors share with previous investigations a perspective that reinforces an asymmetrical and uni-directional relationship between the school and families.

4.3 Integrating Levels of Analysis: Meta-Analysis and Discussion

In the 11 studies we were able to locate, teachers' beliefs and practices for working with low-income communities gravitated toward a negative, deficit assessment of how pupils' academic success is affected by a family's situation of poverty. A similar conclusion was reached in Montecinos et al.'s (2010) study on how ten municipal schools incorporated parents into the school self-assessment of a quality-assurance policy. In only one school did teachers and parents show relations of reciprocity; in the other nine, low-income parents were seen as school hindering improvement.

Among the six studies examining family-school relationships, in only one (Turra et al. 2013) did schoolteachers argue for the need to prepare teachers with a social justice orientation to work in Indigenous communities One of the main consequences of the predominance of holding a negative perspective on low-income families, as evidenced in the other five studies, is that working with these families does not prompt teachers to challenge current school arrangements or ITE programs. Quite the contrary, the non-participation of families may be seen as a decision that favors the fulfillment of the educational goals of schools and teachers, which may or may not align with what parents want for their children.

These findings suggest that the condition of social vulnerability appears to activate among preservice and inservice teachers a pattern of beliefs and prejudices associated with the idea of deficit and handicap. The fact that, overall, most teachers in Chile working in high-poverty schools have low expectations represents a problem that ITE must address (Jadue et al. 2005; Martinic 2003). The six studies advocating for understanding family–school relationships as a positive element focused on developing academic skills among the parents. In most of these cases, however, the forms of participation have three main characteristics: they are concentrated on pedagogical aspects of schooling, they are designed unilaterally by the school, and they expect parents to take a passive position with regards to making decisions about how to participate.

Finally, findings from the studies reviewed are consistent with Venegas' (2013) conclusion that social justice has not been a framework for the preparation of teachers in Chile. Considering the high concentration of poor children in municipal schools, the difficulties these schools experience in attracting qualified novice teachers, and the deficit thinking among teachers working in those schools, suggests a need to change. As Cochran-Smith (2004) noted, working with and not against the students, their families, and communities constitutes a starting point for the development of teaching practices with a sense of social justice. In their daily work with low-income children and families, teachers need the dispositions, knowledge, and skills to help reverse the state of marginalization and invisibility that families in poor contexts experience. However, the participation of families and communities does not and should not be reduced to their physical participation in interscholastic or extracurricular activities. Family involvement, as noted by teachers in Turra et al.'s study (2013), should afford opportunities to give higher visibility to the

culture students bring to school in an effort to develop curricular innovations that are relevant and meaningful to the students' education (Chubbuck 2010; Esteban-Guitart 2011; Muñoz et al. 2013).

5 Implications for Teacher Preparation

Chile has made important gains in ensuring that almost all school-age children and youth across all social class groups are in school. Interested in competing within the world economy, Chile has a national curriculum framework based on international standards, which presents important challenges for teachers working in high-poverty schools. Within a market model, however, teachers and schools have come to surrender, not without resistance, to the standardized testing program that regulates their work with students. For K−4 teachers working in high-poverty, persistently underachieving schools, this has meant adopting a highly prescriptive, lesson by lesson preplanned curriculum in language arts and mathematics (Programa de Apoyo Compartido [PAC] n.d.).[5] However, as the few studies in Chile show, ensuring that teachers do not become a "risk factor" for low-income students' learning will not be addressed through standardization (Jadue et al. 2005; Muñoz et al. 2013).

So that teachers develop dispositions that enable low-income students' learning, ITE in Chile should prepare teachers who can work collaboratively with colleagues, parents, and community members to resolve problems that emerge in their daily work. Research on the education of teachers shows the importance of critical reflection in professional learning and the value of situated learning within a community of practice. This research does not lend support to training models such as PAC by which professional knowledge can simply be transferred in a discrete package, no matter how well designed, through professional development activities (Webster-Wright 2009). Although prospective teachers who decide to work in high-poverty schools will be faced with implementing the PAC curriculum, their preparation needs to help them unstandardize the curriculum. Our recommendations below offer a beginning.

---

[5]This program has been implemented by the Chilean Ministry of Education since 2011 in over 1000 schools. Teachers are provided with lesson plans, learning and teaching resources, and assessment tasks centrally developed and PD activities to use these resources accordingly. These materials cannot be changed or adapted by the teachers. The Ministry of Education claims that the program has drawn on successful experiences in other part of the world: England, Brazil, India, South Africa, and New Orleans in the United States are cited as examples of places that have, through this program, increased students' performance on national standardized testing programs. The program is purported to strengthen school capacity in five areas: effective curriculum implementation, school climate conducive to learning, effective use of instructional time, monitoring of students' achievement, and professional development for teachers. Within this program, the parental component consists of tips for helping their child to complete homework and develop academic skills valued by the school.

5.1 Teaching to High Academic Expectations Means Supporting Learning, Not Covering Curriculum

While standardization makes teaching in high-poverty contexts difficult, a place to begin is by taking seriously the notion of learning. Various policy positions in Chile differ regarding what is to be learned and how the learning process should proceed, but they all speak to the significance of student learning. Beginning teachers, however, frequently do not distinguish teaching and learning from covering curriculum content, a situation exacerbated by policies that tightly prescribe content. Mayer (2008) explains that, "learning is a change in the learner's knowledge that is attributable to experience" (p. 761); that is, learning requires students' active mental processing. It follows, Mayer (2008) explains, that teaching involves manipulating the classroom environment to "help people learn" (p. 762). The heart of teaching is connecting student's cognition with coherent, comprehensible new knowledge. In order to help any given group of students to learn, then, teachers must become familiar with what the students already know and what incites their active intellectual engagement.

With respect to students from high-poverty backgrounds, however, learning principles are routinely violated, with teachers locating academic underachievement in the students and their families, rather than in their own use of basic learning theory. Dutro (2009) illuminated this problem, identifying a significant gap between the everyday life experience of third-graders from an urban high-poverty neighborhood, and assumptions embedded in a textbook writing assignment. She found that while the children were able to write, the assignment assumed middle-class rather than lower-class experiences in its formulation of the writing prompt and presentation of "possible responses" in the teacher's guide. She was able to help the teachers to recognize these class biases, but middle-class teachers would generally not notice them. Dutro (2009) argued that the "policy climate in which the mastery of discrete skills and straightforward inferences about text are the coin of the realm and literacy curricula are increasingly scripted" leaves teachers with "little room to adapt to the needs of their students" (p. 97). Similarly, Muñoz et al. (2013) found that, to ensure coverage, teachers followed the textbook without helping students to make meaningful connections to their daily lives in rural Chile.

We suggest two implications for teacher preparation. First, it is imperative that beginning teachers recognize their own social class biases and how they affect their work with students in the classroom. To this end, we suggest the following activity that one of us has used many times that helps make visible to preservice teachers the biases Del Río and Balladares (2010) found. Christine prepared two versions of a fictitious student profile that included test scores and narrative about academic and behavioral problems the student displayed in the classroom. The versions were identical except that one listed the parents' occupations as lawyer and dentist, and the other as waitress and manual laborer. When she distributed the profiles, she did not tell the prospective teachers there were two versions. They were asked to respond to three questions:

1. How much learning ability does the fictitious student have?
2. What do you believe the student will be doing 20 years from now?
3. What would you, as the teacher, do to help the student?

After gathering responses, she analyzed them, then presented results to the class the following day. Invariably, prospective teachers saw the fictitious student from the professional-class family as having good learning ability, and doing well in the future if she takes her work more seriously; they generated a long list of teaching strategies to help her academically. In contrast, they saw the one from the manual labor family as having questionable learning ability, and possibly dropping out of school. Their actions focused more on emphasizing the importance of education than on helping her academically. When the results were presented to the class, prospective teachers were always shocked to see their own biases, which provided a useful beginning point for owning and problematizing them.

Second, in consonance with learning theory, beginning teachers should plan and teach lessons that connect core academic skills and knowledge with the experiences and interests of students from poor backgrounds. This implication requires that university work be connected with classroom-based field experience, a connection that too often is absent in Chilean ITE (Montecinos et al. 2011). University professors and classroom teachers should help prospective teachers to examine curriculum—including standardized curricula such as PAC—to identify the most important concepts and skills because beginning teachers tend to see everything as equally important to *cover*, leaving them with little sense of priority and space to connect with students' knowledge. Then, prospective teachers should be guided in conducting informal conversations with students and/or home or community visits (discussed below) to identify experiences, knowledge, and interests that can form a basis for academic learning. Once they plan a lesson connecting key concepts and skills with what they learn about their students, they should have an opportunity to teach a lesson, then debrief with colleagues focusing on how they might deepen students' engagement. In other words, the process of planning, teaching, and reflecting focuses on what the teacher can do to increase student engagement and learning, rather than on students' problems.

5.2 Relationships of Reciprocity with Students, Families, and Communities

Regardless of their social class background, as our research review showed, by the time they have completed university education, teachers tend to perceive parents in high-poverty communities through a deficit lens, particularly when relationships between the school, parents, and community institutionalize that view. Perhaps the greatest resulting problem is how their view affects their expectations of and relationships with students. While Chile's education reforms acknowledge the importance of families to children's education, they tend to frame families in

middle- and professional-class terms. The notion of families as consumers of education ignores the constraints that lower-class parents' experience, such as social capital networks, that tend to benefit middle- and professional-class parents when choosing schools for their children (Beal and Hendry 2012; Bell 2009. Parent involvement tends to assume that parents have time in their day to help and that they have knowledge of what kind of help schools require. Parenting skills workshops tend to assume lower-class parents need advice and intervention from middle-class professionals (Edwards and Gillies 2011), an approach that ignores parents' knowledge and perspectives.

ITE can help teachers learn to develop relationships of reciprocity that recognize differences in knowledge and experiences between parents and teachers, valuing rather than ignoring or denigrating the others' knowledge. The best way to do so is through structured community-based learning or home visits planned around the *funds of knowledge* approach. Vélez-Ibañez and Greenfield (1992) defined funds of knowledge as "strategic and cultural resources" (p. 313) that are the basis for learning. Households and communities, including those in impoverished neighborhoods, have organized funds of knowledge that people use in everyday life and that children learn through interaction with adults. González et al. (2005) view funds of knowledge as "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well being" (p. 72). They explained that "learning does not take place just 'between the ears,' but is eminently a social process. Students' learning is bound within larger contextual, historical, political, and ideological frameworks that affect students' lives" (p. ix).

Educators can learn to access funds of knowledge in high-poverty communities in various ways. Moll et al. (1992) taught teachers to listen and observe, then helped them to plan household visits with families of a few of their students in order to gain insights about household knowledge that could be activated in the classroom. Cremin et al. (2012) designed Learner Visits in which teachers were repositioned as learners in households for the purpose of recognizing students' engagement with literacy outside school. The researchers found that "the Learner Visits enabled them to develop new understandings about children's literacy practices; they came to appreciate more about the young people's capacities, desires and interests in the world beyond school" (p. 111).

Beginning teachers can also learn to access community funds of knowledge through guided field experiences in community-based organizations in high-poverty communities, such as grassroots recreation centers or health clinics, churches and other religious institutions, and community-development organizations (Warren et al. 2009). Many teacher-preparation programs include community-based learning as an integral part of the program in order to help beginning teachers learn to access community and household funds of knowledge (e.g., Boyle-Baise 2002; Noel 2006; Sleeter 2000).

5.3 Situate Families and Communities Within an Analysis of Structural Inequities

Teaching for social justice means understanding structural inequities in which families and communities in poverty are situated, and learning to act as an advocate for and an ally with them. Katsarou et al. (2010) explain that they

> use social justice education to speak to the day-to-day processes and actions utilized in classrooms and communities centered in critical analysis, action, and reflection (praxis) amongst all educational stakeholders (students, families, teachers, administrators, community organizations, community members) with the goal of creating tangible change in their communities, cities, states, nation, and the larger world. (p. 139)

This larger analysis of the roots of poverty, and strategies that communities use to negotiate and challenge conditions of poverty, contributes to and grows from reciprocal relationships with parents and community. Katsarou et al. (2010) describe how their teacher-preparation programs in New York and Chicago address this issue. Both programs begin by strengthening collaboration between the university, schools in impoverished communities, and grassroots community organizations. The authors explain that it is imperative that prospective teachers learn to see community residents (including the children) as intellectually capable narrators of their own experience, and communities as engaged in strategies to challenge oppressive relationships. One program engages prospective teachers primarily in schools and community organizations; the other mainly invites members of the community to participate in university classes. In either case, however, the authors emphasize the importance of teacher educators themselves developing personal relationships with teachers and community residents in order to be familiar with the people they should collaborate with and co-plan the nature of collaboration with.

5.4 Create and Teach an Inclusive Curriculum that Integrates Marginalized Perspectives and Explicitly Addresses Inequity and Power

Generally, mandated curricula reflect the experiences, history, and culture of the dominant groups. In Chile, there is virtually no attention to the issue of recognizing the marginalization of Indigenous perspectives, except in the context of the Ministry of Education Intercultural Bilingual Education Program, implemented in schools with a high concentration of Indigenous students (Riedemann Fuentes 2008). We posit that traditional curricula in Chile draw from the same ideology that produced Chile's market-based reforms, rather than from one that would support equity for all its citizens. If prospective teachers learn to engage with families and communities, and to situate them within a structural analysis of power, they will begin to recognize biases and absences in the mandated curriculum.

Prospective teachers can learn to integrate into the mandated curriculum community themes that relate to equity and power issues. For example, one of us worked with a first-grade teacher who developed and taught an interdisciplinary unit about local agriculture; in collaboration with parents who were union activists, she regularly included information about working conditions and the labor union in the unit. She also explicitly connected each part of the unit with the mandated curriculum standards, using mandated texts that were supplemented with additional materials that brought in local realities (Richman 2011). Katsarou et al. (2010) explain that as teacher educators, they have been able to weave this kind of curriculum planning into their programs by collaborating with classroom teachers who themselves collaborate with parents and community, and who have learned how to connect community realities with the curriculum.

6   Conclusion

By itself, ITE cannot undo the damage caused by policies that increase Chile's social segregation. The larger issue of policy requires larger political solutions. However, ITE that has a robust focus on social justice can prepare teachers who are much better equipped to educate students in high-poverty schools. As we have argued, a social justice perspective requires learning to engage respectfully with students, as well as their families and communities. At present, research in Chile finds that preservice and inservice teachers generally hold negative views of families who live in vulnerable communities, and most ITE programs do not address their perspectives. While municipal schools find it difficult to recruit and retain teachers from the strongest universities and ITE programs, ITE is not designed to equip teachers with the desire and skills to teach well in municipal schools. We have offered several suggestions that, if taken up seriously by ITE programs, can begin to provide students who live in vulnerable communities with teachers who are able to teach them well.

References

Alcalay, L., Milicic, M., & Torreti, A. (2005). Alianza Efectiva Familia-Escuela: Un programa audiovisual para padres. *Psykhe, 14*(2), 149–161.

Anabalón, M., Carrasco, S., Díaz, D., Gallardo, C., & Cárcamo, H. (2008). El compromiso familiar frente al desempeño escolar de niños y niñas de educación general básica en la ciudad de Chillán. *Horizontes Educacionales, 13*(1), 11–21.

Avalos, B. (2004). Teacher regulatory forces and accountability policies in Chile: From public servants to accountable professionals. *Research Papers in Education, 19*(1), 67–85.

Ayers, W., Quinn, T., & Stovall, D. (Eds.). (2009). *Handbook of social justice in education*. New York: Routledge.

Beal, H. K. O., & Hendry, P. M. (2012). The ironies of school choice: Empowering parents and reconceptualizing public education. *American Journal of Education, 118*, 521–550.

Bell, C. A. (2009). Are all choices created equal? The role of choice sets in the selection of schools. *Peabody Journal of Education, 84*, 191–208.

Boyle-Baise, M. (2002). *Multicultural service learning*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Carlisle, L. R., Jackson, B. W., & George, A. (2006). Principles of social justice education: The social justice education in schools project. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 39*, 55–64.

Chubbuck, S. (2010). Individual and structural orientations in socially just teaching: Conceptualization, implementation, and collaborative effort. *Journal of Teacher Education, 61*(3), 197–210.

Cochran-Smith, M. (2004). *Walking the road: Race, diversity and social justice in teacher education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Compendio Estadístico Proceso de Admisión Año Académico. (2010). Universidad de Chile. http://www.demre.cl/text/pdf/p2010/Compendio%202010.pdf. Accessed 2 May 2014.

Cremin, T., Mottram, M., Collins, F., Powell, S., & Drury, R. (2012). Building communities: Teachers researching literacy lives. *Improving Schools, 15*(2), 101–115.

Crocco, M. S., & Costigan, A. T. (2007). The narrowing of curriculum and pedagogy in the age of accountability. *Urban Education, 42*(6), 512–535.

Del Río, F., & Balladares, J. (2010). Género y nivel socioeconómico de los niños: Expectativas del docente en formación. *Psykhe, 19*(2), 81–90.

Donoso, S. (2005). Reform and educational policies in Chile 1990–2004: The neo-liberalism crisis. *Estudios Pedagógicos, XXXI*(1), 113–135.

Dover, A. G. (2009). Teaching for social justice and K–12 student outcomes: A conceptual framework and research review. *Excellence & Equity in Education, 42*(4), 506–524.

Dutro, E. (2009). Writing in hard times: Lived experiences of poverty and class-privileged assumptions of a mandated curriculum. *Language Arts, 87*(2), 89–98.

Edwards, R., & Gillies, V. (2011). Clients or consumers, commonplace or pioneers? Navigating the contemporary class politics of family, parenting skills, and education. *Ethics and Education, 6*(2), 141–154.

Espinoza, O., Castillo, D., González, L., & Santa Cruz, E. (2011). Deserción y abandono temporal en la enseñanza básica de la Comuna de Cerro Navia: Experiencias de los desertores y percepciones de los estudiantes vulnerables. *Revista Akademeia, 2*(1). http://www.revistaakademeia.cl/wp/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Desercion-y-abandono-temporal-en-la-ense%C3%B1anza-b%C3%A1sica.pdf. Accessed 20 Apr 2014.

Esteban-Guitart, M. (2011). La geografía vital y psicológica de la interculturalidad. *Cuadernos Interculturales, 9*(16), 33–44.

García-Huidobro, J. E. (2007). Desigualdad educativa y segmentación del sistema escolar: Consideraciones a partir del caso Chileno. *Pensamiento Educativo, 40*(1), 65–86.

García-Huidobro, J. E. (2010). Para hacer pública la educación pública. In S. Martinic & G. Elacqua (Eds.), *¿Fin de ciclo? Cambios en la Gobernanza del sistema Educativo* (pp. 81–100). Santiago: Facultad de Educación de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile y la Oficina Regional para América Latina de UNESCO.

Gay, G. (2010). *Culturally responsive teaching* (2nd ed.). New York: Teachers College Press.

González, N., Moll, L., & Amanti, C. (Eds.). (2005). *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practices in households, communities, and classrooms*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Gorski, P. C. (2013). *Reaching and teaching students in poverty*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Inzunza, J., Assaél, J., & Sherping, G. (2011). Formación docente inicial y en servicio en Chile: Tensiones de un modelo neoliberal. *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa, 16*(48), 267–292.

Jadue, G., Galindo, A., & Navarro, L. (2005). Factores protectores y factores de riesgo para el desarrollo de la resiliencia encontrados en una comunidad educativa en riesgo social. *Estudios Pedagógicos, 31*(2), 43–55.

Jones, S., & Vagel, M. D. (2013). Living contradictions and working for change: Toward a theory of class-sensitive pedagogy. *Educational Researcher, 42*(3), 129–141.

Julio Maturana, C. (2009). Diversidad educativa en educandos del sistema de protección social "chile solidario" de la comuna de Valparaíso: Resultados de un estudio exploratorio. *Estudios Pedagógicos, XXXV*(1), 93–115.

Katsarou, E., Picower, B., & Stovall, D. (2010). Acts of solidarity: Developing urban social justice educators in the struggle for quality public education. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 37*(3), 137–153.

Kremerman, M. (2007). Radiografía del financiamiento de la educación Chilena: Diagnóstico, Análisis y Propuestas. http://www.opech.cl/inv/investigaciones/Kremerman_Radiografia_Financiamiento_Educacion.pdf. Accessed 1 May 2014.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal, 32*(3), 465–491.

Martinic, S. (2003). Representaciones de la desigualdad en la cultura escolar. *Revista Persona y Sociedad, Universidad Alberto Hurtado-Ilades, XVII*(1), 129–146.

Mayer, R. E. (2008). Applying the science of learning. *American Psychologist, 63*(8), 760–769.

Mayol, A., Araya, J., & Azócar, C. (2011). Desigualdad y educación: La pertinencia de políticas educacionales que promuevan un sistema público. *Docencia, 44*, 24–33.

Ministerio de Educación. (2013). *Sintesis de resultados SIMCE 4° Básico 2012*. Santiago: Ministerio de Educación. http://www.agenciaeducacion.cl/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/SR_4%C2%BAbasico_2012_web.pdf. Accessed 2 May 2014.

Moll, L. C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & González, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into Practice, 31*(2), 132–141.

Montecinos, C., Sisto, V., & Ahumada, L. (2010). The construction of parents and teachers as agents for the improvement of municipal schools in Chile. *Comparative Education, 46*(4), 487–508.

Montecinos, C., Walker, H., Rittershaussen, S., Nuñez, C., Contreras, I., & Solís, M. C. (2011). Defining content for field-based coursework: Contrasting the perspectives of secondary preservice teachers and their teacher preparation curricula. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 27*(2), 277–288.

Muñoz, C., Ajagan, L., Sáez, G., Cea, R., & Luengo, H. (2013). Relaciones dialécticas antagónicas entre la cultura escolar y la cultura familiar de niños y niñas de contextos vulnerables. *Universum, 28*(1), 129–148.

Navarro, G., Vaccari, P., & Canales, T. (2001). El concepto de participación de los padres en el proceso de enseñanza aprendizaje: La perspectiva de agentes comprometidos. *Revista de Psicología de la Universidad de Chile, 10*(1), 35–49.

Navarro, G., Pérez, C., González, A., Mora, O., & Jiménez, J. (2005). Comportamiento socialmente responsable en profesores y facilitación de la participación de los apoderados en el proceso enseñanza-aprendizaje. *Psykhe, 14*(2), 43–54.

Noel, J. (2006). Integrating a new urban teacher education center into a school and its community. *Journal of Urban Learning, Teaching, and Research, 2*, 197–205.

North, C. E. (2008). What's all this talk about "social justice?". *Teachers College Record, 110*(6), 1182–1206.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2004). *Reviews of national policies for education: Chile*. Paris: OECD.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2009). *PISA 2009 results: Overcoming social background* (Vol. II). Paris: OECD.

Ortúzar, S., Flores, C., & Milesi, C. (2012). *Distribución de profesores principiantes, jefes UTP y directores en distinto tipo de establecimientos: Variación en sus características educacionales y percepciones*. Santiago: Trabajo Presentado en el Segundo Congreso Interdisciplinario de Investigación en Educación.

Panel de Expertos para una Educación de Calidad. (2010). *Informe final: Primera etapa. Propuestas para fortalecer la profesión docente en el sistema escolar chileno*. Santiago: Ministerio de Educación.

Pizarro, R., & Clark, S. (1998). Currículum del hogar y aprendizajes educativos: interacción versus estatus. *Revista de Psicología de la Universidad de Chile, 7*, 25–34.

Programa de Apoyo Compartido. (n.d.). Ministerio de Educación, Santiago. http://www.apoyocompartido.cl/Paginas/MaterialApoyo.aspx?MAId=25. Accessed 1 May 2014.

Redondo, J., Almonacid, C., Inzunza, J., Mena, P., & de la Fuente, L. (2007). *El derecho a la educación en Chile.* Buenos Aires: Fundación Laboratorio de Políticas Públicas. http://www.opech.cl/inv/investigaciones/08Chile_Derecho.pdf. Accessed 15 Mar 2009.

Richman, K. (2011). Teaching thematically in a standards context. In C. E. Sleeter & C. Cornbleth (Eds.), *Teaching with vision* (pp. 61–72). New York: Teachers College Press.

Riedemann Fuentes, A. (2008). La educación intercultural bilingüe en Chile: Ampliación de oportunidades para alumnos indígenas? *INDIANA, 25*, 169–193.

Rivera, M., & Milicic, N. (2006). Alianza familia-escuela: Percepciones, creencias, expectativas y aspiraciones de padres y profesores de enseñanza general básica. *Psykhe, 15*(1), 119–135.

Sleeter, C. E. (2000). Strengthening multicultural education with community-based service learning. In C. O'Grady (Ed.), *Integrating service learning and multicultural education in colleges and universities* (pp. 263–276). Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Sleeter, C. E. (2009). Teacher education, neoliberalism, and social justice. In W. Ayers, T. Quinn, & D. Stovall (Eds.), *The handbook of social justice in education* (pp. 611–624). New York: Routledge.

Sleeter, C. E. (2013). Teaching for social justice in multicultural classrooms. *Multicultural Review, 5*(3), 1–18.

Treviño, E., Salazar, F., & Donoso, F. (2011). ¿Segregar o incluir?: Esa no debería ser una pregunta en educación. *Docencia, 45*, 34–47.

Turra, O., Ferrada, D., & Villena, A. (2013). La especificidad del contexto indígena como requerimiento para la formación inicial del profesorado. *Estudios Pedagógicos, 39*(2), 329–339.

Valenzuela, J. P. (2011). Eliminación del financiamiento compartido: La gratuidad como un derecho y condición para la educación de calidad para todos. *Docencia, 45*, 18–24.

Vélez-Ibañez, C. G., & Greenfield, J. B. (1992). Formation and transformation of funds of knowledge among U.S.–Mexican households. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 23*(4), 313–335.

Venegas, C. (2013). Hacia la innovación en la formación inicial docente para un desempeño exitoso en contextos alta vulnerabilidad social y educativa. *Revista de Estudios y Experiencias en Educación, 12*(23), 47–59.

Warren, M. R., Hong, S., Rubin, C., & Uy, P. S. (2009). Beyond the bake sale: A community-based relational approach to parent engagement in schools. *Teachers College Record, 111*(9), 2209–2254.

Webster-Wright, A. (2009). Reframing professional development through understanding authentic professional learning. *Review of Educational Research, 79*(2), 702–739.

Literacy Teacher Research in High-Poverty Schools: Why It Matters

Barbara Comber and Annette Woods

Abstract Teachers who work in contexts in which their students' lives are affected by poverty take up the challenge of learning to teach diverse students in ways that teachers in other contexts may not be required to do. And they do this work in contexts of immense change. Students' communities change, neighborhoods change, educational policies change, literate practices, and the specific effects of what it means to be poor in particular places also change. What cannot change is a commitment to high-equity, high-quality education for the students in these schools. Teachers need to analyze situations and make ongoing ethical decisions about pedagogy and curriculum. To do this, they must be able to continuously gauge the effects of their practices on different students. Hence, we argue that building teacher-researcher dispositions and repertoires is a key goal for teacher education across the teaching life-span. Drawing on a range of recent and ongoing collaborative research projects in schools situated in areas of high poverty, we draw out some principles for literacy teachers' education.

1   Introduction

A social justice stance in education is arguably more important now than ever before. Poverty in Western contexts, such as Australia, continues to have a tangible and enduring impact on the lives and educational opportunities of a significant proportion of our children. Some economists believe that our current economic context works to disadvantage the disadvantaged in new ways. Economist Thomas Piketty (2014) recently argued that

> A market economy based on private property, if left to itself, contains powerful forces of convergence, associated in particular with the diffusion of knowledge and skills; but also contains powerful forces of divergence, which are potentially threatening to democratic societies and to the values of social justice on which they are based. (p. 571)

B. Comber (✉) • A. Woods
Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Queensland
e-mail: barbara.comber@qut.edu.au; Annette.woods@qut.edu.au

Because wealth distribution is occurring on a global scale, those who "own nothing but their labor" are increasingly susceptible to dominant entrepreneurs (Piketty 2014, p. 571). If Piketty is correct, then a recent OECD report indicating that growing numbers of people have "problems making ends meet" and that young and low-skilled workers are hardest hit and face long-term "scarring" effects, facing futures of diminished earnings and job prospects (OECD 2014, p. 9) is even more worrying. And this should be especially worrying for educators. Piketty (2014) argues that social scientists, activists, journalists, commentators, and, we would add, educational researchers, "should take a serious interest in money". He reminds us that "Those who have a lot of it never fail to defend their interests. Refusing to deal with numbers rarely serves the interests of the least well-off" (Piketty 2014, p. 577). From our perspective this has significant implications for the kinds of knowledge teachers need about money and the distribution of material resources.

Until recently, debates about social justice could, and have, logically taken place within the various state borders in Australia. That is, as Fraser (2009) details, social justice could be "assumed to concern the relations among fellow citizens, to be subject to debate within national publics, and to contemplate redress by nation states" (p. 12). In such a context, social justice can be understood to require a redistribution of resources to ameliorate disadvantage. By this, we mean that the solution to disadvantage can be framed as being about shifting human, financial, spatial, and curriculum resources toward a more equitable distribution solution. While there are, no doubt, distributive elements to achieving a socially just education for all children, increasingly, educational researchers have come to understand that this will not be enough. Calls for education to be reformed through shifts to recognitive elements of curriculum, pedagogy, and access form the second arm of what is often called a two-dimensional model of social justice (Fraser 1997). These are calls for recognition of the cultures, languages, identities, values, needs, and ideological stances of a wider community base to be not only included in the curriculum, but also to be visible and core (Woods et al. 2014).

However, in the shifting global economic state, as described by economists such as Piketty, there are signs that these two-dimensional understandings of social justice are also no longer enough. The redistributive claims of what and how resources should be shared and the recognitive claims of "what constitutes equal respect and which kinds of differences merit public recognition" (Fraser 2009, p. 35) remain paramount to our understandings of social justice; however, they are no longer the only elements that need consideration. In considering what Fraser (2003, 2009) has called representative justice, the political becomes apparent alongside of the economic and cultural. By expanding our understandings of justice in this way, Fraser (2009) reminds us to consider not only what social justice should look like and who might have legitimate claims for it, but also how it might be progressed.

In this chapter, we attempt to heed these warnings in thinking about what a socially just education can—or perhaps even should—look like in current times, and to consider what elements of social justice should form the basis of a principled teacher education. Used as frequently as they are in education and schools, and in the politics around education, the terms social justice and equity are at risk of meaning everything and nothing. Here we use the terms to describe practices put in

place to create educational systems that challenge established inequities in institutions and the social relationships within these institutions (Hytten and Bettez 2011). In more practical terms, at its very core, providing a socially just education requires a focus on providing "parity of participation" (Fraser 2009, p. 36). Amongst the calls for a more highly defined curriculum, the continued focus on accountability as testing (Woods 2007) and education funding cuts within already inequitable resourcing models, we believe it is important to ask what such a context means for equity in education, or for access to quality education for everyone's children. We are _ suggesting that there is a heightened need for teachers to take an active stance as researchers of teaching practice in order to address changing contemporary challenges. And as we think about fostering teacher-researchers dispositions, it becomes apparent that understandings of social justice, cultural knowledges, and critical discourse analysis, among other things, remain necessary, but perhaps are no longer sufficient for these times. Teachers also need to be statistically and economically knowledgeable. In other words, a teacher-researcher disposition requires complex educational capital. Graduate teachers need to understand three important things: how poverty and injustice are produced; the material effects of poverty on daily life and the capacity to benefit from education; and how education can be complicit in maintaining societal inequities. While we believe that this may be especially important for teachers working in schools located in high-poverty communities, it is not only important for these teachers. In education, social justice and effective ways of working with diversity are everybody's business. This is especially the case during periods of government stress on accountability measures and the reduction of educational resources.

There is a danger, as Lipman (2013) notes, that current government policies that emphasize performance on high-stakes testing will have significant and long-term effects in schools serving the poor:

> Undermining teaching as a profession and breaking teacher seniority will certainly ensure the acceleration of teacher turnover in the least resourced and most test-driven schools. A revolving door of short-term, untrained novices supplied by privately run 'alternative certification' operations will constitute the staffs of the most desperate schools or schooling will be outsourced to private providers of online learning or learning modules synched to high stakes tests. (p. 566)

Such trends are seriously troubling and may lead to a situation where some school students will in all likelihood only be exposed to minimum educational standards, while others will access wider educational repertoires. This may be through advantaged schooling systems or the capacities of their families and communities. Such incongruence sets the stage for increased inequity in schooling and the future lives of students. The consequences of inadequately prepared teachers will have more impact in school communities addressing the challenges of poverty and further exacerbate educational disadvantage. As teacher educators, this means that our work must center on the deliberate preparation of teacher graduates to work for the everyday complexities they face in terms of the specific dangers of global changes and policy effects for their student cohorts. Recent research in Australia suggests that teachers may not have the knowledge of social justice, literacy pedagogies, and diverse cultures required to work in equitable ways in "other people's" (Delpit

1988) communities, including, for example, non-Indigenous teachers working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and young people (see, for example, Cazden 2012; Luke et al. 2013). Providing socially just educational pathways for the students with whom they work requires teachers to focus on literacy pedagogy and curriculum, preparing students for full citizenship, and providing spaces where the well-being of students is foregrounded (Woods 2009, 2012). Teachers' professional dispositions and educational capital must include not only the capacity for designing and enacting high expectations, and engaging curriculum in their own classrooms, but also taking positions of influence among teacher colleagues in the local and the broader educational field. They need to understand the politics and economics of educational policy and practice: how the numbers make a difference to the educational resources available to their students. They need to deal effectively with change, and take opportunities to seek collaborative learning relationships with other teachers and researchers.

As the contemporary world continues to change rapidly in terms of digital and communication technologies, the global circulation of economic capital and populations, teachers, and indeed schools, will need significant and changing educational capital (Marjoribanks 2002) and that capital will need to grow throughout teaching careers (Cochran-Smith 2011, 2012; Nixon et al. 2012). This means that graduates must be open to learning about everything; however, for our purposes here, graduates must be open to undertaking ongoing analysis of the questions concerning what constitutes *literacy*, *social justice*, and *poverty*, and how these concepts relate to each other. They will need to understand *big data* because it appears that, increasingly, statistics rule. They will need to be fearless as they face situations in which knowledge about their work is increasingly produced through interpretation of data, that is undertaken elsewhere, beyond the classroom, beyond the school, even beyond the state.

In what follows, we briefly introduce related work concerning literacy teachers as researchers. We then examine one case study of a teacher who developed relationships with researchers over an extended period of time as the impetus for reflexive pedagogical practice. This teacher demonstrates that working in a context that pushed for a focus on tests and highly defined curriculum was not necessarily the end to considering a broad socially just curriculum for her 4- and 5-year-old students who were attending their first year of school. Next, we move to an ongoing study to highlight some of the emergent challenges that affect teachers' work in high-poverty school contexts. We conclude by reiterating key principles of teacher education practice for fostering teacher-researcher dispositions and why they matter.

2   Literacy Teachers as Researchers

Literacy, and the best way to teach it, has always been the subject of hot debate and extensive and intensive international research efforts on various scales. Research in literacy education also has a long history of teacher inquiry. Perhaps it is because

literacy is so central to the work of schooling, to inducting children into the processes of becoming students, especially in elementary schooling, that practitioners have engaged in their own research driven by the goal of making a positive difference to all their students. Traditionally, such work has strong connections with education for social justice because the task of achieving standard English academic literate performances can be more challenging in communities that are poor and linguistically and culturally diverse (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009). Hence, teacher research in literacy education has a long history of working in the interests of diverse students and contesting deficit discourses and pedagogies of poverty (Comber and Kamler 2004).

Yet, for all the teacher research activity in study groups and colleges of education—in masters and doctoral programs for example—it is probably fair to say that teacher research, in terms of its impact and take-up by educational researchers and policy-makers, is frequently minimal. In other words, it has tended to work only at the local level. There are exceptions, of course. The work of Vivian Vasquez as an early childhood teacher in critical literacy and the work of Marilyn Cochran-Smith and Susan Lytle with teacher-researchers has received significant and welcome attention. However, it may be that the most powerful impact of teacher research is not what is visible in academic citations or policy take-up, but what it engenders in classroom, school, and community practice; that is, what engaging in teacher research does in terms of the long-term impact on teacher knowledge and practice is what matters most. What educational capital, dispositions, ways of thinking, and cultural practices are fostered by undertaking teacher research and what might be the effects beyond the life of the project? Are early career teachers able to use what they learn through teacher research, and what they come to know and believe about social justice and diversity, in the face of increasing standardization in educational policy (Dover 2013)?

In working with teacher-researchers over several decades on projects particularly concerned with literacy and social justice, Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2009) have developed the concept of *inquiry as stance*. We believe this is a critical graduate attribute for those who will teach. The term was originally conceived in the 1990s, but more recently Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2009) explained it as follows:

> To say that we regard inquiry as a stance is to suggest that we see this as a worldview and a habit of mind—a way of knowing and being in the world of educational practice that carries across educational contexts and various points in one's professional career and that links individuals to larger groups and social movements intended to challenge the inequities perpetuated by the educational status quo. (p. viii)

They go to explain that their practitioner-inquiry approach is not simply about teacher development, but has a much larger social and political agenda. Very much informed by Cochran-Smith and Lytle's (2009) work, and also that of Bourdieu (1998), Comber (2006) considered the educational habitus and dispositions of three teacher-researchers who worked explicitly for social justice in designing and enacting their literacy curriculum. Like Cochran-Smith (2011, 2012), Comber (2006) argues that teachers assemble theoretical repertoires and discursive resources across

their careers, necessarily so, but she also identified teachers' dispositions towards social justice and towards inquiry as fundamental factors in the learning process. In addition, each teacher's own political stances towards class, race, and gender were catalytic in their engagement with theorizations of equity, education, and critical literacy. In this chapter, we reiterate the importance of these conditions for literacy teacher-researchers to conduct inquiries that count in high-poverty schools, and we update the material challenges of such work in an increasingly globalized policy landscape where what counts as justice in literacy education needs constant scrutiny (Fraser 2008; Woods et al. 2014).

Next, we examine how one teacher, through long-term engagement in collaborative research, changed her understandings of literacy and her pedagogical practices, and also expanded her circle of influence beyond the classroom.

2.1 Becoming a Teacher-Researcher in the Context of School Reform

Across numerous collaborative research projects in high-poverty communities, we have engaged with teachers who have impressed us with their dedication and professionalism in relation to teaching students. However, at least some of these teachers have also provided us with insights into what it takes to become a teacher-researcher: to not only be open to learning new things and to sharing these new learnings and understandings with colleagues, but to take a researcher's eye to the practice of teaching. This is what Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2009) call an inquiry stance. The data used in this case study was collected as part of a 5-year school-reform project that involved teachers, the teachers' union, researchers, students, their families, and their communities working together to reform literacy for improved outcomes in high-poverty and culturally diverse schools.[1] A basic assumption of this study was that to achieve long-term sustained improvements in literacy teaching would require a knowledgeable, flexible teaching force. For this reason, we did not arrive at the school with an intervention. Instead, we explained to the leadership team and teachers that we were committed to collaborative research partnerships over a period of 4 or 5 years. This, we suggested, was a way to study what effective literacy teaching for schools in high-poverty and culturally diverse communities could look like if equitable access and improved literacy outcomes were the focus of change.

Pam was a Preparatory (Prep) teacher at the school who had recently returned to work part-time after a period of maternity leave. The Prep year remains a non-compulsory school year in Queensland; however, most children attend, and do so in the year that they turn five.[2] The school was a mid-sized state school located in an urban area where poverty and lack of resources affected the daily lives of many of the students who attended. There was a large cohort (10–15 %) of students who identified as being Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people and a further 15 % of students who were of Pacific Islander backgrounds. There had recently been an influx of students who had arrived in Australia under a variety of temporary or refugee visas. Children who attended had either been born, or their parents had been born, in 31 different countries, so cultural diversity was tangible. The teaching staff were a combination of those who had taught at this school for many years, at least some of whom lived locally, and a cohort of young, recently graduated teachers on short-term contracts.

The research project offered the opportunity for teachers at the school to come together to discuss their teaching practice, and to audit practices across the school (see Luke et al. 2011 for an explanation of this process). These whole-school sessions were paired with smaller, tailor-made professional development sessions for groups of teachers in different school sectors. For the Prep-3 teachers, these just-in-time, small-scale training sessions took the form of a teachers' research group. The idea behind this group was to provide a space for teachers to drive professional learning activities as they worked to reform literacy pedagogy in their classrooms. The research group engaged in collaborative learning through seminar-style sessions, design experiments in which teachers and researchers worked alongside each other in the classrooms, and report-back sessions in which peers provided feedback on each other's thinking and practice. Despite the best of intentions of everyone involved—teachers and researchers—the research group had mixed results. Many of the teachers were less enthusiastic about being involved in planning and implementing research of their practice than they were of being involved in more traditional forms of professional development. However, Pam took up the opportunities offered with a great deal of enthusiasm and confidence. And so began a shift in her disposition as a teacher.

The context of Prep in Queensland during this time was shifting. Previously governed by the state-designed Early Years Curriculum Guidelines (Queensland Studies Authority 2006), which was an interdisciplinary approach to this first year of school, the introduction of a national curriculum across all state systems in Australia had seen moves to bring the Queensland Prep year under the auspices of the Australian Curriculum Foundation Year. This resulted in the provision of discipline-based curriculum documents (English, math, science, and history in the first stage) for the first time in this early years education context. The Queensland

---

[2] The full-time non-compulsory Preparatory year replaced state-funded preschool programs in 2007. At this time, children attended in the year in which they turned five. In 2008 the school starting age was adjusted so that children must turn five by June 30 in order to attend the Preparatory year.

state education system's answer to the Australian Curriculum more generally was to provide teachers with highly defined, scripted unit plans for use as their curriculum. Eventually the use of these plans was made optional, but at their inception, the units were mandatory in content, timing, and sequence. The resultant changes to the Prep year are indicative of the more general and enduring push down of primary curriculum into early childhood education (see Hard and O'Gorman 2007). Around the same time, national tests in literacy and numeracy had been introduced in Years 3, 5, 7, and 9 in Australia, increasing the pressures of accountability as testing (Luke and Woods 2009; Woods 2007).

Pam's answer to the question asked by the reform project—that is, if in the current policy environment it was possible to rely on teacher professionalism as a reform lever—was first to focus on shifting her own pedagogy. Her reported feeling was that as she had moved to formalize her approach in the push to ensure that Prep was *more like school*, she may have become too rigid in her planning and routines. She reported feeling like she had lost play in her curriculum, and she and her Prep colleagues expressed concern that the implementation of the new Australian Curriculum would hasten this shift to a more traditional pedagogical style in their Prep classrooms. As a group, we analyzed the draft foundation year Australian Curriculum in mathematics and English, and compared this to the current plans that the teachers were working from.[3] The teachers considered what changes to their pedagogical approach would be enabled through the implementation of the new curriculum and how these changes might be framed to ensure positive implications for their students. These productive sessions were followed by subsequent collaborative planning sessions in which the teachers worked together to ensure some consistency of expectations across the four Prep classes.

After her involvement in these professional learning events, Pam made plans to continue to collaborate with the researchers. The class included a cohort of diverse children and a full range of abilities and needs. Many of the children and their families dealt with issues related to poverty. To begin with, the researchers provided advice about shared and modeled teaching, and supported Pam's planning. The process here was to enable reflection on the pedagogical decisions being made. The initial focus was literacy pedagogy generally, but quickly Pam moved to focus on the specifics of grouping in the classroom routines.

Pam's usual practice had been to place students in ability groups as a way to deal with the diverse levels of ability, behavior, and social skills of the class. This organization allowed for additional adult supervision in the form of teacher aides to be placed around those children who were considered less able, and there had been a general assumption that children who were more ready to learn would have greater opportunity to do so if working together with like children. The school day was scheduled into numerous short bursts of activity. Students moved from whole groups

---

[3] These plans had been based on the Queensland Early Years Curriculum Guidelines (Queensland Studies Authority 2006), which had governed the Preparatory year until the implementation of the Australian Curriculum.

to small groups regularly—at times with only 10 min planned for each activity. This was based on an assumption that behavior would be harder to manage if children were expected to work for longer periods of time. In our discussions, we began to query the equity of streaming, of what was on offer in the classroom to those children who were streamed in lower ability (or behavior) groups, how this might be affecting their current engagement, and what implications it would have for future schooling and beyond. The processes of grouping in the classroom became more flexible, and Pam considered supports that could be placed around students that would enable higher order engagement in substantive content for more of the children in the class. The daily timetable morphed to provide larger blocks of time in which these young students worked on more substantive projects.

This shift in considering the students as capable of working independently and the importance of weaving knowledge (Kwek 2012) from lesson to lesson and from the students' outside school lives to class activities, coincided with a professional learning move by our research team with school staff generally (see Luke et al. 2011). We presented data to the teachers that demonstrated that the students were generally achieving outcomes in the basic skills of literacy and numeracy, but when there was a problem of poor outcomes, it related to comprehension, critical thinking, the use of a meta-language, and the uptake of discipline-based vocabulary and concepts. Pam started to read and research herself, relying less and less on weekly visits by researchers to her room. She began to read research, and think about its place in her learning and the learning of her students, and to email researchers about her reading and thinking. This is an example of one such email from July 2012:

> On another topic, I have been reading *The Cafe Book* by Gail Boushey and Joan Moser[4]. I am intrigued by their literacy block structure, especially their move away from guided reading groups to strategy groups. These are flexible groups—something I have been keen to do effectively since I first heard Annette mention it some time ago. Much of their work speaks to all the things I love, for example, having an elbow buddy to turn and talk to, clearly identifying the purpose of the session, reflecting on this at the end, whole/small group/partner/individual work, teaching explicitly, setting personal goals, using the gradual release model and my favourite (because I am a big believer), each student doesn't require the same amount of our instructional time.
>
> If all goes well, I'm thinking about trialing it in my room. Annette, I have been thinking about you and the lecture I am to do for you later. If it is late in the term, I might be able to speak to this research and how it works in my room, assuming it does. Also, how it fits with ACARA[5] I guess.
>
> Keen to hear your thoughts
> Pam

The communication above provides insight into several new ways of being that Pam had begun to take on through the collaborative research process. Not only was she researching and reading material to ensure her pedagogical decisions were

---

[4] The *Cafe Approach* mentioned by Pam is taken from Boushey, G. & Moser, J. (2009). *The CAFE book: Engaging all students in daily literacy assessment and instruction*.

[5] ACARA is an acronym for the Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority who are tasked with writing the new Australian Curriculum, however the term ACARA is often used by teachers and other to label the Australian Curriculum. This is how Pam has used the term here.

informed, she was taking up the call from school leadership to provide support to other teachers at the school, and she had also begun to think about her positioning as an expert practitioner in the field. The lecture she mentioned was a planned lecture at a teacher-education institute, and note how Pam discussed presenting research conducted in her own classroom to the institute's students. Also evident in the email communication is Pam's thinking about instruction that provides access to all students.

Pam had shifted from an inward reform focus on her own pedagogy and interactions with children, toward taking a position of authority among her colleagues; her influence, backed as it was by research, a defined language, and some evidence of practice, started to become useful to others. She worked with researchers to publish, she presented at several conferences, including showcases designed to disseminate findings from the school reform project based at the school. At the same time, she began running professional development sessions for other staff at the school, was nominated by her peers for a regional teaching award, and set up a Digital Café for other teachers at the school to open a space for teachers to discuss the use of digital technology in their classrooms and how this might provide access to learning for a broader range of students. Eventually, she also started a reading group for other teachers at the school.

During 2012, Pam engaged in several design experiments with different members of the research team. The focus of each design experiment was on considering access. For example, the introduction of digital technology in the form of laptops and iPads provided a space to consider how to organize classroom routines to enable access to multimodal texts, and to digital literacy comprehension *and* design skills to all children in the class. All of the students used the technology to complete complex tasks. So technology was not constructed as being only for those students who finished tasks quickly, as is so often the case in early years classrooms. As the children were called on to represent their opinions and ideas, those who had in the past struggled to articulate opinions in print, worked with images and video, voice recordings, and applications such as book creators to present ideas in ways that had not previously been available to them.

In answer to our research team's calls for substantive content for all students regardless of their literacy levels, Pam eventually decided to tackle the introduction of critical literacy to the literacy curriculum of the classroom. We discussed the equity of ensuring that the children in her classroom had access to higher order content, but also spaces to learn to discuss and debate, and form and justify opinions. We considered the urgency of this for children growing up in communities that were largely inaudible in mainstream decision-making systems. Pam worked with two researchers to design three design experiments, each trialing a different approach to engaging the students in critical substantive content, within a unit on fairytales that had already been agreed to by all of the Prep teachers at the school (for more detail about the design experiments discussed here, see Exley et al. 2014). The idea was to attempt to bring a critical edge to what had, in the past, been a progressive approach to an unchallenged view of the early childhood canon. In one of

the experiments, children were asked to consider which of a motley crew of fairytale and nursery rhyme characters were most deserving of a cake after reading *Into the forest* (Browne 2005). The children were provided with time to discuss their opinions and come to a consensus before producing a shared poster to advertise not only who would be provided with sustenance, but why. The discussions included issues of sharing with others more needy than you, even if you don't have much, looking after your own family before other people, helping hungry people first, the importance of sharing resources between everyone, and what being pretty allowed you to expect. Children and adults had a space to take up Piketty's (2014) call to become interested in money—or interested in cake, at least.

Pam planned and conducted professional development sessions for other staff members based on these lessons taught in her classroom. An extract from a flier advertising one of these sessions in 2013 provides evidence for the shifts to Pam's ways of thinking about literacy, and about her students:

> Teaching kids to think critically is something we can achieve even in the Prep year. I am really keen to facilitate this in reading groups. Students become exposed to the thought processes of their peers, understanding there are multiple perspectives on any given topic or situation—not just one right way to think.

This case provides us with a conceptual understanding of teachers' work in communities where poverty affects the lives of students, and the importance of basing reform on the informed professionalism of teachers. The impetus for Pam's reflexive practice was change in the context in which she was teaching. The expectation that she engage as a generalist primary teacher within the changing context of early years schooling in Queensland stimulated her need to learn and reflect on her current teaching practice. Pam considered redistributive justice as she reallocated resources in new ways, moving from streaming to a focus on how best to support all students in the classroom. However, she also engaged in practices to ensure that children's life world experiences, opinions, and ideals were core to the curriculum and achieved this in a context that was being affected by higher levels of control from top-down pressures, and in a community where diversity and disadvantage was tangible and visible. The pedagogical interactions required for teaching and learning effectively in this context, as a way to provide equitable access to quality education for all of her students, were at the forefront of Pam's work; however, she also took opportunities to influence the work of other teachers in the local context and beyond. Pam's fields of influence became outward-looking and configured across national and generational contexts. Her stance as a teacher saw her positioned as a researcher. Yet Pam's experience in becoming a teacher-researcher may be increasingly hard to accomplish in schools situated in high poverty areas as the focus of teacher professional learning shifts more to performative accountability requirements in many such contexts (Comber 2012). In this policy milieu, we highlight the urgency of fostering socially critical teacher-researcher dispositions and repertoires, such as those achieved by teachers like Pam.

2.2   New Challenges for New Teachers in New Poverty

The problems related to providing equitable access to quality education for children and youth growing up in communities of high poverty are not the concern of individual teachers alone. Rather these are also problems for governments to address through improvements to teacher education over time, both pre-service and in-service. Currently, we are observing teachers in their first years of the profession who are working in primary schools located in high-poverty, culturally diverse locations. System policies mean that these *new* teachers are mostly appointed on short-term contracts of a year or even less. As the most industrially disadvantaged group within the teaching profession, these teachers often find work in schools that are hard to staff and where student performance on national tests of literacy and numeracy is well below the state and national average. More than ever, these teachers need to understand the socio-cultural context of the wider neighborhood community and to have access to theories and practices of literacy and pedagogy that allow them to imagine and design engaging and enabling curriculum for their students. They need to build reciprocal and respectful relationships with their students' families. They also need to understand that unemployment is rising as a result of changes to the economy, particularly as factories shut down and industries relocate off-shore where wages are lower. Yet increasingly, they are working in contexts where there is increasing pressure to deliver a standardized program to prepare students for the tests. The side-effects of such limited educational policy is beginning to play out in worrying trends in our recent observations.

In a range of schools, in different states of Australia, we have observed that practices encouraging student compliance seem to be prolific. This may not be surprising given the corresponding emphasis on teacher compliance brought about by mandated tests (Comber 2012). What do we mean by practices encouraging student compliance in literacy lessons? Such practices may include copying, coloring in, and recitation. Copying might be done in a scrapbook, on a worksheet, or from a whiteboard to an exercise book. New and old forms of technology are employed in these fill-the-time and fill-the-books kinds of practices. Those students who resist are offered up for intervention or expulsion by behavioral management programs and withdrawal programs with neat labels and simplistic pathologies. We have seen some teachers attempt to increase student motivation to complete more of this kind of work through technology that encourages competition, for example, introducing timers; others have used elaborate points systems and rewards. In terms of literacy, we have watched as children copied what was written on the whiteboard, blackboard, electronic flash card, or worksheets. With regard to recitation, children repeat sounds, words, and sentences, either in response to a prompt from the teacher or, in a benign attempt to introduce digital technology to the classroom program, in response to a computer program or smart technology application (such as phonics drill games). We are not suggesting that there is never a place for repetition or practice of low-level skills that children have already achieved. However, our observations across a range of classrooms suggest a number of troubling issues with the volume, purpose, and foregrounding of such practices.

Here, we describe these practices as *fickle literacies*: that is, literacies that make it look like productive work is occurring, but that result in limited learning being accomplished. There is often little opposition from children to these practices because they require little effort and provide a space for them to achieve their own ends while keeping the teacher happy. For example, often children are free to chat quietly as they go about such tasks. The cognitive load and challenge is low, so chatting about unrelated things is unlikely to have an impact on the completion of the task. At one level, such tasks are quite relaxing. Clearly, the major issue with such classroom tasks is that they are much less than children deserve. A diet of low-expectations curriculum leads to little learning of value. So such an approach is unlikely to accomplish fairness on any grounds. Let us review three recent problems that we have noted.

1. When all children are asked to copy or color or fill in the blanks on the same task in any classroom, the activities are too easy for some children and probably too hard for many. We have watched some children zoom through such tasks without any apparent challenge while their peers struggle to copy the words letter by letter. The futility of doing a task that is either far too easy, or far too hard, encourages a focus on completion of the technical aspects at best, rather than on quality of the outcome achieved. Additionally, in effect, the children are being asked to do a different task dependent on their competence with the skills required, but with no pay-off for children at either end of the ability continuum.
2. Sometimes different worksheets are allocated to different ability groups on the grounds that teachers are differentiating the curriculum; the teacher then has time to work with a small group more intensively and to provide direct instruction to that group. The children who are supposed to be working *independently* are often off task, not progressing through the task, or not understanding what is required. The common solution to this seems to be to make the independent task easier, so that everyone can be expected to work without the need for adult supervision. We would suggest that more challenging substantive tasks might be an alternative solution.
3. Such busy-work can be done with little or no engagement in the literacy learning goal. When the time is up, children are asked to stick the worksheet in their books and/or to show the teacher what they have completed. There is rarely time for feedback on the essential literacy elements to the task, so again, the instrumental elements of handwriting, putting something in all available spaces, and presentation become the criteria for quality.

None of these criticisms are new. They resonate with what Martin Haberman (1991) identified several decades ago as the "pedagogy of poverty." What is worrying is that they are still so dominant and often appear under the guise of contemporary approaches such explicit teaching or differentiated curriculum. We use the term *fickle literacies* to name them because they do not offer students anything substantive or intellectually rich. They are about the surface appearance of working with text and the technologies of literacy at best, and at worst, the appearance of *doing* school. Indeed, when Haberman (2010) revisited his earlier work a few years ago he reiterated the problem:

> It is a source of consternation that I am able to state without equivocation that the overly directive, mind-numbing, mundane, useless, anti-intellectual acts that constitute teaching not only remain the coin of the realm but have become the gold standard. (p. 45)

Disturbingly, we are now witnessing a similar trend in Australia. The lack of intellectual demand in the literacy tasks not only results in a lack of serious engagement, but it also means that these students are not being inducted into academic discursive practices and ways of knowing on which their later educational success will depend (Comber and Nixon 2011; Luke et al. 2011). Teachers are overwhelmingly concerned with student behavior, with keeping students busy and sitting at desks, and with preparing students for tests. Among all of this, it is important not to dismiss the very real challenges these teachers are facing, so that we can think about what it is they need to know, and be able to do, to teach well. On a recent visit to a school, just as we were getting ready to leave near the end of the school day, we watched as the principal and two colleagues carried a screaming and squirming child of about 7 or 8 years old to a car so that he might be taken home. We had previously seen this child in the office shouting a range of verbal abuse into the corridor and banging loudly and incessantly on the door. That same week, and on other occasions, we had seen other similar instances of highly distressed and angry children, many of them as young as five or six, who had been sent to the administration area due to various misdemeanors committed in the classroom or in the playground. These often involved violence or threats of violence, against peers, and sometimes even adults and teachers. Some of the children are of course living in situations in which they witness verbal, physical, and psychological abuse or are subjected to it themselves. Their families are likely under extreme stress from unemployment, family breakdown, and the effects of mental and physical illnesses and so on. These conditions are the everyday embodied material effects of poverty, and they are being played out in the school lives of children and their teachers.

Despite these demands, and the related and understandable priority to keep the children calm and relatively quiet, some teachers in these same schools do manage to design, negotiate, and enact complex, intellectually demanding, high-expectations curriculum (Dudley-Marling and Michaels 2012). What is it that they know and understand and can do that allows them to accomplish complex and enabling literacy pedagogies in the face of similar behavioral challenges from their students? What supports them to do their work in this way and what are the implications for other teachers? In one such school we worked in, the principal appointed a former teacher, Lena, with excellent expertise in literacy pedagogy as an assistant principal with the brief of *literacy improvement*. As a teacher in the school, she enjoyed high credibility with staff and students in terms of her effectiveness with challenging and struggling students, as well as extending high-achieving students. Importantly, from our perspective, Lena was very open to learning and constantly on the look-out for expanding her own repertoires of practice. Like Pam, Lena exemplified an *inquiry as stance* disposition in her approach to student learning, demonstrating persistent curiosity in considering how individual children were developing and making sense from texts.

This school was faced with the national, state, and regional emphases of lifting children's performance on the standardized annual literacy and numeracy tests, a high turnover of teachers, and increasing numbers of students with learning disabilities and behavioral concerns; therefore, it took on a common balanced approach to teaching literacy and a dedicated 2 h literacy block in the first period of the school day. In addition, each teacher was involved in the continuous collecting of assessment data and setting literacy and numeracy targets for children. All of this is very familiar: the insistence on mandated literacy assessments and the relentless collection of data (Comber 2012). However, Lena instituted a set of practices that altered the predictability of the usual accountability regimes. She set up a series of regular one-to-one *literacy chats* in which individual teachers could discuss their successes and challenges with her. They were invited to bring to the meeting their most recent literacy data, in whatever form they chose, about just a few of their students. At the meetings, Lena asked the teachers to describe what was going well in their literacy lessons and to discuss any questions or problems they were facing, as well as to show and explain their student data. Lena did not have a performance management role; the teachers were *free* to speak openly and honestly about their practices, and they did. They explained what they had not been able to do in terms of enacting the literacy agreements. They talked about their frustrations when everything they had tried appeared to be making no difference for particular students. Lena, for her part, also made comments about any positive trends in the data, things she had noticed when she had dropped in to their classrooms, highlighting when the teachers seemed to be doing well, for example, when a child was now attending, when another volunteered to read, when another had not been sent to the office for a whole week.

The point to note here is that Lena gave teachers permission not to know, not to be doing everything correctly, not to be making continuous progress, not to have the perfectly managed class. She fostered educative inquiry spaces: sites for exploratory discourse. These educative spaces allowed teachers to consider student data without being defensive. Lena offered different ways of interpreting what was going on and strategies for teachers to try out with particular students. It was a diagnostic forum where together the teachers and Lena interpreted what was going on with different students' reading, writing, spelling, phonemic awareness, behavior, and so on. Lena brought her years of successful teaching in the school community to bear on the problems teachers brought to the table. She also ensured that teachers left her office with positive feedback on specific aspects of their practice, questions for further investigation, and practices or refinements to existing practices to try out. Critically reflective practice was encouraged.

Lena's practice did not immediately provide solutions to the challenges teachers faced, but it sent several strong messages to the teaching community:

- that teaching was complex work and required persistence and experimentation
- that there was an expectation that teachers would know individual students and how they were developing as learners
- that teachers' professional learning was a high priority for the leadership team.

The likelihood that teachers will develop an inquiry as stance disposition is enhanced by regular no-risk literacy chats. Explicitly adding professional reading, time to closely observe children and other teachers in various contexts, and openness to inquiries in and with the local community would add to this emerging critical and collaborative professional learning community.

3   Conclusions: Turn-Around Pedagogies

Our interest is in understanding how all teachers might acquire the capacities to teach well—ethically, imaginatively, and ambitiously—in the face of classrooms comprising highly diverse students with very different histories, lives, resources, and literate repertoires. In earlier work, we have experimented with generative vocabularies for getting out of deficit (Comber and Kamler 2004)—"funds of knowledge" (Moll et al. 1992), "virtual school bags" (Thomson 2002), "permeable curriculum" (Dyson 1993), "resourceful families" (McNaughton 2002), and taking "a different lens" (Henderson 2004; Henderson and Woods 2012); in other words, we have encouraged teachers to change their ways of thinking and understanding student experience, knowledges, and capabilities. We have worked to support teachers to become knowledgeable about what children bring to the classroom—to conduct research with parents, students and the wider community, rather than assuming they know *these kids* because they know *that kid*. From there, we have, with colleagues, developed the notion of turn-around pedagogies (Comber and Kamler 2005)—pedagogies designed on the basis of university researchers turning to school-based educators, and teachers turning to other teachers, university researchers, children, families, and theories. In this approach, knowledge is built collaboratively and reciprocally. Children and families are positioned as knowledgeable, resourceful, and resilient, as key informants for teachers to listen to and learn from and with.

Theory is not seen as the province of universities, but as offering helpful and enabling interpretive resources that open up possibilities. For example, teacher-researchers we have collaborated with have found theories, such as culturally responsive pedagogy, critical literacy, multiliteracies, and many other perspectives, as useful heuristics for designing their curriculum, a curriculum that can go so far beyond the straightjacket of a highly defined program. Sociological approaches to understanding an area and its history have also proven useful. Through such approaches, teachers come to understand that unemployment is not a choice, nor about individual characteristics, that poverty is produced, and not by those who suffer its consequences. By identifying key knowledges, dispositions, and principles that enable teachers to negotiate and sustain positive learning relationships with children, and their families and communities, we can think about how in the contemporary educational landscape schools, universities, and communities might work together to provide ongoing opportunities for teacher and student learning. This will entail building more complex understandings of the ways in which poverty and related educational disadvantaged is produced and sustained.

References

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical reason: On the theory of action*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Browne, A. (2005). *Into the forest*. London: Walker Books Ltd.

Cazden, C. B. (2012). A framework for social justice in education. *International Journal of Educational Psychology, 1*(3), 178–198.

Cochran-Smith, M. (2011). Does learning to teach ever end? *Kappa Delta Pi Record, 47*(Suppl 1), 22–24.

Cochran-Smith, M. (2012). A tale of two teachers: Learning to teach over time. *Kappa Delta Pi Record, 48*(3), 108–122.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (2009). *Inquiry as stance: Practitioner research for the next generation*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Comber, B. (2006). Critical literacy educators at work: Examining their dispositions, discursive resources and repertoires of practice. In R. White & K. Cooper (Eds.), *Practical critical educator: Integrating literacy, learning and leadership* (pp. 51–65). Dordrecht: Springer.

Comber, B. (2012). Mandated literacy assessment and the reorganisation of teachers' work: Federal policy and local effects. *Critical Studies in Education, 53*(2), 119–136.

Comber, B., & Kamler, B. (2004). Getting out of deficit: Pedagogies of reconnection. *Teaching Education, 15*(3), 293–310.

Comber, B., & Kamler, B. (Eds.). (2005). *Turn-around pedagogies: Literacy interventions for at-risk students*. Newtown: Primary English Teaching Association.

Comber, B., & Nixon, H. (2011). Critical reading comprehension in an era of accountability. *Australian Educational Researcher, 38*(2), 167–179.

Delpit, L. (1988). The silenced dialogue: Power and pedagogy in educating other people's children. *Harvard Educational Review, 5*(3), 280–298.

Dover, A. (2013). Getting "up to code": Preparing for and confronting challenges when teaching for social justice in standards-based classrooms. *Action in Teacher Education, 35*, 89–102.

Dudley-Marling, C., & Michaels, S. (2012). *High-expectation curricula: Helping all students succeed with powerful learning*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Dyson, A. H. (1993). *Social worlds of children learning to write in an urban primary school*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Exley, B., Woods, A., & Dooley, K. (2014). Thinking critically in the land of princesses and giants: The affordances and challenges of critical approaches in the early years. In J. Z. Pandya & J. Avila (Eds.), *Moving critical literacies forward: A new look at praxis across contexts* (pp. 59–70). London: Routledge.

Fraser, N. (1997). *Justice interruptus: Critical reflections on the 'postsocialist' condition*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Fraser, N. (2003). Social justice in the age of identity politics redistrobution, recognition and participation. In N. Fraser & A. Honneth (Eds.), *Redistribution or recognition? A political-philosophical exchange* (pp. 7–109). New York: Versco.

Fraser, N. (2008). *Scales of justice: Reimagining political space in a globalising world*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Fraser, N. (2009). *Scales of justice: Reimagining political space in a globalizing world*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Haberman, M. (1991). The pedagogy of poverty versus good teaching. *Phi Delta Kappan, 73*(4), 290–294.

Haberman, M. (2010). 11 consequences of failing to address the 'pedagogy of poverty'. *Phi Delta Kappan, 92*(2), 45.

Hard, L., & O'Gorman, L. (2007). 'Push-me' or 'Pull-you'? An opportunity for early childhood leadership in the implementation of Queensland's early years curriculum. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood, 8*(1), 50–60.

Henderson, R. (2004). Recognising difference: One of the challenges of using a multiliteracies approach? *Practically Primary, 9*(2), 11–14.

Henderson, R., & Woods, A. (2012). Teaching for quality and equity: (Re)focusing the lens to make diversity and difference visible. In R. Henderson (Ed.), *Teaching literacies in the middle years* (pp. 113–131). Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Hytten, K., & Bettez, S. (2011). Understanding social justice. *Educational Foundations, 25*, 7–24.

Kwek, D. (2012). Weaving as frontload and backend pedagogies. In C. Day (Ed.), *The Routledge international handbook of teacher and school development* (pp. 335–350). New York: Routledge.

Lipman, P. (2013). Economic crisis, accountability, and the state's coercive assault on public education in the USA. *Journal of Education Policy, 28*(5), 557–573.

Luke, A., & Woods, A. (2009). Policy and adolescent literacy. In L. Christenbury, R. Bomer, & P. Smagorinsky (Eds.), *Handbook of adolescent literacy research* (pp. 197–219). New York: The Guilford Press.

Luke, A., Dooley, K., & Woods, A. (2011). Comprehension and content: Planning literacy in low socioeconomic and culturally diverse schools. *Australian Educational Researcher, 38*(2), 149–166.

Luke, A., Cazden, C., Coopes, R., Klenowski, V., Ladwig, J., Lester, J., et al. (2013). *A summative evaluation of the stronger smarter learning communities project*. Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology.

Marjoribanks, K. (2002). *Family and school capital: Towards a context theory of students' school outcomes*. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

McNaughton, S. (2002). *Meeting of minds*. Wellington: Learning Media.

Moll, L., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory and Practice, 31*(2), 132–141.

Nixon, H., Comber, B., Grant, H., & Wells, M. (2012). Collaborative inquiries into literacy, place and identity in changing policy contexts: Implications for teacher development. In C. Day (Ed.), *International handbook on teacher and school development* (pp. 175–184). London: Routledge.

OECD. (2014). *Society at a glance 2014: OECD social indicators*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the twenty-first century* (trans: Goldhammer, A.). Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Queensland Studies Authority. (2006). *Early years curriculum guidelines*. Brisbane: State of Queensland.

Thomson, P. (2002). *Schooling the rust-belt kids: Making the difference in changing times*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

Woods, A. (2007). What's wrong with the benchmarks? Answering the wrong questions with the wrong answers. *Curriculum Perspectives, 27*(3), 1–10.

Woods, A. (2009). Learning to be literate: Issues of pedagogy for recently arrived refugee youth in Australia. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies, 6*(1–2), 81–101.

Woods, A. (2012). What could socially just literacy instruction look like? In R. Henderson (Ed.), *Teaching literacies in the middle years: Pedagogies and diversity* (pp. 190–207). Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Woods, A., Dooley, K., Luke, A., & Exley, B. (2014). School leadership, literacy and social justice: The place of local school curriculum planning and reform. In I. Bogotch & C. Shields (Eds.), *International handbook of educational leadership and social (in)justice* (pp. 509–520). New York: Springer.

Teachers' Work in High-Poverty Contexts: Curating Repertoires of Pedagogical Practice

Debra Hayes

Abstract Teachers' work in high-poverty contexts is complex and multi-dimensional. In this chapter, such work is described as *curating repertoires of pedagogical practice*, including engaging in and orchestrating different kinds of work, and deploying a range of competencies both individually and in collaboration with colleagues. One teacher's repertoire of practice is outlined and used to illustrate how teachers might facilitate the transfer between home and school of knowledge about children's interests, strengths, and needs. This example illustrates the assumption made here that the ways in which teachers curate their pedagogical repertoires reflect how they make sense of inequality in education. The process of curation involves the collection and performance of repertoires of practice in ways that are intentional, planned, and geared toward a particular purpose. These repertoires of pedagogical practice are not limited to the classroom. They are reflected in how teachers work collectively with each other, as well as with parents, carers, and others beyond the school. Equipping teachers with the capacity to recognize the effects of their individual and collective repertoires is an important function of teacher education for high-poverty contexts. It is argued that this involves challenging the legitimacy of discourses of schooling that make us forget the discursively constituted nature of how people, problems, and power relations are assigned meaning. While deficit discourses are deeply entrenched in what is said (and not said) about young people and their families who live in poverty, opportunities arise to disrupt these knowledge claims when they are treated as contingent, partial, and temporal accounts of poverty and schooling. Understanding repertoires of practice as meaning making processes that produce effects, including contributing to the problems they set out to solve, is an important element of teacher education for high-poverty contexts.

D. Hayes (✉)
University of Sydney, Sydney, NSW, Australia
e-mail: deb.hayes@sydney.edu.au

1 Introduction

The daily work of teachers in high-poverty contexts involves making sense of educational inequality. This has been an enduring dilemma for teachers at least since the 1970s, when the role of schools in reproducing social inequality became an issue of concern and a focus of policy (Campbell and Proctor 2014). Teachers' ways of making sense of inequality are reflected in their repertoires of pedagogical practice. Luke et al. (2000) used the concept of a *repertoire of practice* to describe the set of options that students draw upon for the complex performance of literacy: here, the term is applied to the set of options that teachers draw upon for the complex performance of pedagogy. Unlike repertoires that can be developed through the repetition of practices associated with a particular skill (as with learning to play a musical instrument), teachers' work in high-poverty contexts involves ongoing encounters with unfamiliar practice requirements, due to constant changes in their students, in the composition of the student body (and the teacher's cohort of colleagues), in the curriculum, and in accountability systems, to name just a few. In this chapter, the ways in which such repertoires affect the involvement in schooling of parents and communities in high-poverty contexts is described, as a lens through which to examine teachers' work in these contexts. The aim of this chapter is to suggest how teacher education might prepare professionals to undertake the kind of work that makes a positive difference for young people living in poverty.

Drawing upon her studies in high-poverty and culturally diverse environments, Comber (2006) has identified five types of work that she claims make a positive difference to young people:

- *interpretive work*, associated with identifying and applying relevant knowledge, developing problem-solving strategies and monitoring their effects
- *pedagogical work*, associated with sourcing, developing, adapting, and applying a range of classroom practices that support young people's learning
- *discursive work*, associated with a recognition of the ways in which relationships of power and knowledge operate through pedagogical and institutional practices, and their role in both constituting and disrupting practices that produce inequality
- *relational work*, associated with the interactions with students, parents/carers, colleagues, and others they encounter in their roles as teachers
- *institutional work*, associated with constituting, operationalizing, and mediating the institutional practices of schooling.

According to Comber (2006), making a positive difference "requires teachers to simultaneously engage in and orchestrate [these five] different kinds of work" (p. 61). Similarly, Connell (2009) describes teachers' work as the deployment of a range of competencies, or "metacompetencies" (p. 225), including the ability to work individually and collectively to make judgments, interpret information, design learning experiences with available resources, and consider the interests of young people. Meanwhile Cochran-Smith (2000) describes teachers' work as

"fundamentally interpretive, political and theoretical as well as strategic, practical and local" (p. 18). These descriptions of teachers' work suggest that is complex and multi-dimensional, and that it needs to be pieced together from a range of possibilities through the deployment of numerous competencies. This process is a form of curation that produces repertoires of pedagogical practices.

Focusing on teachers' work with parents and communities provides a means by which to examine repertoires of pedagogical practice and their possible effects on the young people who are least well served by schooling. While parents are generally recognized as the first and primary educators of their children, what children learn in their families may not be understood, or considered relevant to, building success at school. Often, everyday activities in the home involve numeracy techniques, such as counting, matching, and sorting, and a range of literacy practices, such as recounts and narratives. Children may also develop a range of other capabilities, such as those associated with assuming responsibility for younger siblings, for ill or disabled parents, and for negotiating relations with neighbors and service providers.

In this chapter, a teacher's repertoire of practice relating to her work with parents and carers in a high-poverty context is outlined and used to illustrate how teachers might facilitate the transfer of knowledge about children's interests, strengths, and needs between the home and school. This teacher was a participant in a 3 year ethnographic study[1] focusing on literacy and leadership in four South Australian schools catering for children in their first 8 years of schooling. While children living in poverty may experience forms of hardship and deprivation, their resilience, capabilities, and capacity to learn are often not fully recognized or valued within prevailing deficit discourses of schooling in marginalized communities. The teacher's practice described in this chapter provides a means by which to examine how such deficit discourses may be disrupted. A core question explored in this examination is: What kind of teacher education prepares teachers to curate the kind of pedagogical repertoires that will generate fairer outcomes for students in high-poverty contexts?

2   Challenging the Legitimacy of Discourses of Schooling

The novelty of the subject of this book, *Teacher Education for High-Poverty Schools*, in itself indicates how discourses of schooling operate. Although it has long been agreed that teaching in high-poverty contexts is challenging, teachers have generally needed to learn 'on the job' how to work in these settings. This lack of attention to preparing teachers to work in these contexts is part of a larger settlement about inequality in society that deems it acceptable for some people's

children to attend schools where there are usually less experienced teachers, more first-time leaders, and fewer resources than in the schools attended by the children of more affluent families.

The discourses of schooling operate in ways that distract us from questions about the fundamental nature of schooling. Questions that are considered legitimate, and can therefore be asked, generally take for granted schooling as we know it. In this chapter, consideration is given to what happens when we challenge the legitimacy of discourses of schooling and their associated effects; when taken-for-granted assumptions about high-poverty contexts are placed under investigation; when we adopt the idea that discourses of schooling that produce differential effects are underpinned by forms of knowledge that are contingent, partial, and temporal, rather than dependable, comprehensive, and stable. This is not to say that the effects of these discourses are fictitious or easily transformed, but that these effects are discursive in nature, and that treating them in this way has the potential to account differently for the link between disadvantage and schooling.

Most theoretical work that attempts to explain inequality in education takes what Lather (1991) described some time ago as a post-positivist perspective (see also Lather 2006). Lather draws upon Habermas (1971) to describe three categories of human interest: positivist approaches to prediction; interpretive approaches to understanding; and critical approaches to emancipation. Lather supplements this with a post-Habermasian interest in deconstruction, which includes challenging taken-for-granted assumptions, and tracing the effects of discourse (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982). In this chapter, attempts to make sense of inequality operate across these post-positivist interests.

Theoretical work into inequality from a post-positivist perspective has drawn heavily upon the sociological theories of Pierre Bourdieu. For example, the American sociologist Annette Lareau (Lareau 2002; Lareau and Weininger 2003) applies Bourdieu's concept of capital in her ethnographic (interpretive) studies to show how middle-class children gain an advantage in education because of the resonance between the environments of their homes and their schools. Lareau (2002) coined the term *concerted cultivation* to describe the attention and interest paid by middle-class parents to the education and development of their children. She also challenged many of the deficit assumptions about working-class families by detailing their hopes for their children, their resilience in the face of adversity, and their inter-connected social relationships.

According to Edgerton and Roberts (2014), Lareau and Weininger (2003) adopt a definition of social capital that views "both technical and social behavioral skills as aspects of cultural capital and as synergistic determinants of the individual's capacity to comply with prevailing evaluative standards"; thus providing a means of understanding how "socioeconomic advantage translates into academic advantage" (Edgerton and Roberts 2014, p. 196). This expansive view of cultural capital has contributed to the idea of culture as a *tool kit* (Swidler 1986). Australian educational researcher Pat Thomson has utilized this idea in her description of a child's *virtual school bag*, which is filled with diverse prior-to-school experiences of both the technical and social-behavioral kind.

Despite these useful and expansive applications of Bourdieu's theory of inequality, concepts of economic, social, and cultural capital are often dissociated from related concepts of field and habitus (Edgerton and Roberts 2014). In such accounts, the value of the capital possessed by marginalized families invariably counts for less than that of less marginalized families. Hence, concepts of capital can be coopted for the purpose of constituting marginalized high-poverty communities in deficit terms, and re-inscribing ideas associated with the concept of a *culture of poverty* that originated with the work of Lewis (1959), and that continue to influence the works of some sociologists (see, for example, Sanchez-Jankowski 2008) and some educational researchers (see, for example, Buckingham et al. 2014). Within a *culture of poverty* framework, marginalized families are engaged in an unequal exchange since they are always positioned as receivers not givers; as listeners, not speakers; and, perhaps most perversely, as dysfunctional and unable to operate without the assistance and intervention of outside expertise and support that provides remediation and supplementation.

The endemic nature of deficit discourse in education operates in ways that constitute differences in students and their communities as inherent or *natural*. In other words, the problematic effects of schooling, including the persistent underachievement of children living in poverty, are attributed to deficiencies in these children and their communities. Consequently, it is assumed that outcomes for these children are limited by their 'natural' capabilities. This logic reflects overly deterministic positivist efforts to predict the links between individual, family and community attributes, and outcomes from schooling.

Conversely, a post-Habermasian positionality of deconstruction, as described by Lather (1991), treats the differential effects of schooling as discursive in nature and constituted by the practices of schooling. In other words, the problematic effects of schooling, including persistent underachievement by children living in poverty, are seen as effects of schooling discourses instead of as *natural* consequences of deficiencies in children raised in communities that experience high levels of poverty. Changing the outcomes from schooling for these children requires changes in the discourses of schooling. This approach to understanding the differential effects of schooling operates under the assumption that these effects are not as they appear, since they are the product of knowledge (partial, contingent, and temporal) and relationships of power constituted by discursive practices of schooling.

The key distinction between these different approaches to understanding inequality in education is their differing understanding of the relationship between power and knowledge. For example, interpretive approaches assume that knowledge about inequality may be accessed through systematic investigation, a liberatory empirical stance that has the best chance of producing more equitable outcomes from schooling. Hence, if we understand better the reason why marginalized children are unable to succeed at school we will be able to improve their outcomes by catering more effectively for their needs. In contrast, a deconstructive approach assumes that knowledge about inequality produces the practices of schooling and its associated effects of power. Producing more equitable outcomes involves disrupting existing relationships of power and knowledge, in order to produce different and

perhaps more equitable effects. Elaborating on this distinction is intended to suggest that, in order to make a positive difference for young people who live in poverty, it is necessary to understand the effects of these meaning-making processes, in particular how they constitute the problem of inequality and repertories of practices. In other words, the epistemological competencies reflected in teachers' interpretive and discursive work are an important dimension of teacher education for high-poverty contexts.

3   Conceptualizing the Problem of Inequality

Discourses of poverty and schooling operate in predictable ways. These discourses are reflected in the media, in the accounts of teachers, and in popular explanations for why children living in poverty underachieve and under-participate in school. The endemic nature of these discourses is evident in the highly consistent accounts given of young people's experiences at home, and how these experiences contribute to their chances of success at school. Homes are almost always described in negative terms; they are places where young people experience too much screen time, too little vocabulary, few resources, socially unacceptable behavior, and passive cultures; they are also described as not being caring environments, not offering support, not providing a sense of security, and not providing standard English. Particular attention is directed towards parents. They are almost always described in negative terms: they undermine the hierarchy of the school, are prone to shouting and instability, are sources of embarrassment to their children, model bad behavior, don't read aloud, have low expectations, don't see the value of education, offer little support to their children, and are too busy to pay attention to them.

When young people and their families are constituted in these ways, particular types of solutions, knowledge, and power relations are produced. Consequently, people, problems, and power relations are assigned meanings in ways that make us forget the discursively constituted nature of such accounts. These discourses are deeply entrenched in what is said (and not said) about young people and their families who live in poverty, but opportunities arise to disrupt these discourses when these knowledge claims are treated as contingent, partial, and temporal accounts of poverty and schooling. For example, new opportunities are made possible when we consider parents to be part of the solution, rather than part of the problem. Importantly, the purpose of adopting such an approach is to ask: What knowledge about poverty and schooling is made available and legitimate in discourses of schooling? What opportunities are opened up or closed down for young people who are generally not well served by schooling practices?

These kinds of question are difficult to ask, and even more difficult to answer, because discourses of disadvantage and education operate through pedagogical and leadership practices that, for the most part, go unnoticed and unquestioned, again and again (Suoranta 2010). These default practices give schools their universal character, but they are also based on knowledge that is open to contestation and change. Recognizing that pedagogical and leadership practices are implicated in

producing discourses of disadvantage and education is an important step towards disrupting the predictable effects of these discourses. Before considering what teacher education programs that support this project might look like, the work of a teacher whose pedagogical practices disrupt the predictable effects of schooling is described in the next section. Focusing on the pedagogical practices of one teacher is not intended to provide a blueprint or set of guidelines for working in high-poverty contexts, but rather to suggest that there are opportunities for teachers to disrupt schooling as we know it by creating different relationships of power and knowledge, in this case with families living in high-poverty contexts.

4   Suzy's Class

Early one morning, while conducting fieldwork in a school in Adelaide's northern suburbs, I found myself gathered up by a teacher named Suzy and swept into her classroom, along with other adults and children waiting for school to start. Suzy was not meant to be one of the teachers I was to observe but, each time I visited the school, I was drawn back to see her because there was something recognizably different going on in her classroom. Most noticeably, family members (including an assortment of parents, siblings, aunts/uncles, and carers) were welcomed into the classroom. They were greeted by name, encouraged to stay but also reassured that it was OK to go. Suzy asked them questions that gave her access to information about each child's home life: *How's your morning been? What did you do on the weekend?* She also conveyed information that told them about each child's experiences at school: *Her reading is really improving. He's really working hard.*

Below are the field notes I wrote after spending time in Suzy's class. They give a description of what happened there before the bell went:

> The classroom doors opened 10 minutes before class was due to begin. Older and younger children, some with their parents, were warmly welcomed and offered lots of suggestions for things to do as they trickled into the room. There were puzzles, games, readers, etc.
>
> Suzy was in constant motion, noticing people and emotions, directing activities by pairing adults and older children up with smaller children. She was demonstrating how to turn each interaction with a child (and adult) into an opportunity to learn about literacy, or in her words, a teachable moment.
>
> The walls were covered with posters of letters, words, images, numbers and colors that she regularly pointed to in order to help the children associate sounds and ideas with letters and words.
>
> Some 'return' parents and older children were adopting the same kinds of practice as Suzy. They were sitting with children, helping them to, using their fingers to point, sounding out letters, and making associations for the children with the resources in the room.
>
> The classroom was a hive of activity. Suzy was turning names into rhymes, and encouraging children to look with both eyes. She was quickly discerning if a child needed some additional support. She was generous with her hugs and supportive comments.
>
> She distinguished little problems from big problems: the only big problems were those things that limited children's learning. For example, a child came to complain that one of

her peers was using a texta and not a pencil, and Suzy said to her: That's a little problem; you don't need to be concerned about that. Your big problem is your learning and that's what we want you to do, so sit down and learn.

Suzy approached every problem as something that could be fixed. Her mantra was: That's OK, that's fixable. For example, one child said that some of the pages in her book had been torn, and Suzy reassured her and said, That's OK, we can fix that. It's good that you let me know because we can fix that.

She was extremely reassuring with both the children and adults. The phrase she used most with the parents was: Don't stress about that. She often reassured parents that their children were doing REALLY well, and illustrated it with an example. She would also say to the parents that the children loved it when they joined in, but that it was OK if they weren't able to stay.

She emphasized on many occasions something that each child had done well, saying, I'm so proud of you for…

Suzy was always on the go, dealing with every child, every parent, and attempting to keep the focus on literacy, while taking care of emotional and social needs.

She had removed the teacher's desk from the classroom to create more space.

Every child had a reading folder with a number of readers. Each folder included readers that children could read without assistance, readers that they could read with the assistance of a better reader, and readers that could be read to them.

During a number of interviews that I conducted with Suzy, I learnt that she had not taken a direct path to teaching. After leaving school, Suzy had worked in retail before traveling overseas. On her return to Australia she was employed in a child-care center and completed a diploma in childcare. Her desire to know more about how her own children were learning and developing inspired her to undertake an Early Childhood teaching degree. After completing her degree, she worked in a program that assisted children living in socially disadvantaged communities to prepare for school. It was while working in this program that she came to the attention of a school principal who offered her a job teaching children in their first year of schooling. Her background in childcare and knowledge of early childhood imbued her with a strengths-based approach to working with children and families:

> My teaching style is hands-on, using everyday objects, [a] strengths-based approach with the parents, trying to empower them to work in partnership because I really believe that the parent is the first educator of the child, and I'm there to support them as much as anything, and the parents have valuable information about children's interests, strengths, needs. They don't come to school with a blank slate, so as quickly as it's all transferred over, the quicker I can start teaching. That's a lot of information!

Noticeably absent from Suzy's description of the children and their families were the deficit terms that were commonly used by her colleagues. Her familiarity with a *strengths-based* framework, which has emerged out of the field of positive psychology (Clifton and Harter 2003), meant that she made sense of educational inequality by investing in and mobilizing the resources of individuals and families to make a positive difference for young people. As illustrated in the field notes above, Suzy curated her work in ways that sought to include in her pedagogical repertoire children's experiences prior to school and out of school. She promoted reciprocal and respectful relationships with families by welcoming them into the classroom and engaging them in learning activities. Her consistent application of this way of think-

ing distinguished her pedagogical repertoire from those of her colleagues, whose efforts were focused on overcoming the weaknesses and deficiencies they perceived in their students due to their low socio-economic statuses. Suzy's colleagues did not open their classrooms earlier to *capture* parents and carers as they dropped their children off for school. Indeed, their classrooms were usually locked until the bell rang.

In many respects, Suzy's classroom practices appeared similar to those of her colleagues. Like them, she often seated the children on the floor around her to read aloud a book, pointing to the words and pictures, making connections, explaining how language works, and responding to their questions and observations. However, Suzy's classroom practices were embedded in a pedagogical repertoire that was oriented towards different purposes and built upon different assumptions. Suzy understood the purpose of schooling, and her own pedagogical practice, in ways that recognized and valued children's prior-to-school experiences, and the involvement of their families in learning. For Suzy, this was underpinned by a strengths-based approach, but other ways of making sense of inequality, particularly those informed by principles of social justice, arrive at similar conclusions about the purposes of schooling, and generate similar kinds of repertoires of practice. For example, Moll et al.'s (1992) concept of *funds of knowledge*, and Comber and Kamler's (2004) concept of *turn around pedagogies* both draw attention to the value of recognizing students' prior knowledge and out-of-school experiences.

5   Orchestrating Repertoires of Practice that Contribute to Educational Equality

In this chapter, the term *pedagogical repertoire* encompasses the set of classroom practices adopted by a teacher. These practices include ways of working with students individually, in groups, and as a whole class, and ways of structuring the classroom space, integrating technologies, and distributing resources. Perhaps most fundamentally, this set of practices reflects how teachers position themselves in relation to knowledge and students' learning: as transmitters of knowledge, mediators of students' encounters with knowledge, co-constructors of knowledge, knowledge brokers linking students' interests to related knowledge, and, perhaps, all of these roles at different times. Importantly, repertoires of pedagogical practice are not limited to the classroom. They are also reflected in how teachers work collectively with each other, as well as with parents, carers, and others beyond the school.

Teachers' pedagogical repertoires are shaped by how they might answer the question: *What is the purpose of schooling?* Suzy's pedagogical repertoire had the explicit purpose of applying a strengths-based approach to working in partnership with families and carers to support her students' learning. Even when not explicitly stated, a teacher's understanding of the purpose of schooling shapes their pedagogical repertoire, and this understanding may also be *read* through their pedagogical

repertoire. Even so, it should not be assumed that teachers who share similar under-standings of the purpose of schooling curate their repertoires of practice in similar ways. Other teachers who espouse a strengths-based approach may adopt very different classroom practices to those visible in Suzy's class, and they may curate these in ways that produce different repertoires of practice, albeit for a similar purpose.

The process of orchestrating includes balancing, choosing among, and deploying substantial bodies of knowledge, guided by sets of values and ethical commitments, operationalized in specific contexts (University of Queensland 2012). It should not be assumed that Suzy's classroom practices, however well intentioned, will improve the learning outcomes of her students, because what matters are the effects of her practice. The degree to which these effects align with her intended purpose is not assured, but needs to be assessed through ongoing systematic analysis of her practice. For Suzy, this is something she does continually, in a formative way, by observing how students interact with each other and with her; she is attentive to the types of questions they ask, to their use of language, and to subtle changes in their knowledge and skills. She acknowledges that she does not always "get it right", and that she is continually reflecting on the question: *What can I do differently tomorrow*? In the absence of ongoing systematic analysis, teachers may shape their pedagogical repertoires in ways that treat the background experiences of their students as limiting what they are able to achieve rather than as a resource through which they can make a positive difference. The curation of repertoires of practice involves the matching of practice to desired effects. The term *curation* suggests that this matching is intentional, planned, and geared toward a particular purpose.

6   Teacher Education for High-Poverty Contexts

A challenge for teacher education for high-poverty contexts is to prepare professionals with the capacity to curate repertoires of practice that contribute towards equitable outcomes from schooling. This process involves choosing from among a number of types of work that, as Comber (2006) reminds us, must be engaged in and orchestrated simultaneously in order to make a positive difference for young people. In Suzy's case:

- her interpretive work was visible in her ongoing and systematic analysis of the effects of her practice
- her institutional work was visible in how she utilized available resources, mediated the administration of performance measures, and negotiated the interface between the school and the community in her classroom
- her discursive work was visible in how she attempted to disrupt relationships of power that excluded parents and carers from paying an active role in their children's learning, and in the way she challenged knowledge about parents and carers that constructed them in deficit terms.

During one of the interviews I conducted with her, Suzy recognized the effects of her own practice, as well as those of her colleagues:

> I don't think it's the parents, I think it's the teachers. I think that's where we're failing the parents because we have a textbook definition of what we think security looks like; attachment looks like; and learning looks like. [We don't say to parents,] you're already doing this, this, and this; walk alongside me, we can do it together. The big lingo comes out, the textbook concept of security, learning, attachment, everything, and I think we just build barriers then straightaway amongst the parents because I don't think they realize that they're already doing these.

Suzy's use of the term *big lingo* is a way of describing the relationships of power and knowledge constituted by the discourses of schooling. The *big lingo* is everything that is generally said about parents and carers, as well as what is unlikely to be said; it produces the commonplace practices and procedures that determine parents' involvement in schooling, and it makes visible the types of relationships that are recognized and valued with parents, as well as those that are denied and considered of little value.

The description of Suzy's classroom in this chapter provides a means by which to trace how her interests underpin her repertoire of practice. Her interests are broad and reflected in the categories of human interest described by Lather (1991) that were referred to earlier in this chapter:

- predicting and monitoring the effects of changes in her repertoire of practice and other contextual factors on students' learning
- understanding the many challenges young people who live in poverty face and drawing upon a range of interpretive frameworks to make a difference to their educational outcomes
- recognizing the emancipatory function of schooling and working individually and collectively with her colleagues to reduce the impact of social disadvantage. While at the same time,
- challenging the legitimacy of discourses of schooling by deconstructing her individual and collective efforts.

Suzy's repertoire of practice illustrated how she made sense of inequality by drawing upon existing meaning making processes, in her case a strengths-based approach to teaching. Suzy applied this knowledge to curate repertoires of practice intended to make a positive difference for her students living in high-poverty contexts. In addition, she engaged in meaning making processes (including those listed above) that produced knowledge about the effects of her individual and collective practice. These aspects of teachers work are epistemological in nature. This chapter has emphasized that an important component of teacher education for high-poverty contexts is to prepare professionals who have the capacity to engage in this kind of epistemological work so that they may curate repertoires of practice that are likely to make a positive difference for their students.

References

Buckingham, J., Beaman, R., & Wheldall, K. (2014). Why poor children are more likely to become poor readers: The early years. *Educational Review, 66*(4), 428–446.

Campbell, C., & Proctor, H. (2014). *A history of Australian schooling*. Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin.

Clifton, D. O., & Harter, J. K. (2003). Investing in strengths. In A. K. S. Cameron, B. J. E. Dutton, & C. R. E. Quinn (Eds.), *Positive organizational scholarship: Foundations of a new discipline* (pp. 111–121). San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc.

Cochran-Smith, M. (2000). The future of teacher education: Framing the questions that matter. *Teaching Education, 11*(1), 13–24.

Comber, B. (2006). Pedagogy as work: Educating the next generation of literacy teachers. *Pedagogies: An International Journal, 1*(1), 59–67.

Comber, B., & Kamler, B. (2004). Getting out of deficit: Pedagogies of reconnection. *Teaching Education, 15*(3), 293–310.

Connell, R. W. (2009). Good teachers on dangerous ground: Towards a new view of teacher quality and professionalism. *Critical Studies in Education, 50*(3), 213–229.

Dreyfus, H. L., & Rabinow, P. (1982). *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Edgerton, J. D., & Roberts, L. W. (2014). Cultural capital or habitus? Bourdieu and beyond in the explanation of enduring educational inequality. *Theory and Research in Education, 12*(2), 193–220.

Habermas, J. (1971). *Knowledge and human interests: A general perspective* (trans: Shapiro, J. J.). Boston: Beacon Press. German edition: Habermas, J. (1968). *Erkenntnis und Interesse*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag.

Lareau, A. (2002). Invisible inequality: Social class and childrearing in black families and white families. *American Sociological Review, 67*, 747–776.

Lareau, A., & Weininger, E. B. (2003). Cultural capital in educational research: A critical assessment. *Theory and Society, 32*, 567–606.

Lather, P. (1991). *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern*. New York: Routledge.

Lather, P. (2006). Paradigm proliferation as a good thing to think with: teaching research in education as a wild profusion. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 19(1), 35–57.

Lewis, O. (1959). *Five families: Mexican case studies in the culture of poverty*. New York: Basic Books.

Luke, A., Freebody, P., & Land, R. (2000). *Literate futures: Review of literacy education*. Brisbane: Education Queensland.

Moll, L., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classroom. *Theory Into Practice, 31*(2), 132–141.

Sanchez-Jankowski, M. (2008). *Cracks in the pavement: Social change and resilience in poor neighborhoods*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Suoranta, J. (2010). Jacques Ranciere on radical equality and adult education. In M. Peters, P. Ghiraldelli, B. Zarnic, & A. Gibbons (Eds.), *Encyclopaedia of philosophy of education*. http://eepat.net/doku.php?id=jacques_ranciere_on_radical_equality_and_adult_education. Accessed 21 July 2014.

Swidler, A. (1986). Culture in action: Symbols and strategies. *American Sociological Review, 51*, 273–286.

University of Queensland. (2012). *An investigation of best practice in evidence-based assessment within preservice teacher education programs and other professions*. Report of research commissioned by the Queensland College of Teachers. http://www.qct.edu.au/PDF/PSU/BestPpracticeEvidenceBasedAsessmentPreserviceReacherEdPrograms.PDF. Accessed 11 Aug 2015.

Learning to Teach in the Park: The York University Regent Park Initiative

Alison Griffith and Sherri Gilbert

Abstract The York University pre-service program at Regent Park is a community-situated teacher education program. The Program is based in an urban area of Toronto, Ontario, Canada—an area of new immigrant families, families on social welfare, poverty, and gangs. Our data are drawn from the teaching reflections of two course instructors in the Program, as well as Teacher Candidate reflections of their course experiences. We describe the program, one of the courses made possible by such a program, and ask whether a community focused program such as YURP can exist outside of the particular synergy of York University and the Regent Park community.

1 Introduction

The York University preservice site at Regent Park (YURP) is going into its 12th year. Like many initiatives in Regent Park (e.g. Pathways to Education, Youth Empowering Parents, and School Community Action Alliance Regent Park, among others), the site began at the grassroots level as a vision of a local educator who had the opportunity to work at York University as a seconded faculty member for 3 years. Jeff Kugler had been a teacher, vice principal, and principal in Regent Park. His idea was to develop a Teacher/Community Education site that would be located in the Regent Park community. York faculty members who were committed to community-situated teacher education and who had worked in Regent Park, primarily Harry Smaller and Don Dippo, met with Regent Park community agencies and schools to develop a teacher-education program that drew from the strengths of this marginalized community.

A. Griffith (✉)
Faculty of Education, York University, Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: agriffith@edu.yorku.ca

S. Gilbert
Nelson Mandela Park School, Toronto District School Board, Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: Sherri.Gilbert@tdsb.on.ca

YURP was developed to play a role in the community, to participate in a range of community activities, and to be an advocate for the community. The mere presence of a YURP sign on the community center where all courses are held is an important signal to the community. Having a university within their neighborhood allowed the children to feel that higher education was a possibility in their future. Several teacher candidates (TCs) who have graduated from YURP grew up in Regent Park. Many TCs have found employment in the schools in Regent Park and are now mentor teachers for the site. The commitment to the community has become a cycle of TCs being immersed in the community, becoming devoted to the community, and finding opportunities to use their skills and commitment to give back to the community.

In this paper, we describe the YURP community-situated teacher education program, review one of the courses made possible by such a program, and ask whether a community focused program such as YURP can exist outside of the particular synergy of York University and the Regent Park community,

2 Introducing Regent Park

The Regent Park area of Toronto includes a wide range of residents from the very poor the very wealthy. It is (in)famous in Ontario, primarily through media reports of guns, homicides, gang activity, and poverty. There's always a story to be told about Regent Park.

> It is an extremely culturally diverse neighborhood with more than half of its population being immigrants. It is home to approximately 12,000 people. Over 50 % of the population living in Regent Park are children 18 years and younger (compared to a Toronto-wide average of 30 %). The average income for Regent Park residents is approximately half the average for other Torontonians. The majority of families in Regent Park are classified as low-income, with 68 % of the population living below Statistics Canada's low-income cut-off rate in one of its census tracts, and 76 % in the other compared to a Toronto-wide average of just over 20 %. *Poverty is a reality for seven in ten Regent Park families*. (Ibrahim 2010, p. 1)

Regent Park is often used as a name for all the poor and marginalized neighborhoods in that area of Toronto, for example, Moss Park, Corktown, and the Distillery District. Regent Park signifies downtown Toronto neighborhoods marked by poverty, new immigrants, multiple languages, street violence, and many people who use social services:

> While a small percentage of the total population experience persistent low income, we find that large percentages of high-risk groups (such as lone mothers, recent immigrants, members of visible minorities, people with less education and people with activity limitations) suffer more from persistent low income. (Zhe and Kuan 2011, p. 4)

When the term Regent Park is used, these are the people being described.

Recently, Regent Park has been the focus of a massive civic redevelopment program that has seen housing project homes torn down and townhouses and apartments

take their place. This has meant personal upheaval and relocation of a number of families to other parts of Toronto. Not all of those families have returned (Artscape 2012; Toronto Neighbourhood Guide 1997–2014).

3   Introducing YURP

The Ontario Ministry of Education and the Ontario College of Teachers mandate most of the courses and the practicum length of the teacher education programs in Ontario. The York University Faculty of Education and the YURP courses are constructed to these standardized criteria. However, within these standardized requirements, the orientation and the actual content of the courses vary. Importantly, all York University preservice courses focus on social justice and equity in terms of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation (http://edu.yorku.ca/academic-programs/bachelor-of-education/, 2014a). The combination of social foundations courses, classroom-oriented courses, and community practicum embed the student in a learning process that is intellectually robust, practically situated, and that is oriented to the urban context of Regent Park—e.g. the impact of poverty on learning, children as immigrants, a curriculum for First Nations, using math in the urban context, and so on. The theoretical bases of courses may differ—for example, some are more psychologically oriented while others focus on the social context in which teaching and learning occurs. Indeed, the 'same' course can have a different theoretical grounding depending on who is teaching the course. Tenured and seconded faculty who teach at the site are selected for their research, teaching, and experience of working in the urban setting.

The vision for YURP goes beyond the traditional model for teacher education. As noted above, the program was established as a teacher education program for urban and inner city centers. The Teacher Candidates (TCs) in the Consecutive Teacher Education Program at York University have at least a Bachelor's degree. The majority of TCs placed at the YURP site choose that site deliberately, implying that they are interested in what the site has to offer; however, as it is the only site offered in the downtown core, some choose it for convenience. Most of the TCs who come into the YURP site are from the Greater Toronto Area, particularly the northern suburbs. Two to three TCs in each year have grown up in Regent Park and still live there. Some are from, for example, more distant cities in Ontario, Canada such as North Bay, Guelph, and Barrie.

The YURP TCs are a range of colors, ethnicities, and religions, including Christian, Buddhist, Muslim, and Jewish. Indeed, the racial, ethnic, and religious diversity of the cohort is striking. Some have just graduated from a Bachelor's program, some have post-graduate degrees, some are coming back after a long period away from school, and some are changing careers. For example, one TC described herself as: "[I am] a university graduate in Biology, a former Arctic researcher of species diversity and richness, and most recently a zookeeper working with numerous threatened and endangered species at the Toronto Zoo." The YURP TCs are a

unique group in higher education and bring a range of life experience to their learning and teaching.

What most of the TCs have in common is that they have never been to Regent Park. They know Regent Park only through the media stories about the neighborhoods; are often afraid of the area and the people who live there; and have families who tell them to be careful. One student wrote this description about his introduction to Regent Park:

> Even though I chose this site as my first choice, I never really knew what it would entail. I just knew it was near the hub of downtown Toronto and that that's where I wanted to be. So, I accepted. But, then I started doing some research and realized it probably wasn't going to be what I had initially expected. I grew up in suburbia, went to […] and was familiar with only a handful of areas in Toronto from prior visits. Thus, I began talking to people and ended up hearing from relatives, ones from an older generation that I should be prepared to wear a flak jacket. And, media outlets hadn't helped either, as my research began to reveal not-so-welcoming statistics. On my first day traveling to our Community Centre the assumptions I had of Regent Park were inflated to the point where I decided against wearing my watch, glasses, chain, or nice clothes and I didn't bring my laptop or iPod. I began to recognize quickly, though, that my perception of Regent Park was askew and was largely a reflection of a dominant discourse.

Five days a week, the TCs are in Regent Park. The site coordinator between 2011 and 2014 was Sherri Gilbert. Similarly to previous site coordinators, she is an experienced teacher from one of the local schools who was seconded to York University for 3 years. Part of her job is to follow the TCs progress carefully as they move between YURP, local schools, and community placements. The TCs school practicums are in local schools, their academic and practical courses are in the Regent Park Community Centre South Community Hall, and their community practicums are in Regent Park community agencies.

The YURP program philosophy is that teaching is as much a community activity as it is an educational activity. Teaching practicums are accompanied by community placements. A part-time Community Liaison worker is situated at YURP. Based on her work in the community, agencies whose work supports the YURP education model are contacted. Those that need or can use volunteers come to a Fall Fair, co-sponsored by the Pathways to Education: Regent Park program, at the start of each preservice year. The TCs choose the community agency that most interests them and they volunteer in those agencies as one part of their coursework. TCs volunteer at the same agency over the course of the school year (September through May), usually for 2–3 h a week for a total of 40 mandatory hours. All volunteer work is completed outside of course and classroom hours. The TCs work with children, youth, and adults. Some examples of work done by TCs include:

- coaching sports, including gymnastics, basketball, and soccer
- supervising drop-in sports, recreation, or art programs
- facilitating storytelling and reading programs at the local library
- teaching computer-literacy classes
- undertaking after-school tutoring
- co-facilitating art-therapy workshops

- teaching musical instruments,
- volunteering at the Regent Park Film Festival and Toronto Storytelling Festival (York University 2014b).

Initially, many TCs question the rationale behind this extra requirement. They question the relevance to their future career as teachers and rightly so: teachers who embed the community in their school are rare and TCs have few role models. In addition, the demands of the program on both teachers and TCs often mean that community work is seen as an *add-on*. The focus of work done at YURP is to showcase the advantages of teachers becoming part of the community they work in, rather than visitors who check in and out each school day. The faculty (seconded teachers, community supervisors, and tenured professors) insist on the completion of the community work during the course.

Regent Park is clearly a community that reflects and accomplishes the social context of inequity. Faculty and students are easily oriented to the difficulties of the community because they are so visible—they walk through them every day on their way to their classes or schools. The YURP week long Fall Orientation introduces the TCs to the RP community through a community fair, a community walk, and other community-oriented activities. However, when it comes to learning about teaching a curriculum that is mandated and standardized by the Ministry of Education, the community focus struggles to fit into TC concerns about classroom management, lesson plans, and in the case of this particular community at this time, discussions about mental health and behaviour issues. This struggle to fit the reality of inequity with the dis-embodied standardized curriculum was the philosophical ground of a course taught by Alison Griffith at YURP in 2011.

4 Learning Regent Park

4.1 The Course

The course was titled Socialization and Human Development. The course description in the York University calendar frames it as a developmental psychology course. However, the analytical framework of developmental psychology falls short of addressing the range of life experiences of students with non-Western experiences (Griffith 1995). For example, some Regent Park students have immigrated to Canada from war-torn countries, or have lived for years in refugee camps. Others have lived in Regent Park all their lives, but have never been outside of that community. Some have lived their lives in extended families but, in Canada, live in nuclear families in which both parents do shiftwork. Alison wanted to take seriously the notion that human development is tied to socialization, rather than focusing on the various *stages* of development. The course objectives included:

- to think about human development and socialization as situated learning processes
- to explore and ethnographically *map* the local and institutional learning in Regent Park communities
- to create a situated curriculum unit based on the Regent Park *map*
- to engage with others in the process of formulating how one comes to know
- to think about social differences in teaching and learning (Griffith 2011–2012).

Alison wanted the TCs to come to know Regent Park and its residents. She wanted them to do their educational work in relation to people who live and go to school in Regent Park; to learn *from* the community so they could teach *for and with* the community; and to shift from teaching subjects to teaching subjectivities whose lives may not follow the discourses of children's development. The TCs would learn from and about the community, then use that knowledge to develop a situated curriculum: a classroom curriculum grounded in the community knowledge of Regent Park students *and* that met the expectations of the Ministry of Education's mandated curriculum.

There were 47 TCs in the 2011 course—an average size for the Regent Park cohort. The class was divided into groups based on their teaching specialties or interests. Students self-selected into smaller curriculum groups depending on their particular teaching interests, for example, literacy, sustainability, history, physical education, and so on.

Facebook was the social networking program used to upload, share, and consolidate the ethnographic field notes, curriculum guidelines, curriculum drafts, and group messaging. The Facebook site was used as the repository for everything that was to be shared with other students in the course. Students uploaded resources they found, their field notes, pictures of the street art in Regent Park, or posters in shop windows, scanned fliers from community agencies, and anything else that addressed their curriculum topic.[1] Alison encouraged the TCs to upload a range of resources available to support teaching in the Regent Park community as well as their field notes describing what they were learning about Regent Park. The TCs bring a range of life experience to the course and she wanted them to *scaffold* their learning with their already-extensive knowledge.

4.2   Field Notes

The course began with the TCs writing ethnographic field notes. Ethnography is the study of local ways of being: What people are there? What are they doing? What shops, restaurants, and community agencies are in the area? What are the

---

[1]The Facebook page was made as private as we could make it. Nonetheless, Alison cautioned the TCs about confidentiality and privacy in the material they were uploading, particularly in their descriptions of the neighborhood and its people.

demographics of the neighbourhood? How do people get into and out of the neighbourhood? And so on. The object of this exercise was to have the TCs observe and write down what and who they saw, where and when. For example, when walking from the community center to their community practicum placement or their school placement, which houses were being torn down, or rebuilt? When riding the bus or cycling through the neighbourhood, who was on the bus, and on the street. Everything they saw was grist for the mill. So many of the things they saw were new, and yet ordinary: Did that make it important? There were so many new ways of talking: Was that important?

Ethnography is about making the ordinary extra-ordinary as if seeing it for the first time. For example, they were asked to read a visual ethnography article by Pink (2008) on walking as a way of coming to know a neighborhood, which prompted one of the students to write this reflection at the end of the course:

> As my eyes were being trained to take in all that was around me and to look for the subtle expressions in the way that space was being used, I began to see the connection between teaching in the classroom and observing the community at large. I began to use the images that were being posted on Facebook as a way to broaden my perspective on the visual canvas of Regent Park, as well as bringing these images into the classroom during art and science lessons as a means to make the coursework relevant to the students.

Class time was spent talking about what was in the field notes, as well as what was not.

4.3   Ethnographic Mapping

The next step in the ethnographic process was to draw an ethnographic map of Regent Park. Each small interest group translated the resources they discovered onto their *ethnographic map*. The groups used big sheets of brown paper and colored pencils. Their task was to take the materials, pictures, and field notes they had been gathering on the Facebook (2014) page and put it onto their group-developed map. This shift from writing to visualizing to drawing was easy for some TCs, while others struggled to reframe their knowledge in this different way. The small group dynamics were constantly shifting as the TCs drew from the range of skills available in themselves and in the group. Difficulties encountered in the shift to a more visual knowledge became the focus of discussion about learning styles and feelings of inadequacy in the classroom. Some groups drew geographically accurate maps with street names, schools, agencies, and community resources named. Others drew more impressionistic maps, particularly those TCs who focused on the arts.

As the TCs drew their ethnographic maps, they discovered *holes*: areas of the map where they had never been. They told of taking different routes to their schools or their community practicums in order to fill in the blank spaces. As they filled in their maps, they began to see Regent Park in a more coherent and complex way.

The small groups presented their maps to the whole class. The different focus of each map meant that Regent Park came into view as a complicated layering of communities rather than an archetypical *marginalized community*. Regent Park began to appear as a community of resources rather than a community of deficits. Literacy resources included notices on shop windows as well as after-school tutoring agencies. Physical education resources included the basketball court where the boys hung out after school. Sustainability and science resources included the rooftop gardens in the area. English as a Second Language resources included a number of shopkeepers who spoke several languages.[2]

4.4   Developing a Situated Curriculum

The maps came into play again when the working groups were developing their situated curriculum. The TCs downloaded the curriculum expectations from the Ministry of Education (2014) for the unit they had selected.[3] They reviewed their Facebook notes and their maps as a way of selecting resources that would be suitable for their students. They searched the internet for resources to support their teaching. Each group developed a collaborative resource list of agencies, libraries, public health units, museums, community agencies, community elders, and knowledgeable residents. These units were presented to the whole class, received feedback from the other TCs, and were revised and posted on Facebook for everyone's use.

The curriculum presentations were innovative and informative. Some TCs were able to take their situated curriculum into the classroom to support their practicum teaching. One TC gave an example in her final reflection paper related to teaching students about energy:

> While I had done numerous experiments with the children to demonstrate each form of energy throughout the unit, those that helped get the point across best were the ones that explained the functional use of the energy in a way that the children commonly use it. I had problems simplifying large ideas such as types of energy in an experiment that my students would find relevant. Most of the *educational videos* used language that was beyond the students' ability to follow, and while they found the different experiments I did in class to be *cool* they often didn't see a point to what was being done.
>
> As the culminating activity for the unit, I asked families to send toys to school that used different types of energy to move (such as mechanical, electrical, wind, solar, and stored). The result was that students were able to rotate through multiple stations, and figure out what types of energy made the toys work. The toys activity was my attempt at trying to make the ideas of energy relevant to how kids use it in their everyday lives. At other times, when I had students move around to tables of experiments demonstrating different applications of the same type of energy, the kids had become overwhelmed and confused.

---

[2] Unfortunately, some of these maps were lost. The TC classroom shares space with an after-school program that apparently used them for an activity.

[3] Their selection of the units was based on their area of interest and a grade level that all group members would be qualified to teach.

This time, even though the different toys all used a different type of energy, the kids were extremely engaged and participated in animated discussions about what made that toy move. The difference was clear: the students cared about what made their toys work and so they were able to focus better and retain more information.

4.5 Social Media as a Resource

Facebook was an excellent technology for building community in the TC classroom. Central to the community building was that Facebook was a required part of the course, and it was the main repository for the resources the students were constructing. After the course was finished, the students who were comfortable with social technologies continued to use it. Others did not. One student discussed the Facebook groups in his final reflection:

> Connecting through Facebook allowed us to have a record-keeping system of our online communication, maintaining a history of all of the information that we shared and how it was received by our group members. The subject-specific groups provided us with a [second] forum to continue our meetings throughout the week, and the [Facebook group called] CMYR Large gave us an ongoing means to connect with the entire class. This Large group became like a virtual community for the TCs, becoming an expression of our experiences as students and a reflection of Regent Park through the images and stories we shared.

People posted course materials, YouTube videos related to their teaching, requests for help, and resources that would be useful for either coursework or teaching, picture of street art and of events held in RP. For security reasons, the Facebook page was dismantled at the end of the program.

5 Reflecting on the Course

The final course requirement was a short reflective paper. This was supplemented by a classroom discussion of the course work with Alison. The reflective papers showed the kind of transformation possible with a course such as this one in a program such as YURP. Those TCs who were afraid of Regent Park had become advocates for their students both inside the school and outside in the larger communities that make up Regent Park. They learned that the mandatory curriculum is simply a guide for teaching, and that lesson plans can incorporate a whole range of community-based resources. One TC took her students on a walk around the school neighborhood and had them point out the landmarks that were part of their lives (for example, "That's where my cousin lives" and "That's where I go to church"). The TC final reflections were enthusiastic about their community placements. The TCs had met people who worked and lived in Regent Park, heard some of their stories, and spoke well of their students and their families.

Of course, some found the course and the program upsetting. It is often difficult to work with poor, difficult, or abused children. At times, a TC would talk about wanting to withdraw from Regent Park, as the lives they were witnessing were so difficult. The cohort of TCs were able to work through many of their difficulties by talking to their supervising teacher in the local school, or the course instructors at YURP, or to each other. Sherri Gilbert, as the Site Coordinator, was often involved in these difficult conversations. As well, some TCs wanted very structured classes that would teach them how to manage their classrooms, or when to call in the school social worker. However, those students were and are the minority, in part because YURP students are older and there is a range of ages in the cohort.

6   Conclusion

There are four factors that allowed Alison to develop and run a non-traditional teacher-education course grounded in ethnographic fieldwork and oriented to the development of a community-situated curriculum.

First, she is a tenured Professor, which gave her the pedagogical space to teach against the grain (Simon 1992) without being penalized for teaching a non-traditional version of the Ministry of Education mandated course.

Second, the YURP teaching philosophy of community-embedded curricula grounds all the courses. The TCs are always in the Regent Park community. As much as possible, the Course Instructors are assigned to teach at RP based on their interest in community-based education. While site meetings are few, they always include the community workers who are coordinating the placements.

Third, YURP is run by the Faculty of Education at York University. Historically, this Faculty has developed a range of innovative programs for teacher education (e.g. Westview Project), and graduate education (e.g. the Jane-Finch MEd cohort). Equity and social justice are guiding principles for the Faculty. And while the Ontario College of Teachers and the Ontario Ministry of Education have exerted more control over teacher-education programs in Ontario over the past 20 years, curricular standardization produces a vagueness of language that can be used to work outside the traditional curricular margins.

Fourth, the course instructors, while they emphasize different aspects of Regent Park, are focused on the issues of social equity and social justice. Some, such as Sherri Gilbert, are seconded teachers who have worked in the Regent Park area for many years. Their experience is invaluable for the TCs. The faculty are encouraged to organize their courses to address the theoretical and analytical issues of teaching for social justice. The social justice and equity themes allow instructors to take seriously the difficulties the TCs will meet as they learn to teach within the classrooms of Regent Park.

A major question for all descriptions of successful courses and programs is: Can they be replicated in other educational contexts? Asking this question brings into view the question of what constitutes the appropriate knowledge to teach teachers.

The struggle over curriculum is not a new one. Where equity and diversity are integral to program goals, as it is at YURP, the particularities of the community in which it is located are embedded in most course materials and pedagogical practices.

As noted above, strong community advocates at both the community and the faculty level established YURP. Teachers who were seconded to the program had taught in Regent Park schools and were known for their ability to teach in 'difficult' schools. Tenured faculty and staff are hired into an education faculty that has social justice and equity in its mission statement. The institutional conditions were right for such a program to develop.

But this is the only community-based program in the Faculty of Education. And each year, questions are asked about its longevity. Programs such as this seem to come and go depending on faculty responsibilities and interests, and University budgets. Both Westview and the graduate cohort held in a Jane-Finch shopping mall have been discontinued even though they were successful programs. At a time of declining educational budgets, increasing oversight of teacher education, and intensification of teachers' work in the classroom programs such as YURP seem difficult to maintain, much less start from scratch.

When asked how to work towards another teacher-education site such as YURP, one of the York University faculty who had been involved from the beginning said: "You begin in the community. You can't do this without the community." Faculty who do community-based work, either as ongoing research or as part of their political lives, are familiar with the intricacies of marginalized communities. Educators working in such communities are familiar with community organizations and can identify possible alliances with other agencies, including who can get things done in the local government bureaucracies. YURP, for example, has not paid to rent space. The City of Toronto Parks and Recreation provide the space and provide the part-time Community Coordinator who is paid by York University. The agreement is based on little more than a handshake and the lack of an administrative paper trail makes university administrators uncomfortable. As the university budget is cut, programs that exist off campus and cost money to run are at risk of closure.

YURP's longevity comes also from ongoing community connections and those connections are built into the courses. The TCs are involved in a range of programs in Regent Park through their community placement and their practicums. They see people on the street that they know and/or work with. The TCs have a community presence that is not limited to the YURP classroom or the local school. The Community Coordinator is an important link between community agencies such as the Regent Park radio station, the Boys and Girls Club, the various shelters, and so on. Without the Community Coordinator's knowledge of who to talk to and what the agencies do, the community placements would soon disappear.

And finally, working with and in marginalized communities is, in itself, an advantage for programs such as YURP. Traditional teacher education often struggles with what are called 'difficult schools'. But it is here in those difficult schools that there are pedagogical spaces to try something different. The YURP program survives, in part, because it is "something different": an innovative program to

prepare teachers for difficult teaching. The YURP program is precarious. Like the community in which it is situated, each year is a struggle. However, YURP is successful and well supported by the RP community. That, combined with the careful community architecture on which it was built, and the commitment of the Course Instructors and the TC's has meant that the program continues in spite of, or perhaps because of, the difficulties embedded in teacher education for urban schools.

References

Artscape. (2012). A brief history of Regent Park. *Daniels Spectrum: A Cultural Hub in Regent Park.* http://regentparkarts.ca/portfolios/a-brief-history-of-regent-park/s. Accessed 19 Sept 2014.

Facebook. (2014). https://www.facebook.com/. Accessed 19 Sept 2014.

Griffith, A. (1995). Connecting mothering and schooling: The discursive organisation of children's development. In A. Manicom & M. Campbell (Eds.), *Studies in the social organization of knowledge*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Griffith, A. (2011–2012). *Course outline: CMYR 2500, human development and socialization*. Toronto: York University, Faculty of Education, Consecutive Program, Regent Park site.

Ibrahim, S. (2010, 6 April; [15 May 2009]). *Regent Park: Community resource and needs assessment*. The University of Toronto, Research and innovation. http://www.research.utoronto.ca/behind_the_headlines/the-new-regent-park-will-it-work/. Accessed 19 Sept 2014.

Pink, S. (2008). Mobilizing visual ethnography: Making routes, making place, and making images. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 9*(3), Art. 36. http://www.qualitative-research.net/FQS/. Accessed 20 Aug 2010.

Simon, R. (1992). *Teaching against the grain: Texts for a pedagogy of possibility*. New York: Bergin and Garvey.

Toronto Neighbourhood Guide. (1997–2014). *Downtown: Regent Park*. Toronto: Maple Tree Publishing. http://www.torontoneighbourhoods.net/neighbourhoods/downtown/regent-park. Accessed 19 Sept 2014.

York University. (2014a). Faculty of education. Academic programs, bachelor of education. http://edu.yorku.ca/academic-programs/bachelor-of-education/. Accessed 19 Sept 2014.

York University. (2014b). Faculty of education. Academic programs, bachelor of education, practicum, community placements. http://edu.yorku.ca/academic-programs/bachelor-of-education/practicum/community-placements/. Accessed 19 Sept 2014.

Zhe, R., & Kuan, X. (2011, 30 February). Low-income dynamics and determinants under different thresholds: New findings for Canada in 2000 and beyond. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75F0002M—No. 003. http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75f0002m/75f0002m2011003-eng.htm. Accessed 10 July 2014.

"Just Don't Get Up There and *'Dangerous Minds'* Us": Taking an Inquiry Stance on Adolescents' Literacy Practices in Urban Teacher Education

Rob Simon

Abstract Teacher candidates assumptions about urban students shape their expectations and approaches to teaching them . In this chapter I document how a community of teacher candidates learned about teaching English in urban high schools through investigating adolescent literacies with their students. Beginning with an examination of the social construction of "risk," I analyze teacher candidates' inquiries into urban adolescents' literacy practices and the cultural and linguistic resources they bring to classrooms. Findings suggest how a critical inquiry stance encouraged individuals to interrupt deficit perspectives and "risk-laden discourses" (Vasudevan and Campano, <u>Rev Res Educ</u> 33(1):310–353, 2009). This informed counter discourses about the talents and capabilities of urban students that provided a basis for developing more culturally relevant and relational approaches to teaching them.

1 Introduction

During a conversation about cultural myths (Britzman 1999) of urban students and teachers in a secondary literacy methods course I taught at an urban university in the Northeastern United States, a teacher candidate, Nora,[1] commented on the problem of educators imagining themselves or being perceived by others as "saviors." She recalled a panel of students who spoke to their teacher-education cohort earlier in the year, one of whom offered a pointed critique:

> [He said,] "Just don't get up there and '*Dangerous Minds*' us." Sort of referring to this image of a teacher being a *savior*…There's a part of that image that he resented. I think that's something to think about: How are your students perceiving your attempts to teach them, if you're constantly putting out this aura of 'I'm going to *save* you'? And they say, "*You're* not from this neighborhood, what do you know?"

---

[1] All names of teachers, students, and schools are pseudonyms.

R. Simon (✉)
University of Toronto/OISE, Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: rob.simon@utoronto.ca

Media and public discourse represent urban adolescents of color in terms of their presumed deficits, their alleged threat to others, or as individuals in states of crisis. These portrayals emphasize youths' propensity for drug use, dropout, violence, or incarceration, and position urban teachers and schools as needing to contain, remediate, or rescue their students (Tatum 2008; Vasudevan and Campano 2009). Teacher candidates entering literacy classrooms in urban schools are immersed in deficit discourses, along with accompanying myths of adolescents as difficult students or non-readers in states of literacy crisis (Moje et al. 2008). Their beliefs about urban students, positive or negative, shape their expectations about teaching them (Ladson-Billings 1992). How teacher candidates regard adolescents' abilities and needs, including their languages, literacies, and cultural identities, inform their approaches to teaching students who in many cases have different racial or ethnic backgrounds than themselves.

Nora and the other 17 teacher candidates in her cohort were White. Most were teaching in urban schools for the first time, in a highly segregated school district in which 85 % of students were of color, and over one third attended a school that was more than 90 % one race (Churchill and Socolar 2005). As in many similar urban districts in the United States, diversity gaps were matched by achievement and resource gaps, including poor facilities, teacher shortages, and 20–40 % lower per-student spending than nearby suburban districts (Churchill and Socolar 2005). While attrition rates for teachers have risen greatly in the past 15 years, rates are higher in high-poverty schools in urban contexts like the one Nora taught in (Darling-Hammond and Sykes 2003). The "dropout rate" for new teachers in Nora's district was 70 %—significantly higher than the student dropout rate of 42 % (Marvel et al. 2007, pp. 7–9). How can teacher educators prepare teacher candidates to enter and remain in classrooms (Nieto 2003) in urban districts like this one? What role might an inquiry stance (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009) play in this effort?

For Nora and other new teachers, learning to teach in urban schools involved *un*learning (Cochran-Smith 2004) many assumptions about their students. In this chapter, I explore how adopting an inquiry stance encouraged a community of teacher candidates to interrogate conceptions of race, language, and literacy. I begin with a brief review of literature that explores cultural constructions of "risk" and deficit perspectives on adolescent literacies. In the remainder of the chapter, drawing on data from a larger study, I look at examples of teacher candidates' inquiries with students about what it means to teach literacy in urban schools. These inquiries involved ethnographic research, including observations, field notes, and interviews with adolescents for an assignment in a methods course I taught. I also look at in-class and online conversations relating to how teacher candidates encountered and accounted for their students' literacies, cultural identities, needs, and interests. Inquiries surfaced deficit ideologies and "risk-laden discourses" (Vasudevan and Campano 2009), providing teacher candidates with opportunities to explore alternative discourses about urban schools and adolescents. I conclude with reflections on how an inquiry stance (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009) can encourage teacher candidates to construct counter-narratives about the promise and potential of urban students that may support more culturally relevant and relational approaches to teaching them.

2   The Social Construction of Risk and Adolescent Literacies

> There are a lot of people who live in your neighborhood who choose *not* to get on that bus. What do they choose to do? They choose to go out and sell drugs. They choose to go out and kill people. They choose to do a lot of other things, but they choose *not* to get on that bus. The people who *choose* to get on that bus, which are you, are the people who are saying [*reads*]: "I will not carry myself down to die, when I go to my grave, my head will be high." That is a choice. There are no victims in this classroom!
>   – Michelle Pfeiffer as Lou Ann Johnson, in *Dangerous Minds* (Simpson et al. 1995)

I begin a brief review of the ways urban adolescents and their literacy practices are constructed in popular discourse, educational policy, and research with this excerpt from *Dangerous Minds* to emphasize the holding power of images of students and their communities as *at risk*, and images of teachers as rescuers. We watched this clip, among others, in an intermediate and secondary methods course I taught as a part of an inquiry into cultural myths (Britzman 1999) of urban teachers and students.

In response to *Dangerous Minds* we explored questions, among them: What does it mean to think of socio-economic problems in terms of personal choice? How do the *choices* this teacher presents reveal her (and perhaps our own) assumptions about urban adolescents and their communities? For teacher candidates to learn to teach across differences of race, class, and culture, such "ideological common sense" (Fairclough 1989, p. 84) about students' communities and identities, articulations of *urban* (Zoss et al. 2014) and the deficit labels popular media inspire, including misconstruals about urban adolescents and underlying conceptions of risk, need to be critically interrogated.

At risk is a social and institutional construction with detrimental consequences for urban students and teachers (King and O'Brian 2002). As Vasudevan and Campano (2009) argue, discourses of risk position adolescents as the cause of the problems they face rather than regarding them as "*placed at risk* through forms of structural violence" (p. 5; emphasis added). To emphasize how notions of risk are materialized in practice, Vasudevan and Campano (2009) present commonplace examples of what they describe as "inversions of causality":

> A student may be thought to be "ruining the class" for everyone else, without anyone giving attention to his or her marginalization in school; a group of friends may be described as "jeopardizing the climate of a school," rather than the school being described as placing them under surveillance as deviants; a reluctant learner may be viewed as defying "scientifically proven instruction," rather than presented as someone who is resisting low expectations; a child may be said to be acting "out of control," rather than understood as responding rationally to a school environment that is chaotic and inhospitable. (p. 5)

These images suggest how at-risk discourses blame adolescents for their circumstances while obscuring the underlying social or institutional causes and conditions of risk. Vasudevan and Campano (2009) highlight the ways that social constructions of risk "result in blunt 'remedies,' such as the development of scripted curricula and symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) in the form of retention, disciplinary measures, extensive placement in special education, and tracking." In their

analysis of deficit ideologies underlying Ruby Payne's popular professional development programs for urban teachers, Bomer et al. (2008) argue that discourses that categorize low-income urban students as a monolithic group in need of intervention are fundamentally flawed. Discourses and practices such as these allow educators to deflect responsibility for students' struggles and the failure of schools to address their needs (Nieto 1999).

3   Deficit Perspectives on Adolescent Literacies

While urban students are constructed as being at risk, their languages are often deemed impediments to learning (Nieto 1999), and their interests and literacy practices considered irrelevant, off-task, or simply off the radar (Simon 2012). The labels that at-risk discourses invite for students—terms such as struggling, below-grade-level, troublemaker, or disadvantaged, among many others—obscure more positive self-identifications that youth choose for themselves, which may more accurately reflect their burgeoning talents and literacies—terms such as playwright, spoken-word poet, musician, artist, or gamer. As a result, youths' literacy practices are often viewed as play (King and O'Brian 2002), and their affiliations and identifications regarded as marginal to the classroom or driven underground. This disregards a generation of scholarship in New Literacy Studies and multiliteracies that has highlighted how literacy is rooted in social and cultural contexts, embedded in the myriad language and literate practices that youth explore in their everyday lives (e.g., Heath 1983; Mahiri 2004; Morrell 2007; Street 1995).

Narrowing what counts as *real* literacy in schools has consequences for students as well as implications for urban teachers and teacher education. Reports such as the National Endowment for the Arts' (NEA) *Reading At Risk* (NEA 2004) and *To Read or Not to Read* (NEA 2007) trumpet a precipitous decline in "literary reading," while neglecting to include many literacy practices that adolescents embrace—including reading and writing online, blogging, gaming, and texting. *Reading At Risk* claims that practices such as these require "little more than passive participation" and foster "shorter attention spans and instant gratification" (NEA 2004, p. vii). The report's authors argue that this (mythical) generation of "non-reading" urban youth foreshadows "an erosion in cultural and civic participation" (p. xii). The implication is that youth are to blame for a precipitous cultural decline. When literary reading is declared to be on the upswing (NEA 2009), the discovery is framed as proof that "cultural decline is not inevitable" (p. 2), in spite of the hindrance of "non-reading activities," which by the National Endowment for the Arts' definition include reading NEA reports online.

As these reports suggest, response to the proliferation of new forms of out-of-school literacy practices that adolescents find engaging has been to narrow what counts as literacy in educational policy and in schools (Alvermann 2007). At the same time, researchers in the field of literacy (e.g., Jocson 2013; Pleasants and Salter 2014; Simon 2012; Vasudevan 2006/2007) have explored the rich diversity

of adolescents' literate practices, from digital storytelling (Hull and Katz 2006) to slam poetry (Fisher 2007), documenting how adolescents "rarely, if ever, rely on language as their sole means of communication," rather, they "quite readily integrate art, movement, gesture, and music with language" (Alvermann 2007). The challenge for literacy teacher educators working in urban contexts is to create opportunities for new teachers to regard youth and their literacy practices as more than marginal, disruptive, or contributing to cultural decay. To borrow a concept from Kutz and Roskelly (1991), a critical education for urban teachers should provide opportunities for teacher candidates to *re-view* adolescents' lives, literacies, and learning processes, as a basis for regarding students' interests as more meaningful and instructionally relevant than social or institutional labels may suggest (King and O'Brian 2002; Vasudevan 2006/2007). This is integral to what Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2009) describe as teaching from an inquiry stance.

In the remainder of this chapter, I explore teacher candidates' attempts to take an inquiry stance on teaching literacy in urban classrooms, to address questions such as: Who are our students? What do they bring to school with them? How do students encounter literacy in school and out? What are our own experiences with and perspectives on literacy? How have our families, communities of origin, prior education, and schooling, shaped them? What does culture have to do with who, what, why, and how we teach? How can we know our students? And how does what we know (and don't know) about adolescents inform how we teach them?

4 Inquiries with Urban Students About Literacy and Schooling

The first 4 weeks of the methods course I taught focused on frameworks for teaching literacy in urban schools. We analyzed images of teaching in popular media and our own literacy autobiographies. We began to investigate the literacies, languages, and cultures of urban adolescents, calling into question many assumptions, such as those outlined above, about who urban students are and how we regard them. We explored the relationships of English teaching to critical and social practice conceptions of literacy (e.g., Christensen 1999; Freire 1987; Gee 2001; Janks 2010; Street 1995), and considered these frameworks as a basis for thinking differently about course content, the contexts in which teacher candidates taught, and students. And we raised questions about what all of this has to do with what it means to teach literacy in urban schools.

For the first of four inquiry projects in this class, I asked students to write a literacy autobiography that they placed in dialogue with an interview with one or more adolescents about their in- and out-of-school literacies. We began this project by writing brief autobiographical vignettes about our experiences with literacy—I wrote a literacy vignette as well—which we read aloud in class. Inquiry Project I was titled 'Autobiographical/biographical inquiry into literacy: Narrative analysis of self and students in and out of school.' This project required teacher candidates

to develop these vignettes into a fuller exploration of their own experiences as literacy learners, which they used to identify emergent themes, questions, and issues that informed their analysis of interviews with one or more students in their classes. These inquiries, both the written projects and the conversations in class and online that informed them, were unsettling and revealing.

5 From Troublemaker to *Connoisseur*

Alex inquired into the literacy practices of a tenth-grade student, Yusef. From Alex's perspective, their relationship was "one of the most significant aspects of my learning experience as a student teacher." Like other teacher candidates' inquiries, conversations with Yusef encouraged Alex to move beyond institutional labels to develop meaningful connections with his students. Alex described Yusef as one of the strongest students in his class. In their conversation, Yusef stated:

> Without reading, there would be no Marvel. Without Marvel, there would not be comic books. Without comic books, there would be no me. I don't disrespect no comic books, my friend. I'm a connoisseur of comic books and reading.

This idea of *connoisseurship* shaped Yusef's perspectives on literacy and learning (Simon 2012). In Alex's portrait, Yusef was a student who viewed literacy as a passion, driven by his aspiration to become a comic book writer and artist. In his paper, Alex juxtaposed his own experience as a literacy learner with Yusef's. Alex used his self-described *academic* approach to English class to contrast with Yusef's more *artistic* approach to literacy:

> [Yusef] explained to me that, "I'm into every…art form there is—I love photography, I love movies, I love comic books, I love writing…" When I was in high school, I approached English class from the standpoint of an academic—one who analyzes literature [as] a basis for debating its underlying themes. Yusef, however, approaches English class from the standpoint of an artist and uses his experiences in English class to inform his own writing. He explained, "I want to be a comic book artist. Period. I gotta be good at reading. I gotta be good at writing. I gotta be good at literature…"

Alex wrote about how Yusef's chosen forms of self-expression, including but not limited to his comic book reading and drawing, were sometimes a source of personal and academic marginalization. In middle school, Yusef was labeled a troublemaker. Alex described how Yusef was transferred to a disciplinary school "because one of his teachers discovered manga-style drawings he produced that depicted graphic violence." By transferring Yusef, "the school district subverted his plans to attend the High School for Creative and Performing Arts, which is a few blocks from his home."

Perceived as a risk of potential violence by teachers and administrators at his school, Yusef was paradoxically "placed at risk" (Vasudevan and Campano 2009) through expulsion. Alex described Yusef's transfer as akin to being sentenced to attend a school for students deemed to be disciplinary problems, implying that

Yusef was criminalized by this process. Alex argued that while the school viewed Yusef as subversive, it was actually Yusef's aspirations to pursue his art education that were subverted by the school district.

Yusef identified as an artist, counter to constructions of him as a troublemaker. There was a symbiosis between Yusef's connoisseurship and Alex's own. As I have argued elsewhere (Simon 2012), as students like Yusef develop their identities and abilities as connoisseurs of particular forms of literacy, teachers have to become connoisseurs of students' abilities. The example of Yusef and Alex illustrates how students' flourishing and teachers' noticing are mutually constituted. As Alex put it in a post written on the class website, titled 'Is traditional English the only dominant discourse?': "As English teachers, I think we need to use our classes to braid together the literacies of our students' worlds." This involves recognizing urban adolescents' literacies as "emerging [acts] of consciousness and resistance" (Giroux as cited in Willis 1997, p. 329).

6 Reinterpreting Student (Dis)Engagement

Like Alex, other teacher candidates used this project as an opportunity to become connoisseurs of their students' literacies. And like Yusef, the adolescents that teacher candidates interviewed shared their passion for a range of literacy practices. They read widely, in print and online, across genres and modes. They performed in multiple media and spaces. They produced documentary films and published poems. They wrote novels, comics, plays, poetry, songs, children's books, game reviews, and research. They read and wrote newspaper articles in multiple languages. They participated in online discourse communities, and used technology to mediate relationships with friends via social networks and text messaging. The array of adolescents' literacy practices was a source of surprise to many teacher candidates, as was students' enthusiasm for particular forms of literacy, their self-identifications (or, in some cases, their refusals to identify themselves) as certain kinds of readers or writers, and their insightful critiques of the institutions they navigated.

Many teacher candidates wrote about how students shattered their own or other teachers' preconceptions of them. Sarah, for instance, described how her initial perceptions of the student she interviewed, a ninth grade girl, Kisai, were contradicted by their conversation:

> I assumed, based on the experiences I had with [Kisai] in class, that English was a true interest of hers, perhaps one pursued at home or pushed by parents. Perhaps I was also hoping to discover that my more traditional view of "literacy" would prevail…What I actually found was a complex home environment, conflicting ideas about reading and writing, and very little that mimicked my own experiences as a literate person. In many ways, this allowed me not only to rethink what I consider to be important about "traditional literacy," but how to think critically about what my students bring to the table.

Sarah learned that although Kisai was a cooperative student who appeared to like school and excelled at it, English class was not a place where Kisai felt like she

could fully express her interests, home language, and culture. Contrary to Sarah's assumptions, English was not Kisai's first language, nor was it the language she spoke at home with her family. By her own admission, Sarah began this inquiry with traditional definitions of literacy and conceptions of English teaching. Kisai encouraged Sarah to question some of her ideas about literacy education as merely about teaching students to read and write in traditional forms.

Later in her paper, Sarah used the idea of the contact zone (Pratt 1991) to consider how school could be a site of cultural dissonance for many students:

> For Kisai, school can be seen as a contact zone. It is not a place where her Spanish heritage and language abilities are seen as equivalent to her American upbringing and potential abilities in English; the latter is clearly preferred over the former.

The conversation with Kisai helped Sarah to reconsider what student engagement means. She troubled the difference between students' surface compliance and their often unspoken feelings of disconnection. As a teacher in the contact zone, Sarah acknowledged the power she had to mitigate how Kisai's and other students' home languages and cultures were regarded and accounted for in the curriculum.

Other teacher candidates wrote about learning to read between the lines of their students' apparent disengagement. In her paper, Kelly wrote, "It was also important for me to see that although students may be uninterested in in-school literacy, they are engaged [with literacy in their lives]." She went on to describe the influence of her own and others' perceptions of urban students before she taught them, and how the students she interviewed complicated her views:

> Before coming to [the teacher education program] I knew that I wanted to educate for change and I looked forward to the opportunity to teach in an urban school. I ignored my relatives' advice that I should stay away from city schools, and I plugged my ears to social euphemisms that portray urban students as unintelligent, uncultured and dangerous. Despite the positive images that I think I have, time and again, I find myself surprised at how intelligent, cultured and friendly urban students are. The interview offered me another opportunity to realize these things and to remind myself that my students are not the helpless beings that my relatives (and even I at times) believe them to be.

Kelly described how, in spite of her attempts to ignore deficit-based assumptions about urban students, teaching them continually presented opportunities for learning and appreciation. She invoked the critical notion of "educating for change," recognizing that while many urban students faced problems in their lives and inequities in school and society, they also possessed their own critical perspectives and legacies of social justice in their communities.

While this trope of a White teacher "discovering" the creative intelligence of youth of color is not unproblematic, Kelly self-reflexively critiqued her own feelings of surprise. She described how the students she interviewed, Tanisha and Elliot, interrupted many of her assumptions about urban adolescents, their families, communities, and literacies:

> Why was I surprised to learn that all the interviewees loved Dr. Seuss and to hear that, besides Tanisha, their families all read to them on a regular basis? Why should it surprise me that two of my interviewees wrote and published books each week in seventh grade, when I would not be surprised to hear that this happened just once a month in a suburban

school? Why should it surprise me that Elliot, who dresses so street smart and has a tattoo with his nickname on his arm, was chosen as best writer in fifth grade? Why am I surprised that he is "putting his talent to good use" by producing a documentary, or that he received outstanding marks on [standardized exams]? "Surprise" is too strong a word in most of these cases, but I will say that each of these facts gave me pause, if only for a moment, while I remembered that GHS kids are intelligent and innovative and thoughtful too, that these traits are not relegated to the suburbs.

As Kelly's series of questions suggests, confronting deficit ideologies and teaching beyond assumptions about urban students requires a critical process of *un*learning them, an emergent recognition of our own prejudgments as educators, as well as cultivating a connoisseur's appreciation of students' abilities and their refusals to be reduced to limiting categories.

7 Learning from Adolescents' Critiques of Schooling

Laura took on the idea that her students were disinterested or disengaged. She described her inquiry with a student, Will, who other teachers believed to be disengaged in class:

> [Will] was angry that he had never learned about [Emmett Till's] murder before in history classes, and frustrated because he thought that was an important part of history, a part of history that mattered to him. While my classroom teacher shrugged it off as "something that is taught in the upper levels of history," I was intrigued by Will's interest in the topic and I wanted to encourage him to learn more about it.

Laura learned that Will was outraged that his teachers overlooked important aspects of African American History, and wondered why most of the authors in the school curriculum were White. She encouraged his interest and his critique, and began reading about Emmett Till with him:

> I was intrigued that a 14-year-old boy was telling me the problems with the educational system, shocked because I did not think I would hear a student complaining that they aren't learning enough, and thrilled because there was a student in front of me asking questions and seeking information. The next day, I brought two articles about Emmett Till for Will and he literally devoured them.

Rather than accept the dominant narrative about urban adolescents' resistance or disengagement in school (Gadsden et al. 2009), Laura recognized that Will's critique stemmed from deeply rooted, systemic injustices, and represented an organic critical disposition (Campano et al. 2013). She wrote about how this incident informed her own critique of schooling:

> There is a disjuncture between what students learn in schools, specifically literacy skills, and how it applies in their real lives. This difference of beliefs is striking, and I wonder if any of it has root in Will's questioning of his own education, evident in his interest in Emmett Till. It is impossible to have faith in an institution if you believe it is not teaching what you think is important…

Later in her inquiry paper, Laura reflected on how this experience altered her understanding of student engagement:

> Will proved that students do care, but teachers need to give them something to care about. We need to help them discover the motivation and the interest to continue learning outside of the classroom…It is not enough that we go through the motions, but we have to respond to the questions that they ask us.

Laura argued that teachers should be accountable to students, and take responsibility for students' engagement (Nieto 1999). She explored how students' concerns can be a basis for curriculum, and critically re-viewed Will's purported disinterest in schooling as a form of "budding…critical social consciousness" (Fine 1991, p. 126).

8 Encountering Adolescents' Multimodal Literacy Practices

Many teacher candidates explored the role of media and technology in students' lives. Some, like Ben, discovered that the students they interviewed believed they both connected with and learned more from technology than from school. In his paper, Ben wrote that the student he interviewed, Anna, regarded literacy as a "school-structured reification that is inapplicable to her success socially." By contrast, she regarded television as "the ultimate source of learning." Ben quoted Anna in his inquiry paper: "'I learn more from there than from anywhere else,' she said. 'I don't see why parents don't like TV. If you can't understand TV, you can't understand life.'"

Nancy inquired into eighth-grader Josie's statement that she "usually connected more" with characters in television and movies. Nancy wrote:

> [Perhaps] this generation is better suited to "reading the world," as Freire [1987] puts it, through non-literary sources. When I discussed this with her, she agreed: "School is too slow paced in comparison to TV, which is just image after image after image. School is like one image for an hour and a half and we just have to pay attention to it."

Anna's and Josie's statements presented an intriguing counter-argument to the NEA's claim that television (among other multimodal practices) fosters "shorter attention spans and instant gratification" (NEA 2004, p. vii). Perhaps it is school that should pick up the pace. Josie's comparison of school to a static image she is forced to attend to suggests that compulsory schooling may be out of step and off pace with students' capacities and interests as literacy learners.

Many teacher candidates described how adolescents' comfort with technology presented challenges and opportunities in the classroom. Rosa described how the students she interviewed, Ashlyn and Sierra, were more confident with technology than she was. Drawing on Gee (2001), Rosa wrote that for her, reading and writing seemed to be "acquired" rather than learned. She suggested that the same might be true about technology for her students:

> [Technology] is second nature to many adolescent students. Their familiarity in many cases has been acquired rather than learned [Gee 2001]. As teachers from a different generational literacy work to teach the literacy skills they know to today's students, students may have to find ways to teach their acquired computer skills and present day literacy to their teachers.

Rosa suggested the need for realigning traditional classroom hierarchies in a technology-mediated world. Drawing on Freirean pedagogy, Rosa argued for repositioning students as teachers, and the need for teachers to learn from students' multimodal literacies. She went on to write about her intention to cultivate an appreciation and emergent understanding of literacies that her students were connoisseurs of, and to use this as a basis for curriculum.

Several teacher candidates found connections between students' technology-mediated literacy practices and their own. For example, Mona connected with students around their mutual interest in television. She presented portraits of several autistic adolescents, Owen, Michael, and John, and argued that "TV talk" was indispensable to building relationships with them, given how their multimodal practices had been previously marginalized. Mona argued that it was "unthinkable" for her not to take these students' literacy practices seriously.

Jared used his interest in computer gaming to connect with a student, Wei, who appeared to be disengaged in class. In his final course portfolio, Jared described "the affinity I developed with Wei because of our shared social identity in high school" as gamers. In his inquiry project, Jared elaborated on how Wei drew on an array of language and literacy practices:

> Wei identifies himself as a "gamer"…Not only is Wei able to fluently interchange between two Chinese languages and English, but he can also decipher Internet slang: leet speak. This only demonstrates how integrated he is with technological culture. Wei feels that his familiarization with the Internet and other communication technologies gives him more opportunities to read and write than his parents have. He can interact with the things he reads by posting opinions in discussion groups. He writes gaming reviews to help others decide whether or not they should buy a particular game. Like many others in tech culture, he prefers Internet news sources over traditional newspapers. Being subject to constant revision and reader input, Internet news is more organic than traditional sources. Wei suggests that this makes the Internet news sources more meaningful to him. His ability to participate in the written language directly makes the text live in ways that traditional newspapers cannot.

Jared described Wei as a student who engaged in online reading and writing in multiple modes and media. In their conversation, Wei suggested that a part of the appeal of reading even conventional texts like newspapers online was that the medium allowed him to interact with texts differently, in ways that "make the text live." This interactivity was fundamental to Wei's conception of writing as well:

> Wei does not find himself with a pen and paper very often. Almost all of his writing is done through a keyboard. Emails, blogs, discussion groups, and instant messages make up the bulk of his writing practice. If he has a paper to write for school, it is almost always done on a computer. All these nontraditional expressions of writing do not, however, make him feel as if he weren't appropriately practicing the skill. To Wei, legitimate writing is social. Talking to friends is as legitimate a form of writing as an expository paper because it doesn't

matter what you write, so long as you do. Wei's conception of what "writing" is suggests that he views it as a skill worth only as much as it provides him a means of expressing himself.

Jared elaborated on the many modes and media that Wei wrote in. He argued for the legitimacy of Wei's belief in the social nature, practice, and purpose of writing, and allowed Wei to begin writing on the class website using phrases, alternative punctuation and capitalization, intentional misspellings, and appropriation of common typing errors associated with online discourse or leet speak (Simon 2012). Wei's view of writing was richly sociocultural. Writing for Wei was embedded in social networks, mediated by new technology and media that place a premium on interactivity. Though disengaged from an institutional perspective, Wei was highly engaged with literacy out of school.

9 Navigating Accountability Structures in Urban Schools

Many teacher candidates described their struggles navigating school norms and practices, including opposing conceptions of literacy. In an online post titled 'Subject identity crisis,' Amber described how critical literacy was in tension with more traditional conceptions promoted in her school placement:

> How do teachers reconcile the students' literacies to [the version of literacy] being promoted at school? Even if we can incorporate their literacies, what message do we ultimately send them? Celebrate your identity through reading and writing in your own vernacular but ultimately it is the dominant one that "counts" in the end?

Two weeks later, in a post called 'Shift change,' Amber wrote: "I'm struggling with the 'Now what?' question." She went on to consider how perspectives she gained from our class and her inquiry into her students' literacies might have an impact on her approach to teaching in contexts that seemed hostile to different perspectives:

> [Sometimes] it feels like the whole system and attitudes of those in it would have to change to ever have these limited perceptions, "myths" [Britzman 1999], discredited. We can only do our part in one classroom. Can we implement new perspectives when we may be surrounded by people who actively disagree?

Researchers in New Literacy Studies (e.g., Pahl and Rowsell 2012; Simon et al. 2012; Street 2005) have begun to recognize that it is not enough to reconceptualize literacy. As Amber notes, autonomous notions of literacy are embedded in educational practices that have material consequences for teachers and students. Actualizing change, including challenging what languages and literacies count in urban schools, often involves bumping up against institutional norms and negotiating competing ideologies.

Janey posted on the class website of her concern about having to choose between students' literacies and those endorsed by schools. In response to an article we read by Dickar (2004) about using African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in the classroom, she wrote:

> Dickar points out that some children feel as though it's a betrayal to become well spoken in Standard English. One student said, "I am hip hop" [Dickar 2004, p. 68], showing that he has direct ownership over that particular flow of language. Is it right, then, to take that ownership away from a student, and present them with a packaged literacy that you as the teacher have an ownership over?

The declaration "I am hip-hop" echoes Yusef's claim that "Without comic books, there would be no me." Later in her post, Janey suggested that statements like these signify how language and literacy were connected with adolescents' identities, cultural contexts, and community affiliations. Janey pointedly questioned the logic of choosing between welcoming students' languages and literacy practices into her classroom and teaching a "standard."

For her inquiry project, Janey interviewed Shamina, a student who described her life as unsettled: "chaotic, shoes untied, disorganized, bag open." In their conversation, Shamina expressed her love of reading and writing, though she struggled in English class. "Shamina felt the material was not engaging, and expected only routine, dumbed-down answers from her. She became so disengaged that she stopped caring." Janey went on to describe Shamina's frustration with the ways that in-school literacy is sometimes reduced to what Shamina called "sentences in boxes":

> Shamina's frustrations with schooling can be witnessed in her dislike for standardized tests. For instance, Shamina talks of the "sentences in boxes" that are often seen on standardized tests…"I felt like I was helping fifth graders. It was so easy my head hurt." These aspects of education portray how appreciation for literacy can actually be stunted if it isn't properly respected. If teachers and/or administration insist on feeding students lower level grammar and plot, then many students feel frustrated and want to give up. If such a scenario is played out in a conscientious student such as Shamina's life, then it is probable that many other students experience the same issues.

In many ways Shamina's perspectives informed Janey's own critique of the kinds of literacy practices encouraged by her school. Janey suggested that inspiring students' learning required nurturing their interests rather than narrowing what counts as literacy in school. Shamina critiqued the logic of standardized tests—"sentences in boxes"—as accurate measures of students' literacy abilities. Later in her inquiry, Janey wrote about Shamina's intention to become a literature professor, one who will "push students and challenge them to learn more than mere facts." "Teachers focus on the black and white," Shamina stated, "but it's the gray area that is worth looking at."

Norm-referenced, high-stakes literacy tests circumvent the "gray area" by design. This is true as well of so-called value-added teacher-evaluation models that are increasingly utilized by urban school districts, under the presumption that they will improve outcomes and hold teachers accountable for student learning. Closer analysis reveals them to be "a messy, contested space of competing interest groups and ideologies" (Cochran-Smith et al. 2013, p. 23). Shamina's insight into the accountability culture and the contested ways that literacy is taught and tested made visible how these practices work against students' and teachers' meaningful engagements with texts and with each other.

10 Discussion

> The theories of teaching literacy, of teaching urban youth, of "the pedagogy of poverty,"
> [Haberman 1991] all seem even hazier now—all somehow still removed from Shukkriah's
> expectant but sleepy face every Monday morning.
>
> > – *Nicole, from her inquiry into adolescent literacy*

In this chapter, I have explored teacher candidates' efforts to interrogate deficit ideologies, become connoisseurs of adolescents' talents and abilities, and regard critical literacy as a vehicle for learning with students across difference. This was not about providing a platform for "discovering" the intelligence or potential of urban students, although a dominant theme across many of these inquiries involved teacher candidates countering their own and others' expectations. For example, what Kelly described as feelings of surprise in her encounters with youth she interviewed inspired her own critical reflexivity and provided a foundation for constructing counter-narratives about, and more relational stances toward, her students. To paraphrase the title of Sylvia's inquiry paper, teacher candidates' inquiries were a means of making "schools more visible" and more permeable to students' (and teachers') cultural identities, questions, and critiques.

The excerpt from Nicole's inquiry that opens the conclusion of this chapter also concluded her inquiry paper. One reading of this statement might be that Nicole desired quick fixes or recipes for teaching Shukkriah, not abstractions for explaining away Shukkriah's feelings of hopefulness and defeat. Another reading is that encountering Shukkriah in the classroom made the problem of teaching her more material not less theoretical. The inquiries I have explored in this chapter demonstrate that learning to teach in urban schools through critical inquiry is grounded in interpreting such tangible interactions with students. Their inquiries helped Nicole and other teacher candidates to refuse fragmented, deficit-based portrayals of students, to construct fuller understandings of them as individuals and more critical readings of systemic inequities in urban schools.

Addressing deficit ideologies of students and their communities should be a prerequisite for entering urban classrooms. Working over time in urban schools necessitates navigating an often-demoralizing political climate in which teachers are themselves deficitized and increasingly deprofessionalized through heightened accountability mechanisms. Inquiry can provide a framework for interrogating debilitating discourses, disrupting commonplace practices (Lewison et al. 2008), and developing understandings and curriculum from students' cultural histories and critical perspectives. Rather than being a "time bounded project within a teacher education program, or one of another 'proven-effective' strategies for staff development," a critical inquiry stance involves "teachers and students working in communities to generate local knowledge, envision and theorize their practice, and interpret and interrogate the theory and research of others" (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2001, p. 50).

As urban teacher educators, what experiences can we provide teacher candidates to support them to work within and against inequitable systems? How can inquiry-based teacher education encourage teacher candidates to become agents for change

in urban schools? What role might teacher education play in supporting new teachers to transform the institutions they work in, with the goal of encouraging urban students to flourish academically and socially? How might inquiry provide a basis for developing more relational forms of accountability and more pluralistic visions of curriculum in urban classrooms? Questions like these may be a starting point for supporting new teachers to remain in urban classrooms (Nieto 2003) and work to transform them as well.

References

Alvermann, D. (2007). Multiliterate youth in the time of scientific reading instruction. In K. Beers, R. Probst, & L. Rief (Eds.), *Adolescent literacy: Turning promise into practice* (pp. 19–26). Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Bomer, R., Dworen, J., May, L., & Semingson, P. (2008). Miseducating teachers about the poor: A critical analysis of Ruby Payne's claims about poverty. *Teachers College Record, 110*(12), 2497–2531.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. London: Sage.

Britzman, D. P. (1999). Cultural myths in the making of a teacher: Biography and social structure in teacher education. In E. Mintz & J. T. Yun (Eds.), *The complex world of teaching: Perspectives from theory and practice*, (pp. 179–192). *Harvard Educational Review* Reprint Series No. 31 (Reprinted from *Harvard Educational Review*, 56(4), 442–456.)

Campano, G., Ghiso, M. P., & Sánchez, L. (2013). "Nobody one knows the…amount of a person": Elementary students critiquing dehumanization through organic critical literacies. *Research in the Teaching of English, 48*(1), 97–124.

Christensen, L. M. (1999). Critical literacy: Teaching reading, writing, and outrage. In C. Edelsky (Ed.), *Making justice our project: Teachers working towards critical whole language practice* (pp. 53–67). Urbana: NCTE.

Churchill, M., & Socolar, P. (2005). In a highly segregated system, many racial gaps: New District data reveal persistent inequities in resources and achievement. *The Notebook, 12*(4). http://thenotebook.org/summer-2005/05659/highly-segregated-system-many-racial-gaps. Accessed 2 Sept 2014.

Cochran-Smith, M. (2004). *Walking the road: Race, diversity and social justice in teacher education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (2001). Beyond certainty: Taking an inquiry stance on practice. In A. Leiberman & L. Miller (Eds.), *Teachers caught in the action: Professional development that matters*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (2009). *Inquiry as stance: Practitioner research in the next generation*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Cochran-Smith, M., Piazza, P., & Power, C. (2013). The politics of accountability: Assessing teacher education in the United States. *The Educational Forum, 77*(1), 6–27.

Darling-Hammond, L., & Sykes, G. (2003). Wanted: A national teacher supply policy for education: The right way to meet the "Highly Qualified Teacher" challenge. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 11*(33). http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v11n33/. Accessed 5 Sept 2014.

Dickar, M. (2004). Words is changin' every day: Language and literacy in the urban contact zone. In B. R. C. Barrell, R. F. Hammett, J. S. Mayher, & G. M. Pradl (Eds.), *Teaching English today: Advocating change in the secondary curriculum* (pp. 68–80). New York: Teachers College Press.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. London: Longman.

Fine, M. (1991). *Framing dropouts: Notes on the politics of an urban high school*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Fisher, M. (2007). *Writing in rhythm: Spoken word poetry in urban classrooms*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Freire, P. (1987). The importance of the act of reading. In P. Freire & D. Macedo (Eds.), *Literacy: Reading the word and the world* (pp. 29–36). South Hadley: Bergin and Garvey.

Gadsden, V. L., Davis, J. E., & Artiles, A. J. (2009). Introduction: Risk, equity, and schooling: Transforming the discourse. *Review of Research in Education, 33*(1), viii–xi.

Gee, J. P. (2001). What is literacy? In P. Shannon (Ed.), *Becoming political, too: New readings and writings on the politics of literacy education* (pp. 1–9). Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Haberman, M. (1991). The pedagogy of poverty versus good teaching. *Phi Delta Kappan, 73*(4), 290–294.

Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hull, G., & Katz, M. L. (2006). Crafting an agentive self: Case studies of digital storytelling. *Research in the Teaching of English, 41*(1), 43–81.

Janks, H. (2010). *Literacy and power*. London: Routledge.

Jocson, K. (2013). Remix revisited: Critical solidarity in youth media arts. *E-learning and Digital Media, 10*(1), 68–82.

King, J. R., & O'Brian, D. G. (2002). Adolescents' multiliteracies and their teachers' needs to know: Toward a digital détente. In D. Alvermann (Ed.), *Adolescents and literacies in a digital world* (pp. 40–50). New York: Peter Lang.

Kutz, E., & Roskelly, H. (1991). *An unquiet pedagogy: Transforming practice in the English classroom*. Portsmouth: Boynton/Cook.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1992). Reading between the lines and beyond the pages: A culturally relevant approach to literacy teaching. *Theory into Practice, 31*(4), 313–318.

Lewison, M., Leland, C., & Harste, J. (2008). *Creating critical classrooms: K-8 reading and writing with an edge*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Mahiri, J. (2004). *What they don't learn in school: Literacy in the lives of urban youth*. New York: Peter Lang.

Marvel, J., Lyter, D. M., Peltola, P., Strizek, G. A., & Morton, B. A. (2007). *Teacher attrition and mobility: Results from the 2004–05 teacher follow-up survey*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.

Moje, E. J., Overby, M., Tysvaer, N., & Morris, K. (2008). The complex world of adolescent literacy: Myths, motivations, and mysteries. *Harvard Educational Review, 78*(1), 1–44.

Morrell, E. (2007). Critical literacy and popular culture in urban education: Toward a pedagogy of access and dissent. In C. Clark & M. Blackburn (Eds.), *Working with/in the local: New directions in literacy research for political action* (pp. 235–254). New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). (2004). *Reading at risk: A survey of literary reading in America* (Research division report #46). Washington, DC: Author.

National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). (2007). *To read or not to read: A question of national consequence* (Research report #47). Washington, DC: Author.

National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). (2009). *Reading on the rise: A new chapter in American literacy*. Washington, DC: Author.

Nieto, S. (1999). *The light in their eyes: Creating multicultural learning communities*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Nieto, S. (2003). Challenging current notions of "highly qualified teachers" through work in a teachers' inquiry group. *Journal of Teacher Education, 54*(5), 386–398.

Pahl, K., & Rowsell, J. (2012). *Literacy and education: The new literacy studies in the classroom* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Pleasants, H., & Salter, D. (2014). *Community-based multiliteracies and digital media projects: Questioning assumptions and exploring realities*. New York: Peter Lang.

Pratt, M. L. (1991). Arts of the contact zone. *Profession, 91*, 33–40.

Simon, R. (2012). "Without comic books there would be no me": Teachers as connoisseurs of adolescents' literate lives. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy, 55*(6), 516–526.

Simon, R., Campano, G., Broderick, D., & Pantoja, A. (2012). Practitioner research and literacy studies: Toward more dialogic methodologies. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique, 11*(2), 5–24.

Simpson, D., & Bruckheimer, J. (Producers), & Smith, J. N. (Director). (1995). Dangerous minds [Motion Picture]. Hollywood: Buena Vista.

Street, B. V. (1995). *Social literacies: Critical approaches to literacy in development, ethnography, and education*. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.

Street, B. V. (2005). *Literacies across educational contexts*. Philadelphia: Caslon.

Tatum, A. (2008). Toward a more anatomically complete model of literacy instruction: A focus on African American adolescents and texts. *Harvard Educational Review, 78*(1), 155–180.

Vasudevan, L. (2006/2007). Looking for angels: Knowing adolescents by engaging with their multimodal literacy practices. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, *50*(4), 252–256.

Vasudevan, L., & Campano, G. (2009). The social production of adolescent risk and the promise of adolescent literacies. *Review of Research in Education, 33*(1), 310–353.

Willis, A. I. (1997). Focus on research: Historical considerations. *Language Arts, 74*(5), 387–397.

Zoss, M., Holbrook, T., McGrail, E., & Albers, P. (2014). Knotty articulations: Professors and preservice teachers on teaching literacy in urban schools. *English Education, 47*(1), 38–79.