TEACHING TEACHING:

PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION AND THE OBSCURATION OF THE PUBLIC

AT A U.S. TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM

by

JERALD ISSEKS

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Teaching Teaching:

Professional Socialization and the Obscuration of the Public at a U.S. Teacher Education

Program

by JERALD ISSEKS

Dissertation Director: Beth C. Rubin

This ethnographic study interrogates the process of becoming a teacher at a large state university

teacher education program, comparing its soaring rhetoric of social justice with the perceptions,

experiences, actions and ideas of student teachers themselves as they proceed toward

certification and professionalization. Focusing on one specific group of candidates who trained

to become secondary social studies teachers, this inquiry critically examines the professionalism

that social studies educators are expected to take on, in all of its moves, strategies and

sensibilities. At the same time, the study contemplates the nascent resistance and skepticism

toward conventional practices that the participants harbored – and in some cases, dared to enact –

as they came to recognize these professional expectations. Analysis of participant interviews,

observations, focus groups and questionnaires revealed fundamental contradictions, avoidances,

and a lack of cohesion in the teachers' preparatory program, especially in its relationships to

local populations and school workplace norms. Findings are presented through full descriptions

of the participants' experiences and reactions during their turbulent year; the study's conclusion

offers ideas for ways in which teacher education programs might become better organized

toward facilitating structural change and local agency.

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Thanks to friends, colleagues, mentors, students and organizers I met at Rutgers, especially fellow grad activists and union staff, who showed me that academia could be more than just solitary study and siloed intellectual advancement. For those committed to making a space for real talk and strategy to address the actual conditions that existed beneath our lofty words.

Thanks to all those who participated in this study, whose pseudonyms are now forever enshrined in this document. It was so great to get to know you all, and to learn about your lives and your ideas in ways that will not necessarily (but maybe!) show up in these pages.

Thanks finally to my partner, Justine Ambrose, for her relentless affirmation, interest and love. To my parents and my brother for their love and support, and for wanting to know more about what exactly I was doing these past few years. And to all my friends who attended a two-hour dissertation defense on Zoom during a pandemic, when they could have taken a break from their screens.

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INTRODUCTION

On a chilly morning in September some two hundred college and post-baccalaureate students

assembled in an auditorium at Confluence State University, a large, public state school in the

Eastern United States.[1] The teacher candidates[2] in the audience would begin their observations of

public school classrooms that semester, and on this day, as an introduction to public school

teaching, they sat for a screening of the film "Teach!," a documentary directed by Davis

Guggenheim, of "Waiting for Superman" fame.[3] "Teach!" profiled four teachers who were

working in low-income, majority-brown and -black urban schools. These focal teachers were all

young, energetic, and much more racially diverse than the 200 hopefuls seated in the auditorium,

who more closely resembled the actual racial demographics of the profession (four out of five

public school teachers in the United States are white).[4]

 Over the course of the film, the focal teachers struggle to help their disadvantaged

students succeed, and in the end their efforts result in certain, tangible progress and new

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[1] Confluence State University, the teacher education program at which this study took place, is a pseudonym, as are all the people and places named and described in this work.

[2] In this dissertation I use "student teachers," "teacher candidates" or some combination of these titles when referring to the individuals who were enrolled at Confluence State University's teacher education program to become professional teachers. In order to distinguish them from the students they taught in public schools, I try not to refer to student-teachers as "students" even though this might also be an appropriate label for them, especially in the university environment as they took classes themselves.

[3] The 2010 documentary film "Waiting for Superman" follows five families who seek enrollment at charter schools after being disillusioned by their local public schools. The film demonizes teachers' unions and argues that making charter schools more accessible and numerous is the change needed to improve the school system. Like "Teach!," "Superman" implies that more rigorous schooling is a viable solution to social inequality, structural racism and poverty.

[4] This percentage has declined significantly since the 1980s, when white teachers made up almost ninety percent of U.S. public school faculty. "Public School Teachers Much Less Racially Diverse than Students in US." Pew Research Center, 2018. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/08/27/americas-public-school-teachers-are-far-less-racially-and-ethnically-diverse-than-their-students/

opportunities for the kids. The film's mood moves from bleak and gritty to uplifting and inspiring, as the young teachers depicted begin to realize their dreams of helping kids succeed. Though the student teachers at Confluence State (CSU) had not been thrilled to drag themselves to campus for an 8:00 AM screening, the film seemed to have a rousing effect upon the audience, and afterwards the student teachers climbed over seats to hold small group discussions about what they'd seen.

"What were the different hurdles to success that they faced?" the director of CSU's program called into the microphone.

"They wanted better for the students than some of the students wanted for themselves!" one student teacher exclaimed.

When the small group discussions were finished, the director of the program brought everyone back together for a share-out. "I really liked this movie," she said into the microphone, to start the conversation. "It really shows the struggles of kids and their communities."

Such was the introduction the student teachers at Confluence State received before beginning their time observing, learning about and, eventually, trying on public school teaching themselves. The implicit mission of teaching conjured by the uplifting film -- dubious, perhaps, in its individualistic conception of social change and its glorified, savioristic portrayal of schoolteaching -- seemed to fit snugly with the stated goals of the TE program at CSU.[5] The program identified itself as an "urban social justice" program, advertising its interest in "serving [and] developing meaningful understandings of…diverse communities," teaching educators to

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[5] Educational scholar Amy Brown has referred to this rationale for teaching as "neoliberal social justice" in which schools are tasked with "saving students from a socioeconomic crisis." Brown, Amy. "Waiting for superwoman: White female teachers and the construction of the "neoliberal savior" in a New York City public school." *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 11, no. 2 (2013): 123-164. For other analyses of neoliberal schooling, see especially Aggarwal, Mayorga and Nevel 2013; Lipman 2009; Picower and Mayorga 2015

"disrupt patterns of marginalization, [...] advocate for all students" and promote "active[,] critical citizenship," among other aspirations. In my year of ethnographic research at this program, I found that, even as virtually all practitioners – teachers, professors, candidates – seemed to agree with these stated aims, there was hardly a consensus about what these ideas meant in public educational institutions and in society in general.

Though Confluence State was the sole TE institution explored in the study, readers of the following chapters might regard CSU's agenda typical of programs across the United States, at least based on how it is similar to the official goals of a wide range of institutions. UCLA's teacher education program, for example, is "guided by a social justice agenda in our commitment and coursework," and "designed for people who want to teach in low-income, low-performing schools." In "engag[ing] candidates in justice-oriented pedagogies," Peabody College at Vanderbilt University seeks to graduate candidates who will "work toward educational equity and access" and "productive system-level change." The Relay Graduate School of Education's equity-minded mission can be discerned in its "commitment to ensuring that every student in the US, regardless of background or geography, has access to an excellent education," as well as its claims to "building lasting connections within the communities [teachers] serve."

As mainstream pundits and policy researchers routinely warn of a teacher shortage in the United States, teaching is yet the country's most popular profession.[6] And indeed, the training and placement of educational professionals remains a major enterprise. As of this writing, U.S teacher education is still dominated by public and private, non-profit, university-based programs like Confluence State, at which this ethnographic study took place. A deregulatory fiscal

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[6] In 2019, there were some 4.2 million teachers working in P-12 schools in the United States. "Occupational Employment Statistics." U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019. https://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes_stru.htm

environment has paved the way for for-profit outfits like Ashford University, University of

Phoenix and Grand Canyon University to compete with large state universities, community

colleges and four-year liberal arts colleges for teacher candidates; still, the professional prestige

and cultural cachet associated with regional powerhouses like CSU continue to attract their

heavy enrollments each year, even as proprietary schools tempt enrollees with online

certification programs and shorter training periods. All TE models considered, today there are

almost 2,000 programs awarding professional teaching degrees in the United States – nearly ten

times the number of medical schools and law schools currently in operation, and about four times

the number of business schools.[7]

This study interrogates the process of becoming a teacher at a large state university

teacher education program, comparing its soaring rhetoric of social justice with the perceptions,

experiences, actions and ideas of student teachers themselves as they proceed toward

certification and professionalization. The following account offers a close look at the

acculturation that occurred within one cohort of candidates who, from 2018 to 2019, were

striving for legitimacy in one of our society's most celebrated yet embattled and compromised

professions. It is a profession that the participants of this study had not yet officially reached, and

had developed critical perspectives on over the course of their own, lengthy schooling, but that,

simultaneously, they would fully participate in and, at times, embrace its logic in order to prove

themselves competent and employable. Focusing on one specific group of candidates who

trained to become secondary social studies teachers, this inquiry examines the professionalism

that social studies educators are expected to take on, in all of its moves, strategies and

sensibilities. At the same time, the study contemplates the nascent resistance and institutional

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[7] "Teacher Education." Data USA, 2020. https://datausa.io/profile/cip/teacher-education

criticality that the participants harbored – and in some cases, dared to enact – as they came to recognize these professional expectations.

Chapter one of this dissertation frames the study by seeking to clarify what justice has meant in the educational context, past and present, in the United States. The bulk of this chapter historicizes the question of professional resistance by teachers and in teacher education, reviewing literature on how teachers' capacities for perpetuating, ameliorating or cementing social inequality were influenced by social movements and administrative power. The literature review is split into four different sections, altogether presenting highlights from a broad, complicated history of teacher education and professionalization between the mid-19th century up to the present day. It begins with an examination of how teachers have reacted to ongoing political struggles that they were drawn into as schools were used, in large part, to cement or naturalize social inequalities. This history reveals the glaring tensions between a hegemonic national idea of white assimilative education, and the desires of nondominant groups to use schools to challenge the status quo – in particular, African Americans in the post-Civil War South, Mexican Americans in the western US, and Black and Puerto Rican populations in eastern US cities. The second part of this chapter complicates these historic tensions between oppressed populations and state educational institutions, focusing on how schoolteachers' institutional power and pedagogical ideas were atomized and diluted by the rise of an administrative class, roughly between 1900 and 1960. This section also discusses the effects and goals of teacher labor unionization in response to new educational hierarchies and bureaucratic structures to which teachers found themselves beholden. Part three of this chapter enumerates how teacher education programs and teacher candidates have been affected by the corporatization of higher education – arguably a new phase of teacher deprofessionalization beginning roughly in the

1970s and 80s. Finally, part four considers the different scholarly perspectives on how teacher education should change in order to better serve public school populations, in the wake of this history and given the nagging reality of a school system that produces and reproduces social stratification.

Chapter two lays out the methods I employed in conducting this study. This section of the dissertation discusses the theoretical and ethnographic traditions that informed this research and enumerates the way data was collected and analyzed. Additionally, in this section I explore how my social position and my own experiences as an ex-public school teacher and one-time student teacher affected the research. This segues to chapter three, in which I introduce the teacher education program at Confluence State University, the three partner school districts featured in this study, and the seven student teachers who volunteered to participate in the study. The local historical, sociological and ethnographic data featured in this chapter speaks to some of the general political trends unpacked in the previous sections, but also presents the nuanced case example of a particular teacher educational political economy. This data sheds light on the complex political and social dynamics that have formed between the university, the city it is situated in, and the people who live there. Moreover, this section shows how these dynamics influence how teacher educators and student teachers at CSU perceive the cities and people they are working for. The second section of this chapter presents sketches of each of the seven participants, which may help the reader get a sense of the personal motivations that these candidates bring to their future positions as well as whether/how they envision teaching connecting to political work, social conflict and change. In this section I also describe patterns and divergences of professional motivation and political consciousness among the seven

participants, as a deep way of characterizing the study sample and speaking to the kind of teaching and ideology that these individuals represent.

Chapters four, five and six narrate the experiences and perceptions of student teachers during their final year of preparation as they work at partner district schools and take courses at CSU. The findings of this study are categorized in these chapters, roughly, by three different teacher education "sites" that I have constructed for the sake of data organization: the public schools, the discipline of social studies, and the preparatory university. Chapter four investigates how teacher candidates understood the local schools, workers and residents that they encountered in their foray into teaching. This is an investigation of the educational discourses around "urban" students and the way in which the candidates understood and reacted to those narratives; furthermore, the chapter describes how candidates experienced the dominant logic of how to teach these students, in these locales and in a beleaguered profession – and how they felt about the professional practices such logic implied or explicitly recommended they take on.

Chapter five is premised on the discipline of social studies as a "site" of professional teacher conditioning, but also considers how the position of teacher in general carries certain expectations of power and identity. The chapter first examines the patterns of emotion, relationality and authority that the candidates perceived and internalized. Next, the focus moves to how the normative routines, narratives and imagery of the social studies discipline influenced the kinds of teachers the candidates were becoming. Lastly, the chapter returns to the issue of teacher authority, and details how the candidates understood their position in relation to what kind of power they had with/over/alongside their students, their colleagues and their superiors. More so than the other chapters, chapter five takes a complex look at how gender structures professional culture in public schools and especially among social studies teachers.

Chapter six returns to the halls of Confluence State University, interrogating how the candidates experienced coursework, instruction and administration at their preparatory institution. One particular focus of this chapter is the dominant discourse of "social justice" at CSU, examining what this meant to the candidates and what, in turn, they believed it should mean. Another focus of the chapter is the structure, customs and procedures of teacher education at CSU as experienced by the candidates, which informs an analysis of what kind of teacher professionalism higher educational institutions are producing as they attempt to train the next crop of public educators.

The final chapter of this dissertation begins by summarizing and synthesizing the different revelations gathered from the study. Based on the critical findings this inquiry yielded, the question of if and how teacher educational institutions should change looms large over this work, and the concluding discussion offers several ways of reframing the core dilemmas of teacher education that might be more conducive to organizational transformation or even policy change. All in all, CSU's historical and political elisions, its hegemonic white perspectives, its lack of ideological cohesion and its aversion to local knowledge and community organizing represented major problems for the enactment of social justice there. Yet, the question of how to improve teacher preparation in the United States does not give way to easy answers, at least in this account, due to how the institution of teacher education is situated in relationship to more influential and far-reaching structures in the educational and political landscape. That said, as long as teacher education programs exist, their leaders and practitioners might decide they are worth improving, and the final chapter of this dissertation presents some generative ideas and specific recommendations to support that project.

CHAPTER ONE:

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction: Defining "Social Justice" in an Educational Context

Since the advent of formal schooling in the United States, educators' and their communities' struggles for social justice were explicitly political projects with broader ambitions and implications for the balance of power in U.S. society. The outcomes of these episodes held major consequences for what kinds of schools existed among communities seeking social change. And while these social justice struggles were waged around school institutions, they were not always about school teaching, or even school policy. Much of the literature that influences and theorizes U.S. teacher education (TE) in fact skirts around the matter of local justice organizing in and around schools, instead focusing on teaching from a technical, methodological perspective, as though the training of teachers were a separate concern from political struggles for justice.

In an effort to resist this disciplinary separation, the synthetic history of U.S. teacher education briefly chronicled in the following section attempts to make sense of how this institution developed in the context of U.S. social inequality and the educational organizing it prompted. The tradition of organized resistance to inequality, past and present, informs how I understand the concept of "social justice" and, furthermore, what I conclude about the data from a self-described social justice teaching program collected and presented in this study. This tradition offers some general lessons about what social justice should mean in an educational context, even as the goals and strategies of different movements over the years are various and particular to the people and their historical contexts.

Some of the most consequential campaigns for educational justice organized by public school communities were not strictly efforts to improve teachers' practices but attempts to take local administrative and curricular control of educational institutions in the face of an oppressive, culturally exploitative system. Those who led and participated in these movements conceived of schools as key political and ideological battlegrounds, whose policies, social missions and institutional culture would have an important effect on how much power their communities had in their social system. These gambits for justice were first and foremost about *who* was empowered to teach, *whose* histories and cultures were taught, and *who* gained access to institutional resources and power. Navajo who fought for their own school in the mid-20th century, for example, sought to wrest control of their children's education from a white colonial agenda.[1] Their goals were similar to Puerto Rican activists in New York City in the 1970s, who pushed for bilingual school programming so as to dismantle the English-only educational assumptions ingrained within the city's schools.[2] They also had a fair amount in common with the community control movement that took root in northern U.S. cities in the second half of the 1960s. These Black Power uprisings, which were seen as threats to the white establishment in places like New York City, Detroit and Chicago, came after earlier Civil Rights protests and school boycotts had not ameliorated racial and class segregation in these cities.[3]

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[1] McCarty, Teresa L. A Place to Be Navajo: Rough Rock and the Struggle for Self-Determination in Indigenous Schooling. Routledge, 2002.

[2] Lee, Sonia Song-Ha. Building a Latino Civil Rights Movement: Puerto Ricans, African Americans, and the Pursuit of Racial Justice in New York City. UNC Press Books, 2014.

[3] Rickford, Russell. We Are an African People: Independent Education, Black Power, and the Radical Imagination. Oxford University Press, 2016; Danns, Dionne. Something Better for Our Children: Black Organizing in Chicago Public Schools, 1963-1971. Psychology Press, 2003; Chike, Kefentse K. From Black Power to the New Millennium: The Evolution of African Centered Education in Detroit, Michigan 1970--2000. Michigan State University. African American and African Studies, 2011.

Much like these school movements, other instances of educational justice organizing sought to change institutional arrangements for how they upheld oppressive hierarchies definitive of the broader social and economic landscape. These bids for social change confronted power dynamics recognizable to educational justice advocates today. Mexican American struggles for racial desegregation in California in the 1940s, for example, remain relevant to how student activists have pressured city leaders in the 2010s to enact school redistricting as a way of curbing how majority white, high-wealth neighborhoods hoard opportunity.[4] An effort by Mexican American activists to dismantle racial tracking practices in their schools as early as 1912 was an early challenge to the discriminatory treatment of immigrants by core public institutions bound to the familiar logic of colorblindness and assimilationism.[5]

Recent social justice movements that are organized around school issues, like these past examples, aim at broadly oppressive, extractive structural arrangements and inequitable policies in which activists and their communities have a major stake. The decarceral and prison abolitionist movements, for example, find their educational analog (and some of their traction for mobilization) in activism against punitive, criminalizing school policies that disproportionately affect poor, black and brown students. Collective action by labor unions and housing justice coalitions against the privatization of public institutions have teamed with parent and student

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[4] García, David, Tara Yosso, and Frank Barajas. "'A Few of the Brightest, Cleanest Mexican Children': School Segregation as a Form of Mundane Racism in Oxnard, California, 1900–1940." Harvard Educational Review 82, no. 1 (April 2012): 1–25. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.82.1.40328h635h7745r3; "Turning up the pressure for integration, NYC students plan citywide school boycott." Chalkbeat NYC, 2020. (www.chalkbeat.org/posts/ny/2020/02/05/turning-up-the-pressure-for-integration-nyc-students-plan-citywide-school-boycott/)

[5] Donato, Ruben, Gonzalo Guzmán, and Jarrod Hanson. "Francisco Maestas et al. v. George H. Shone et al.: Mexican American Resistance to School Segregation in the Hispano Homeland, 1912–1914." Journal of Latinos and Education 16, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348431.2016.1179190.

activists fighting against neighborhood school closures.[6] Students who have protested corporate deregulation and government inaction regarding climate change challenge not only their elected officials but their school administrations to adjust educational priorities to meet political realities.

All said, the practice of social justice, from an educational perspective, does not merely constitute a kind of teaching but entails involvement in social action and community organizing. Educators' social justice praxis includes linking with existing movements, understanding the specific issues and taking action. Educators who strive to join in social justice efforts and who seek a pedagogical outlet for this stance must incorporate such a vision into their work, which, as theorists of social justice teaching stress, requires a political analysis of power and a way for students and their communities to get involved in effecting change.[7] Historically, educators seeking to join in social justice movements have not limited this work to the classroom, and in fact in many cases the practice of social justice has lived outside the boundaries and structures imposed by school professional culture and has happened out of necessity away from the conventional learning space.

History of U.S. Teacher Education

Public School Teaching and Racial Control, 1860-1880

In the United States, the question of how teachers would be trained did not arise until the advent of common schools in the middle of the 19th century. Before the crusade for common schools, there was no single organization devoted to finding or training teachers. Teachers worked in

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[6] Lipman, Pauline. "The Landscape of Education 'Reform' in Chicago: Neoliberalism Meets a Grassroots Movement." Education Policy Analysis Archives 25, no. 0 (June 5, 2017): 54. https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.25.2660.

[7] Katsarou, Eleni, Bree Picower, and David Stovall. "Acts of Solidarity: Developing Urban Social Justice Educators in the Struggle for Quality Public Education." Teacher Education Quarterly 37, no. 3 (2010): 137–53; Picower, Bree. "You Can't Change What You Don't See: Developing New Teachers' Political Understanding of Education." Journal of Transformative Education 11, no. 3 (July 1, 2013): 170–89. https://doi.org/10.1177/1541344613502395.

Sunday schools, New England public schools, at trade craft workplaces and in people's homes while they also tended to occupy other roles such as parents, preachers, craftsmen, itinerant tutors, college professors, town officials, and so on. And as the idea of public schooling gained traction nationally, there developed a logical demand for good teachers. This happened regardless of where or what kinds of schools were established, but the job description of a good teacher varied greatly depending on who controlled the schools in question, and which populations the schools were supposedly for.

While the dominant narrative of public education's origins stresses the enlightened advent of the common school, a full account of the history of formal teaching in the United States must consider the complex dynamics within American educational institutions for subjugated and colonized peoples who struggled for social power and self-determination. Some of the first fervor in the United States for the establishment of public schools came in the South, for African Americans who had been newly freed. The seeds for these schools had been planted before emancipation, in clandestine schools established by black people during slavery.[8] These places of education were run and taught by black people for black people, and after emancipation they attracted black teachers as well as many southern and northern white teachers. Though the presence of northern white teachers and organizations like the American Missionary Association was considerable, those who ran black schools prioritized black teachers, mainly because black teachers' ideas about pedagogy and school structure were more in line with that of black community leaders and parents.[9] Contrary to conventional historical narratives about the

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[8] Two books that provide vivid glimpses of self-determined African American education before emancipation are Webber, Thomas L. Deep Like the Rivers: Education in the Slave Quarter Community, 1831-1865. Norton, 1978; Williams, Heather Andrea. Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom. ReadHowYouWant.com, 2009.

[9] Williams, 2009; Du Bois, W. E. B. The Souls of Black Folk. Courier Corporation, 2012/1903.

education of freed African Americans, teachers of the freed people were not just altruistic white northerners; in fact, black teachers outnumbered northern white teachers in these schools in the 1860s and '70s. Some black teachers got their training at black normal schools that cropped up in these two decades as well as at fledgling black universities, but most often they were the neighbors and family members of students who, as historian Ronald Butchart writes, had "the rough equivalent of a common school education or, often, much less."[10] The schools they taught in made do with limited resources when funding from sources like the Freedman's Bureau was limited and erratic, and when, in the 1870s, Southern Democratic lawmakers who had taken back control of state governments began to starve the schools of money. Under these circumstances, many Black schools had to subsist on tuition collected from their students' families.

Black teachers were so preferred over their white counterparts that they were given precedence to teach even if their training was considered less substantial and they themselves well understood the limits of their knowledge, as in the case of one freedwoman who began a school in Union Point, Georgia who admitted that "my Education is feeble compared to the people of the North but…the little I know I am willing to impart with my fellow people."[11] Still – and again, contrary to conventional narratives – it was in fact white southerners who held more teaching positions in black schools than any other demographic, and their tenures tended to be short-lived, the majority teaching for only one or two years and then leaving. A number of these teachers had been ex-slaveholders and had fought for the Confederacy during the war. The majority of these southern white teachers were likely motivated to work in black schools out of either financial distress – "the War has ruined us," one ex-slaveholder-turned-educator explained

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[10] Butchart, Ronald E. Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2010 (26)

[11] Ruth A. Grimes, 1868. Quoted and cited in Butchart, 2010

– or out of a sense of obligation to maintain racial hierarchy and white supremacy. Butchart indicates that these two aims were often intertwined, as southern white teachers were loyal to a social order predicated on the subjugation of black people and perhaps saw teaching in black schools as a way of killing two birds with one stone: they could salvage racial control while also fulfilling an increasingly desperate need for economic sustenance. It is worth noting that the majority of southern whites who briefly taught freed black people left their views on what education should be used for tacit, as though it were obvious what the purpose of schooling was, in their mind.[12]

African Americans' struggle for viable and politically potent black schools in the South coincided with the ascent of the common school into considerable public favor. Common schools proliferated in large part due the advocacy of fervent social reformers who believed public schooling could be used to transform various, disparate swaths of peoples into a culturally monolithic citizenry of a (U.S.-)American nation-state.[13] It was an idea that, like the ideology that compelled many white people to invest in black schooling in the South, presupposed the ignorant or uncivilized nature of subordinated social groups. Many reformers who championed common schooling, most famously Horace Mann, spoke of education in explicitly socially benevolent terms – schooling could be used to help poor people and immigrants attain the habits of conduct and study that would allow them to become legitimate in the eyes of the state.[14] David Tyack calls this mode of schooling an exercise in political socialization; he notes that white U.S. educators schooled indigenous children and freed African Americans (among other politically

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[12] Butchart, 2010, ch. 3

[13] Tyack, David. "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling." Harvard Educational Review 46, no. 3 (September 1976): 355–89. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.46.3.v73405527200106v; Labaree, David F. Someone Has to Fail: The Zero-Sum Game of Public Schooling. Harvard University Press, 2012

[14] Messerli, Jonathan. Horace Mann: A Biography. Knopf, 1972.

subjugated peoples) in order to socialize these groups into docile subjects of the state. Tyack

likens these notions of what school would do for the populace to a baptism – "like the sprinkling

of water on the head of a child in an approved church, schooling was a ritual process that

acquired political significance because people believed in it."[15] In this way public schooling

became part of a national common sense idea, tied up as it was in white assimilationism and

coloniality. Toward the end of the 19th century, the idea of common schooling spread south and

west to locales where a wide range of religious and class interests, such as Roman Catholics in

cities like New York, and white plantation owners in the U.S. South, had for various and

contrasting reasons initially resisted the idea of public schooling; in some cases they continued to

do so.[16]

Perhaps no one resisted U.S. schooling more than the indigenous tribes that had been

relegated to enclaves in the central, northern and western United States as white people

continued their insatiable and murderous advance across the land. Beginning in the 1870s,

indigenous children were taken from their parents – who often had been imprisoned themselves

at the hands of the U.S. military – and placed in boarding schools primarily meant to "civilize"

and assimilate these "savage" Indians into white customs and language. Scholars of indigenous

education and resistance consider the inception of Indian boarding schools as merely another

manifestation of U.S. imperialism and dispossession in the long history of wars against

indigenous peoples in North America. As educational scholars K. Tsianina Lomawaima and

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[15] Tyack, 1976, p. 367. Even so, Tyack contends that the rationale for schooling by politicians was not always consistent with how citizens saw it, and moreover, that official rationale would evolve over time.

[16] Tyack, David B., and Larry Cuban. Tinkering Toward Utopia. Harvard University Press, 1995; Kaestle, Carl F. "History of Education: My Entry and My Odyssey." Leaders in the Historical Study of American Education, January 1, 2011, 153–64

Teresa McCarty elucidate, boarding schools were sites of "cultural genocide" that worked in opposition to indigenous peoples' desires for self-determination and democratic participation.[17] It must be understood that teachers for these schools were recruited for the sake of racial and cultural control, even as many white teachers, like those who decided to work at black schools in the South, were potentially motivated by a personal sense that their work would be altruistic and would improve the economic possibilities for these children. Such was the case for many white teachers of indigenous children as well, including the founders of the schools they taught at.[18] Accounts of teachers at schools like the Carlisle Indian Industrial School show that these individuals were zealous about their work and believed they were being kind to students as they simultaneously worked to eradicate their cultural practices and punished them for inappropriate behavior. Students themselves picked up on the teachers' performances of kindness and generosity, such as in how Luther Standing Bear described his experience at Carlisle, even as he "realize[d] that I would have to learn the ways of the white man."[19]

The Institutionalization of Teacher Education, 1880-1940

While the U.S. government invested in Indian boarding schools to further the cultural arm of its colonial project, common schools were arguably developed as a function of class hierarchy and a way of maintaining racial and gender inequality on top of reformers' aspirations of national unity and civic homogeneity. Schools for African Americans in the U.S. South, for example, were undermined by a deliberate lack of public funding as well as the inherent social

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[17] Lomawaima, K. Tsianina, and Teresa L. McCarty. "When Tribal Sovereignty Challenges Democracy: American Indian Education and the Democratic Ideal." American Educational Research Journal 39, no. 2 (June 1, 2002): 279–305. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312039002279; Lomawaima, K. Tsianina, and Teresa L. McCarty. "To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education. Teachers College Press, 2006

[18] see Emdin, Christopher. For White Folks Who Teach in the Hood... and the Rest of Y'all Too: Reality Pedagogy and Urban Education. Beacon Press, 2016; Treuer, David. The Heartbeat of Wounded Knee: Native America from 1890 to the Present. Penguin, 2019.

[19] Bear, Luther Standing. My People the Sioux. U of Nebraska Press, 2006/1932 (147)

limitations placed on their students by local white supremacist politics.[20] Normal schools for the training of black teachers, moreover, were in many instances sponsored by elite white planters and northern white philanthropists as a way of expanding industrial educational and ensuring the existence of an excess, menial black labor force. Indeed, one might say that it was the workings of an administrative class that operationalized oppressive schooling for black people in the South. In theory, normal schools were erected to meet a purely organizational demand for teacher professionalization, but the history of racial stratification through U.S. schooling shows that their function in the U.S. public education's institutional ecosystem was more complex.

The role of teacher training in entrenching racial inequality. The story of teacher training for segregated black schools between the late 1870s and the 1930s is a story of disinvestment and neglect in the white-controlled South, and subsequently, resistance and self-reliance on the part of African Americans who saw political power and liberation in education. By 1900, not only had white people effectively disenfranchised black citizens across the South, but common schools for black children were severely underfunded and, especially in rural areas, often unaccredited or nonexistent. James Anderson's seminal research indicates that some two-thirds of black children of elementary school age could not attend school due to lack of resources. In many places, there was no means of transportation to bus black students to schools. Not only were teachers of black students underpaid, but also scarce and in high demand. In 1900, in the public schools of the sixteen former slave states, there was one teacher for every 93 black students (the standard at this time, nationally, was one teacher for every 30 students).[21]

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[20] e.g., Butchart, 2010; Anderson, James D. The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2010/1988

[21] Anderson, 1988; Walker, Vanessa Siddle. "African American Teaching in the South: 1940–1960." American Educational Research Journal 38, no. 4 (January 1, 2001): 751–79. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312038004751.

While historians agree that these material realities posed enormous obstacles to African American education, it is debated in the historiography to what extent the resultant lack of training that black teachers received exacerbated school problems in the segregated South. To be sure, black teachers in segregated schools generally received less formal training than their white counterparts, especially in the first three decades of the 20th century.[22] Most glaringly in rural villages, but also cities, black teachers had considerably fewer years of formal schooling than white teachers; when, in 1933, researcher Ambrose Caliver was hired by the U.S. Office of Education to research the disparities, he found that about half of black teachers had less than two years of college experience, and a quarter had not advanced beyond high school (only five percent of white teachers had not had some college education, and two-thirds had more than two years' worth of college).[23]

Formal teacher education was an important ingredient in a teacher's ability to educate young people to think critically, cultivate democracy and resist the racial status quo – and James Anderson's work powerfully illustrates the ideological forces (and the philanthropic capital supporting them) in teacher education after the Reconstruction era that derailed these aims. Anderson shows that private, black-run normal schools were left to provide the bulk of teacher education for black primary and secondary schools at the turn of the 20th century as the administrators of public education in the South continued to resist universal public schooling for black children during Jim Crow. African American teachers who were hastily prepared in county

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[22] Walker, 2001; Walker, Vanessa Siddle. "Ninth Annual Brown Lecture in Education Research: Black Educators as Educational Advocates in the Decades Before Brown v. Board of Education." Educational Researcher 42, no. 4 (May 1, 2013): 207–22. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X13490140; Fultz, Michael. "African American Teachers in the South, 1890–1940: Powerlessness and the Ironies of Expectations and Protest." History of Education Quarterly 35, no. 4 (ed 1995): 401–22. https://doi.org/10.2307/369578; Bond, Horace Mann. The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order. Octagon Books, 1934.

[23] Caliver, Ambrose. Fundamentals in the Education of Negroes. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1935; Fultz, 1995

training schools or white-run and -funded public normal schools were charged with perpetuating the Hampton-Tuskegee industrial model which emphasized menial labor and black class subordination. This industrial education was the pedagogy favored by northern white capitalists who became most influential in the run of southern black schooling due to the fact that these powerful figures were often the only ones willing to provide funding.

Black educators tried to muster a different educational vision anyway. One way they did this was by forming professional associations that could contest the systematically discriminatory salary schemes and miseducative professional culture that the white-controlled administrative class imposed. These organizations did their best to expose white administrative ploys to "choos[e] the very worst Negro teachers they could find," as W.E.B. DuBois put it in 1901.[24] Meanwhile, teachers in black schools frequently attempted to subvert the industrial model by teaching material that held higher social expectations for students, as in the case of two white women who dared to teach black students at Hampton algebra and Latin. When they were promptly fired for doing so by the school's white supremacist director, Samuel Armstrong, they moved to Florida to start their own teacher education school.[25]

The white educational administrative class wanted schools designed to keep black students subservient, and in order to do this they had to ingrain within them a culture of teaching that preserved and defended the status quo. Indeed, industrial training in secondary schools, normal schools and colleges was not just meant to prepare students for industrial occupations, but, more insidiously, to train obedient teachers and to indoctrinate young learners.[26] In his biographical history of white educational philanthropy, William Watkins refers to this as an

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[24] DuBois, 1901, quoted in Fultz, 1995

[25] Butchart, 2010, chapter 4

[26] Anderson, 1988, see chapters 3 and 4; see also Bois, W. E. B. Du. The Philadelphia Negro. Cosimo, Inc., 2007.

educational regime of "accommodationism." To accommodate the status quo through education was, as Watkins puts it, to teach "Blacks [to] learn their 'place' in the new industrial order" and "accept the world the way it was."[27]

Anderson's research on schools where such ideology metastasized through philanthropic coercion turns the idea of teacher "training" upside down. It is noteworthy, for example, that board members and funders who steered black normal and county training schools politically were quick to deride any educators who had not been trained on their own model. It seems that "training" in black normal and county schools was more about compliance and subservience, whereas black-led organizations' process of developing good educators was, essentially, obtaining the necessary resources and organizing community members to speak to what they wanted out of schools.[28] Though the latter was a democratic project, the former was likely considered more rigorous in formal educational parlance and certainly seen as more appropriate by powerful white educational influencers, for example Julius Rosenwald, whose handsome contributions to black political and educational organizations around the turn of the 20th century contained industrial education earmarks.[29]

Resistance amidst structural hindrance. Vanessa Siddle Walker argues that traditional histories chronicling the dire lack of training among African American educators characterize the state of black schooling in a way that does not paint an entirely accurate picture. That is, historians who emphasize state underinvestment and a lack of sound teacher education

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[27] Watkins, William H. The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954. Teachers College Press, 2001 (23). See also, Kelly, Brian. "Sentinels for New South Industry: Booker T. Washington, Industrial Accommodation and Black Workers in the Jim Crow South." Labor History 44, no. 3 (August 1, 2003): 337–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/002365603200012955; https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_Education_of_Booker_T_Washington/BFViCwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=the+education+of+booker+t.+washington&printsec=frontcover

[28] Walker, 2013

[29] *ibid.*

options document structural racial discrimination at the expense of highlighting the ways in which black educators did lean on their professional organizations – for training and political organizing – to make their practice liberatory for students and defiant against a white supremacist political economy.[30] For example, as Anderson notes, black people paid double taxes out of the desire to run decent schools in a white supremacist society. Likewise, focusing on the deficiencies in teacher competency that resulted from structural inequalities (such as the denial of public funding) runs the risk of reifying the racially and class-biased standards that were used to judge teachers even if, as Walker notes, the accounts of under-qualification are not entirely inaccurate. (Indictments of under-qualification and incompetence ascribed to indigenous educators of their own children, for example, demonstrate the cultural hegemony in such normative assessments.[31])

With this in mind, Walker implores us to look beyond what occurred in the classroom to understand the strengths of many black educators working in the segregated South. Especially after 1940, these teachers were political activists and dissenters who educated their students through their organizing for material resources and labor conditions. They were committed to unified advocacy and agitation, and they met constantly to discuss conditions and strategy. For example, Walker's 2018 book, "The Lost Education of Horace Tate," illustrates that it was a network of black educational professionals who laid the groundwork for a desegregation struggle to materialize in the 1950s, culminating in the *Brown* Supreme Court ruling.[32] A great deal of

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[30] Walker, 2001. To his credit, Michael Fultz's research enumerates the strategies those professional organizations used to fight back against educational discrimination, even as he argues that it was school underinvestment and teacher underpreparation that was most debilitating for black schools. Fultz, 1995

[31] Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006

[32] Walker, Vanessa Siddle. The Lost Education of Horace Tate: Uncovering the Hidden Heroes Who Fought for Justice in Schools. The New Press, 2018. For other black school-led struggles for racial justice, see Cecelski, David S. Along Freedom Road: Hyde County, North Carolina and the Fate of Black Schools in the South. Univ of North Carolina Press, 1994; Foster, Michele. Black Teachers on Teaching. New Press, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10110 ($23)., 1997; Fultz, Michael. "Teacher Training and African American Education in the South, 1900-1940."

that labor was not only extracurricular but occurred literally outside of the school, well out of the watchful eye of the administrative establishment.

Similar to how black teacher knowledge and community organizing was dismissed by white funders and administrators, the U.S. public education of Mexican American students in the first half of the 20th century inhibited and pathologized the use of the Spanish language and facilitated Mexican American class marginalization and labor exploitation. In southern Colorado, Mexican American parents and community members fought their district to acknowledge and undo the systematic segregation of Mexican students into lower-class schools – a legal battle which the city of Alamosa eventually lost to the activists, but not without a bitter defense of the unequal, "colorblind" status quo.[33] Two decades later, Mexican American parents and students organized to contest racial school segregation in Oxnard, California, which had concretized over time as powerful city and state leaders were incentivized by the sugar beet farming industry to keep the Mexican immigrant community undereducated and available for cheap labor.[34] In both these cases the schools were designed to reproduce racial, class and gender hierarchies; furthermore, in both cases it is imperative to understand that teachers and administrators, for the most part, had been tasked to maintain the status quo and did so by clinging to an official conception of stratified, assimilative, factory-style schooling as equal opportunity education. It was parents and their children who demanded that their schools fundamentally change; meanwhile teachers were caught between the struggle for justice and the oppressive institutions they worked for.

The Journal of Negro Education 64, no. 2 (1995): 196–210. https://doi.org/10.2307/2967242; Fultz, 1995; Walker, 2013

[33] Donato, Guzmán & Hanson, 2017

[34] Garcia, Yosso & Barajas, 2012

Oppressive U.S.-administered indigenous schooling took on pressure to change after a report requested by the U.S. Secretary of the Interior in 1928 lambasted conditions in Indian boarding schools. The Meriam Report committed to the public record the culturally violent and physically harmful educational practices on display in these schools, and proposed revamping them so as to nurture rather than vanquish students' cultural identities, and allow students a degree of educational autonomy if they wanted it. The U.S. government proceeded to make allowances for indigenous language education, and rolled out reforms to curricula that would draw on nondominant cultural forms that were deemed unthreatening to white power. That said, during this period of adjustment by the federal government, Lomawaima & McCarty contend that, while school materials and official rhetoric sought to mark a sea change in policy toward the "Indian Problem" (the Meriam Report tastefully jettisoned such language and now referred to a "Problem of Indian Administration"), schools were still hobbled in their ability to afford indigenous people power. Essentially, even as official policy liberalized, the deeper-rooted federal agenda of assimilation and colonization was still well represented in educational practices.[35]

The Conditional Nature of Teacher Professionalization, 1900-1980

It should be no surprise that teacher educational institutions in the United States have always been ill-equipped to help school communities effect social change; from their inception they were designed to legitimize common schools and their administrators' agendas. As the history of contestation over African American schools in the South during and after Reconstruction demonstrates, the political potency of teacher education depended on who controlled the schools they fed. The reality of the history of U.S. schooling is that, for the most

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[35] Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; Treuer, 2019

part, primary and secondary schools were not supposed to be sites of emancipatory learning and the engagement of political struggle but something far more conservative.

It is worth considering how and under what conditions teacher educators were given a voice and a space as public schooling expanded into a professional field. At first, as is logical, it was a simple call for more teachers in the expanding common schools that presented normal schools with their mandate and, as follows, afforded their teacher educators some power in the field.[36] Historians of U.S. education assert that, in general, common schools and normal schools at this point enjoyed a mutualistic relationship, though, again, the aforementioned histories of educational subjugation seriously problematize the assumption that either institution represented the educational desires of the public. Be that as it may, while it was the common schools (and their crusaders) to which teacher educators owed their new social importance, the emergence of teacher education in normal schools was, in a somewhat backwards way, a source of political clout for common school advocates and workers who could now point to a system of training institutions of which their schools were the most fundamental outlet of employment.[37] One might say that this was a case in which the demand first justified the supply, but then, once the supply was institutionalized, the demand enjoyed a more muscular social justification. Not only were the seeds of education's bureaucratization planted, but the transformation of teaching into a "science" commenced as well to fulfill the need for professional practices that could be trusted. In this way a cadre of institutional "experts" were poised to take on new authority in the

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[36] Labaree, David F. "18 An uneasy relationship: the history of teacher education in the university." (2008): 290-306.

[37] Crook, David. "Teacher Education as a Field of Historical Research: Retrospect and Prospect." History of Eucation 41, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 57–72. https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760X.2012.649578.; Herbst, Jurgen. "Nineteenth- Century Normal Schools in the United States: A Fresh Look." History of Education, July 28, 2006. https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760800090303; Herbst, Jurgen. And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture. Univ of Wisconsin Press, 1991

educational field; that authority was reaped and delegated by reformers in government whose new educational project had caught on in U.S. society.[38]

The discourse of "professionalism" in teaching has been enigmatic ever since teachers began to push for more formal recognition of their expertise and hard work. Jurgen Herbst's book *And Sadly Teach* posits sociological criteria for "professionalism" and recounts the history of normal schools and teacher unionism to show that professional autonomy was never achieved in the teaching field. He argues that teacher education was never a viable conduit of "professional" status in public school teaching in the same way that workers in fields like medicine and law receive extensive professional training, and the social capital to buttress it.[39]

The political history of teacher unionism in at least one U.S. city complicates and potentially deepens our understanding of what it means for a field to "professionalize," and what is misleading about such jargon. In the first half of the 20th century, the communist-led New York City teachers' union advocated a social movement unionism that struggled for academic freedom and racial justice, among other things, which increasingly incited tension with and distrust from school administrators and other powerful city leaders until it was forced to disband.[40] Later, a more conservative, business-oriented iteration of the union amassed political power by pandering to white racial fears of black and Puerto Rican educational takeover, and by making incremental concessions to centralized administration.[41] Again, the history shows that claims of teacher professionalism and power due to public schools' social legitimacy only hold

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[38] Angus, David L. Professionalism and the Public Good: A Brief History of Teacher Certification. Thomas B, 2001. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED449149.

[39] Herbst, 1991

[40] Taylor, Clarence. Reds at the Blackboard: Communism, Civil Rights, and the New York City Teachers Union. Columbia University Press, 2013

[41] Song-Ha Lee, 2014; Podair, Jerald E. The Strike That Changed New York: Blacks, Whites, and the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Crisis. Yale University Press, 2008/2002; Perlstein, Daniel Hiram. Justice, Justice: School Politics and the Eclipse of Liberalism. Peter Lang, 2004

up when the teachers themselves follow the schools' dominant, politically acceptable mission. In the case of communities of color vying for neighborhood control of their schools, teachers with grassroots politics were afforded no such trust or autonomy by their districts.[42]

This is why at no point did the existence of schools necessarily create a demand for quality educators or academically educated normal school trainees. In cases like the white-run schools of the Jim Crow South, the public schools arguably created a demand for bad teachers by racist administrations who wanted to sabotage black education.[43] In general, normal schools were hastened into existence due to the simple need for teachers who could manage the large numbers of children that were pouring into common schools.[44] As mentioned in the previous section, the normal school was an expedient way to mass produce the labor necessary to carry out the political socialization school advocates desired.[45] Some historians argue that these institutions were essentially high schools devoted to the practice of primary education, after the mere completion of primary school itself was no longer considered an adequate standard for those who would teach children.[46] It should also be noted that increased educational opportunities for girls in primary and normal schools resulted quickly in the predominance of women in teaching jobs, while the men who had once dominated these jobs generally pursued work elsewhere.[47]

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[42] Such was the case, for example, of teachers who championed the Black power movement or the Black and Puerto Rican-led community control movement in the 1960s. Rickford, 2016; Perlstein, 2004; see also Danns, 2003 for the story of black teachers in Chicago who joined with students and community activists to challenge the public school system's institutional racism

[43] Fultz, 1995a

[44] Angus, 2001

[45] Anderson, 1988

[46] Cremin, Lawrence A. "The Education of the Educating Professions," February 1978. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED148829; Herbst, 1991

[47] Rury, John L. Education and Women's Work: Female Schooling and the Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870-1930. SUNY Series on Women and Work. State University of New York Press, State University Plaza, Albany, NY 12246-0001 (hardcover--ISBN-0-7914-0617-2)., 1991.

Of course, not all teachers followed the pedagogical and professional roadmap that their teacher education schools prescribed for them. In fact, students who attended normal schools very often did so in order to access non-educational professional opportunities that a post-primary education could afford them, and not because they wanted to teach at the level they had just completed.[48] This discordance between the schools' dominant political role and the rangier and bolder aspirations of many of the schools' students could be thought of as an early instantiation of institutional incoherence concerning the mission of teacher education in the United States.

Teacher education and the early 20th-century progressive movement. It is well documented that, indeed, from the inception of organized teacher education there existed a tension between the economic and political role of normal schools (and the common schools they fed) and a starkly different, intellectual role that teacher educators saw in that institution. One might identify parallels to this tension in the formative conflict between pedagogical progressives and administrative progressives in the early 20th century, whereupon prominent psychologists like Edward Thorndike argued that the purpose of schooling was primarily vocational rather than to cater to the needs of the child and to foster a love of learning, ideas commonly associated with the philosopher John Dewey.[49] Importantly, Deweyan pedagogues may have opposed vocationalism, and sought to cultivate democratic culture in society (rather than, say, the rigid social hierarchies instantiated by a social efficiency model of schooling), but

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[48] Herbst, 1991

[49] Cremin, Lawrence A. American Education, the National Experience, 1783-1876. 1st ed. New York: Harper and Row, 1980; Kliebard, Herbert M. The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958. Psychology Press, 2004; Labaree, David F. "Progressivism, Schools and Schools of Education: An American Romance." Paedagogica Historica 41, no. 1–2 (February 1, 2005): 275–88. https://doi.org/10.1080/0030923042000335583; Rury, John L. Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling. Routledge, 2012; Tyack, David B. The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education. Harvard University Press, 1974; Tyack, David, and Elisabeth Hansot. Managers Of Virtue: Public School Leadership In America, 1820-1980. Basic Books, 1986.

they did not generally foreground schooling as a site of political struggle either, as communities that found themselves subordinated by the school system – or who tried to use schools to topple unequal structures – have historically done.[50]

Thus the progressive movement in educational theory and teacher training were not automatically advocates of nondominant populations who found themselves subordinated or excluded by schools – say, immigrants and African Americans. Deweyan progressivism was democratic and collaborative in pedagogical practice, but it fell short of any political strategy to redistribute power or engender class struggle.[51] That said, as administrative progressives successfully made their cases for more rigidly purposeful curricula and heavily structured governance of classrooms, pedagogical progressives like Dewey lamented that schools would increasingly stifle students' curiosity and creativity.[52] A tug-of-war over what schooling should do in society has sustained itself to this day, and has evolved to reflect the growing precariousness that marks life in public school communities. Well attuned to the political limits of some of teacher education's most foundational ideas, a growing number of teacher educators bemoan not just vocationalism or industrial training in public schools, but call for educators to push their understanding of sound teaching beyond progressive pedagogy and toward a reconsideration of power and hierarchy in the school and community context.[53]

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[50] This is not to say that John Dewey or his disciples did not theorize that schooling was political in nature; on the contrary, much of Dewey's work is devoted to the idea that teachers must play a role in sustaining a healthy democratic society by structuring an educational environment conducive to communication, dialogue, expression and action. Dewey, John. The Public and Its Problems. Athens: Swallow Press, 1991/1927

[51] Schutz, Aaron. "Power and Trust in the Public Realm: John Dewey, Saul Alinsky, and the Limits of Progressive Democratic Education." Educational Theory 61, no. 4 (2011): 491–512. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-5446.2011.00416.x; Stromquist, Shelton. Reinventing "The People": The Progressive Movement, the Class Problem, and the Origins of Modern Liberalism. University of Illinois Press, 2010

[52] Kliebard, 1986; Labaree, 2005

[53] e.g., Castro, Antonio J. "The Role of Teacher Education in Preparing Teachers for Critical Multicultural Citizenship." The Journal of Social Studies Research 38, no. 4 (October 1, 2014): 189–203. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jssr.2014.02.006; Sleeter, Christine. "Equity, Democracy, and Neoliberal Assaults on

As U.S. educational historians often point out, Dewey's progressivism lost the struggle against vocational or "social efficiency" education, although it survived in elite teacher education programs and continues to be regarded highly by university pedagogues. Without a doubt, Deweyan pedagogical theory garners institutional capital at Confluence State in the 21st century, as every participant in this study had such ideas ingrained in justifications of their lessons, or paid homage to the philosopher himself at one point or another. That said, the student teachers routinely complained that their progressive-influenced pedagogy had no place in the public school and left them despairing for strategies of practical implementation. Though the binary of "progressive pedagogy" versus "school realities" is simplistic and does not include in its framing the question of social/political resistance in the shadows of state-run schools, it remains a way of understanding how teacher education continues to be seen by student teachers as out of touch with the public schools they are placed in.

Academic freedom at the cost of professional influence. The disconnect between academic teacher education programs and public school practices is one manifestation of the "Faustian bargain" teacher educators made with universities as vocationalism took precedence in their field and they sought refuge on campus. Most relevantly, the academic ascendance of teacher education at the brink of the normal school era meant that the business of training teachers began to expand beyond teacher ed institutions' abilities to produce quality schools.[54] In other words, as the training of teachers moved farther away from the public schools themselves, those who carried out the training were less able to answer to the needs of their target

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Teacher Education." Teaching and Teacher Education 24, no. 8 (November 1, 2008): 1947–57. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2008.04.003

[54] Clifford, Geraldine Jonçich, and James W. Guthrie. Ed School: A Brief for Professional Education. University of Chicago Press, 1990.

institutions, which have always been shaped by social forces that workers alone cannot manage or control.

Arguably at the same time, as teacher training became more insular, academicians were better able to insert their own agendas into teacher education. For better or worse, the drifting of teacher education away from public schooling freed teacher educators to pursue their own intellectual agendas without fear that they would clash with school demands. A large body of critical research in teacher education today has scorned this group for its perceived elitism and stodginess. In this literature, researchers argue in general that their university-based programs must be more involved in community affairs, or should relocate their programs so that they take place in hybrid spaces away from the proverbial ivory tower.[55]

The rise of an administrative class in public school teacher preparation. Somewhat ironically, as administrative progressives (i.e., those who argued for a vocational mission of schooling) succeeded in standardizing and bureaucratizing school processes, public schools took on greater social and mythical importance and teachers themselves were relieved of their professional autonomy. The calls to professionalize and centralize the field were occasioned not by a sudden crisis of teacher quality but by growing public anxieties over deeper structural problems: a creeping panic over rising inequality, declines in voter participation, declines in quality of life due to urbanization, and fears that immigrant groups were unassimilable. These members of the increasingly detached echelon of educational stakeholders (Tyack and Hansot

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[55] e.g., Jr, Peter C. Murrell. "Toward Social Justice in Urban Education: A Model of Collaborative Cultural Inquiry in Urban Schools." Equity & Excellence in Education 39, no. 1 (February 1, 2006): 81–90. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665680500478890; Klein, Emily J., Monica Taylor, Cynthia Onore, Kathryn Strom, and Linda Abrams. "Finding a Third Space in Teacher Education: Creating an Urban Teacher Residency." Teaching Education 24, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 27–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/10476210.2012.711305; Zeichner, Ken, Katherina A. Payne, and Kate Brayko. "Democratizing Teacher Education." Journal of Teacher Education 66, no. 2 (March 1, 2015): 122–35. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487114560908

have termed them the "educational trust") included educational school faculty, city and county superintendents, state officials and U.S. Bureau of Education staffers.[56]

Indeed, while teacher educators grew out of touch with the schools they served, the administrative class wielded growing influence from afar. What some scholars term the "professionalization" movement of the early- and mid-20th century in fact represented serious losses in political power and professional agency for teachers serving public schools. Administrative progressives first solidified hierarchical divisions between themselves and teachers by calling for increasingly specialized teacher certifications, longer formal training for teachers with more certification requirements, and increased state (centralized, bureaucratic) control of educational policy.[57] At the same time, the "objectivity" that provided justification for such administrative reforms privileged white teachers and underfunded non-white schools. For instance, new state certification processes routinely sorted black teachers into the lowest "grade" based on an "objective" assessment of their performance, and ensured that the underpayment of these teachers was legally defensible.[58]

The rise of the administrative class also perpetuated and perhaps exacerbated a gendered hierarchy in public schooling: a predominantly male administrative class gained power in the field at the expense of the autonomy of teachers who were, increasingly, women. By the turn of the 20th century, eighty percent of schoolteachers were women, and the schools they taught in were attended by twice as many girls than boys.[59] Subsequently, high schools narrowed curricular options for girls in order to reinforce a gender-based division of labor.[60] Historian John

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[56] Tyack & Hansot, 1986

[57] Angus, 2001

[58] Fultz, 1995

[59] Rury, 2012

[60] Rury, 1991

Rury speculates that the "feminization" of the teaching force may have had a complex effect on the dynamics of gendered inequality and cultural sexism, as more professional opportunities were available for women simultaneously concretized gender norms and patriarchal assumptions. Feminist scholar Michelle Falter points out that even as administrative-driven school reforms of the 20th century drove more men out of the teacher profession over time, it has in fact worked to masculinize schools as the deepening ranks of women teachers are perceived to threaten male power.[61]

Other studies of teachers' work and the struggle to be understood as professionals at this time highlight the role of gender construction and norms in the eventual corporatization of the field. G.J. Clifford argues that the construction of teaching as "woman's work" not only justified paying teachers less, but informed the division of the labor of teaching so that teachers who were men taught older students and assumed honorary authority positions in the school, while women occupied lower positions both in grade level and in the hierarchy of authority.[62] Not surprisingly, the increasing subordination of female teachers to male administrators was generally hushed or rendered irrelevant by the reformers.[63] University teacher educators, of course, have also perpetuated sexist public school hierarchies; feminist scholars of pedagogy have pointed out that in all their institutions' fanfare around Deweyan progressive pedagogy the male monopoly on this school of thought reproduces women's lack of authority in classrooms.[64]

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[61] Falter, Michelle M. "Threatening the Patriarchy: Teaching as Performance." Gender and Education 28, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 20–36. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2015.1103838

[62] Clifford, Geraldine Jonçich. Lone Voyagers: Academic Women in Coeducational Universities, 1870-1937. Feminist Press at CUNY, 1989; Connell, Raewyn W. The Men and the Boys. John Wiley & Sons, 2013/2000

[63] Gitlin, Andrew, and Frank Margonis. "The Political Aspect of Reform: Teacher Resistance as Good Sense." American Journal of Education 103, no. 4 (August 1, 1995): 377–405. https://doi.org/10.1086/444108.

[64] Maher, Frances A. "Progressive Education and Feminist Pedagogies: Issues in Gender, Power, and Authority." Teachers College Record 101, no. 1 (September 1999): 35–59. https://doi.org/10.1111/0161-4681.00028

The growing divide between teachers and administration also produced gender stratification through curricular differentiation. Rather than attempt to engage with and interrogate the way that sociohistorical constructions of class, race and gender informed teachers' differential treatment of students, administrators who were influenced by psychologists like Thorndike wanted their teachers to use a differentiated curriculum to adequately prepare children for the work they would take on as adults. It should be noted that, in their opposition, pedagogical progressives did not necessarily object to the social reproduction inherent in this approach. Deweyan progressives, in their opposition to standardization, found some common ground with administrative progressives who saw differentiated curricular and ability tracking as a natural function of school; both factions also warred together against the traditional notion of school subject areas, albeit they adopted their overlapping stances for different reasons.[65]

It seems the administrative class ultimately got its way less out of any ideological victory than out of the increasing level of control it wielded over teachers due to the field's proliferating bureaucracy, professionalization apparatus, and expanding hierarchy. It is worth considering just how many new layers of professional status and accompanying formal bodies of legitimation came into existence as the field "professionalized." The National Education Association (NEA) created the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (TEPS) in 1946 as a gesture of teacher power, which first merely held conferences across the country but eventually, in the 1960s, pushed for more rigorous and arcane certification standards through state legislation. Around the same time, as a response to lamentations by authorities over the sorry state of public school teaching, two more governing bodies were formed to oversee the

[65] Labaree, 2005; Angus, David L., and Jeffrey Mirel. The Failed Promise of the American High School, 1890-1995. Teachers College Press, 1999; Cremin, Lawrence A. "The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957." British Journal of Educational Studies 10, no. 1 (1961): 106–106. https://doi.org/10.2307/3118724; Rury, 2012

accreditation of teacher training programs. These organizations, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) and the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification (NASDTEC) joined to form the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) in 1954. These professional bodies were seen by many university teacher education programs as a check against their authority on matters of pedagogy. They were loose, fragmented and disparate organizations that conferred some professional legitimacy at the expense of increased oversight and gatekeeping. Large, business-oriented teachers' unions and professional associations soon followed, a reflection of teachers' desires for more respect in their field.[66]

Bureaucratization and its effect on political struggles around public education. Historian David Angus argues that the inception of these organizations if anything disserved teachers trying to gain respect in the field rather than empowered them, since they undercut alliances with academic teacher education programs and worked to construct "professional" as bureaucratic and nominal rather than as substantive, academic and autonomous. Formal criteria for being "professionals" in the teaching field became the acquisition of state certifications and the successful completion of short teacher education programs, generally at the university level. Yet teachers ultimately had little to show for their credentials in schools that endured constant critiques from social and political pundits; their questionable methods were often flashpoints of social tensions born out of racial injustice. Teachers' main course of action against accusations of incompetence and perennial underresourcing of their schools was to collectively bargain with administrations to secure decent working conditions and higher wages – not necessarily to secure equitable arrangements for their students. In her analysis of United Federation of Teachers' strike

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[66] Angus, 2001

of 1968, labor historian Diana D'Amico shows how teachers' calls for "professionalism" and "rights" was tantamount to a rejection of any kind of pedagogical progressivism and, in fact, reaffirmed white teachers' practice of authoritarian control over students of color and their families.[67]

This is not a new stance but, indeed, was the position taken by some scholars as teachers began to organize for better wages and more classroom autonomy. Angus argues that, by the 1970s, business (or "bread-and-butter") unionism and the various associations that supposedly centralized and standardized classroom teaching actually not only weakened teachers' political power but deepened class and institutional divides between teachers, teacher educators and liberal arts faculty in education schools. Labor scholar Lois Weiner has consistently condemned the latter-20th century history of business unionism among practitioners not merely for how it fragmented the field but how it enabled organized teacher labor to isolate itself from the social justice struggles the rest of the country faced.[68] Only very recently, in the second decade of the 21st century, have teachers unions begun to break from this conservative tradition, electing radical, rank-and-file caucuses to lead their organizations, and adopting broader, more collectivist stances in labor fights against institutional racism and economic austerity.[69]

In addition to black and Puerto Rican New Yorkers' fight for community control of schools in the 1960s, other social movements against the public school system pitted

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[67] see also Song-ha Lee, 2014; Perlstein, 2004; Weiner, L., and M. Compton. The Global Assault on Teaching, Teachers, and Their Unions: Stories for Resistance. Springer, 2008.

[68] Weiner, Lois. "Cracks in Shanker's empire." New Politics 11, no. 4 (1976): 51-57; Weiner, Lois. The Future of Our Schools: Teachers Unions and Social Justice. Haymarket Books, 2012; Angus, 2001

[69] A few examples of such unions include United Teachers Los Angeles, the Chicago Teachers' Union, and the Milwaukee Teachers' Education association. See Jaffe, Sarah. "The Chicago Teachers Strike Was a Lesson in 21st-Century Organizing," November 16, 2019. https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/chicago-ctu-strike-win/; Schirmer, Eleni. Dissent Magazine, 2019. "After Act 10: How Milwaukee Teachers Fought Back." Accessed May 28, 2020. https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/after-act-10-how-milwaukee-teachers-fought-back.

communities of color against politicians, administrators, and, often, teachers. Social justice

movements like the campaign for bilingual education in New York City in the 1970s and the

Texas school walkouts from 1968-1970 had in common a desire to upend white English

language hegemony in public school classrooms. Like 1930s and '40s Mexican American parent

resistance in Oxnard, California, and the momentous New York City school boycott of 1964,

these movements seized upon the political disinvestment in segregated schools, using blatantly

unequal conditions as impetus for a larger statement against local white power structures. These

were educational justice movements that professional teacher organizations did not join (and

sometimes opposed). While plenty of teachers did give support to these movements through

activism and attempts at courageous advocacy from within professional organizations (like

unions), the fact remains that teachers' dominant outlets for equality – classroom teaching – did

not fit with these grassroots political movements' strategies. In fact, in some of these cases, it

was professional teaching norms that provoked local communities' appetites for political

change.[70]

Neoliberal Developments in the Relationship between Teacher Education and Economic Policy, 1980-2019

Neoliberal Policy and its Effect on Schools

The effects of neoliberal policy and culture on public schools in the United States and elsewhere

have been exhaustively documented and theorized in the past 20-30 years. Many scholars point

to U.S. ex-President Ronald Reagan's educational agenda as a point of inception for neoliberal

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[70] Navarro, Armando. Mexican American Youth Organization: Avant-Garde of the Chicano Movement in Texas. University of Texas Press, 1995; Song-Ha Lee, 2016; García, Yosso & Barajas, 2012; Foley, Douglas E. Learning Capitalist Culture: Deep in the Heart of Tejas. Contemporary Ethnography Series. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990

school administrative culture—an early 1980s "crisis" of performance and achievement that necessitated heightened forms of bureaucracy, surveillance and standardization in schooling.[71] This led to schools' inundation in formulaic systems of student and teacher measurement, the undermining and slow dismantlement of teacher unions, and the rapid expansion of charter schools.[72] As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, the rollout of neoliberal policy has given way to the idea that the purpose of education is to boost competitiveness in the global economy and to produce individual social mobility. Neoliberal educational ideology has become hegemonic in our public schools, and the result, in general, has been the further undermining of democracy in benchmark-obsessed classrooms.[73]

The neoliberalization of public education is part of a larger global process that spans the public sector and its array of institutions. Scholars of political economy trace the origins of neoliberalism to the utopian philosophy of liberalism put forward by the likes of John Locke and Thomas Hobbes, that emphasized individual freedoms in contrast to an investment in the collective.[74] Neoliberalism as an ideology is distinct from liberalism in that it requires the State's administration of policies and practices that further enable the economic market to account for

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[71] Aronowitz, Stanley, and Henry A. Giroux. Education Under Siege: The Conservative, Liberal and Radical Debate Over Schooling. Routledge, 2003; Giroux, Henry A., and McLaren Peter. Critical Pedagogy, the State, and Cultural Struggle. SUNY Press, 1989.

[72] on the effects of neoliberal policy on standardization and the limitations of expanded bureaucracy, see Apple, Michael W. Educating the "Right" Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality. Taylor & Francis, 2006; Stephen, Ball. Education Reform: A Critical and Post-Structural Approach. McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 1994; on deunionization, see Weiner & Compton, 2008; Weiner, 2012; for the growth of charter schools in the neoliberal era, see Aggarwal, Mayorga, & Nevel, 2012; Buras, Kristen L. Charter Schools, Race, and Urban Space: Where the Market Meets Grassroots Resistance. Routledge, 2015; Lipman, 2013

[73] Mirra, Nicole, Ernest D. Morrell, Ebony Cain, D'Artagnan Scorza, and Arlene Ford. "Educating for a critical democracy: Civic participation reimagined in the Council of Youth Research." Democracy and Education 21, no. 1 (2013): 3

[74] Robertson, Susan L. "'Remaking the World' Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Education and Teachers' Labor." In The Global Assault on Teaching, Teachers, and Their Unions Stories for Resistance, edited by Mary Compton and Lois Weiner, 11–27. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2008. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230611702_2

(and, historically, circumscribe) the rights of individuals; consistently, it entails a partnership between private corporate entities and public administration so that, increasingly, the former take on the burden of carrying out the latter.[75]

It is also distinct from Keynesian economic policy in that its advocates seek to decrease government spending on redistributive social welfare programs designed to facilitate Adam Smith's benevolent "invisible hand" of capitalism, for example those that expanded in the United States as part of the New Deal and Great Society programs.[76] In her 2017 book, "In Lady Liberty's Shadow," Robyn Rodriguez notes that as a logic of governance, neoliberalism inculcates public values of private individual achievement or deservedness and discourages an analysis of success or failure that scrutinizes the effects of institutions, laws and policies.[77] Take, for example, the ubiquitous trend of governments of major U.S. cities that propose to solve problems of poverty, crime and joblessness through the construction of middle- or even high-income housing by commercial real estate companies. Not only do such plans consistently fail to stanch inequality; they serve to construct deficit and criminality in neighborhoods' longtime residents (often people of color) while further eroding the power of public institutions that might defend these citizens' right to the city.[78] Neoliberal policy promotes an individual-level analysis

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[75] Hackworth, Jason. The Neoliberal City: Governance, Ideology, and Development in American Urbanism. Cornell University Press, 2007; Harvey, David, David W. Harvey, and F. David Harvey. The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry Into the Origins of Cultural Change. Blackwell, 1989; Harvey, David. "The Right to the City." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 27, no. 4 (2003): 939–41. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0309-1317.2003.00492.x; Plotkin, Sidney. Keep Out: The Struggle for Land Use Control. University of California Press, 1987; Robertson, 2008

[76] Anyon, Jean. Radical Possibilities: Public Policy, Urban Education, and A New Social Movement. Routledge, 2014; Rury, John L., and Jeffrey E. Mirel. "Chapter 2: The Political Economy of Urban Education." Review of Research in Education 22, no. 1 (January 1, 1997): 49–110. https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X022001049; see also, Polanyi, Karl. The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time. Beacon Press, 2001/1944

[77] Rodriguez, Robyn Magalit. In Lady Liberty's Shadow: The Politics of Race and Immigration in New Jersey. Rutgers University Press, 2017

[78] Krase, Jerome, and Judith N. DeSena. Race, Class, and Gentrification in Brooklyn: A View from the Street. Lexington Books, 2016; Lipman, Pauline. High Stakes Education: Inequality, Globalization, and Urban School

of social inequality and blames public programs for stubborn systemic woes. In the wake of such policies, educational researchers have for decades been inquiring into micro-level school processes to better understand how and why teachers have acculturated in this way.

Studies of Teacher Professionalism

In the 1970s, '80s and '90s, a number of studies of the teachers that drew from the Chicago school of sociology's theoretical framing within professions and the workplace scrutinized institutional barriers to a more ideologically ambitious or politically radical kind of teaching. Dan Lortie's 1975 book, "Schoolteacher," found that the conservatism that was fundamental to the teaching profession stemmed from the fact that the teachers Lortie interviewed tended to be islands without occasion for collaboration or time for their own guided, substantive professional development.[79] Furthermore Lortie found that this "individualism" was accompanied by a professional preoccupation with teaching technical skills in extraordinarily micro-level contexts (he called this "presentism"), and together these tendencies reinforced a culture of education that had no aspiration for playing a role in political change.

Subsequent studies confirmed Lortie's interpretation of the profession, and went even further to show how reforms to increase curricular standardization during the 1970s and 1980s across the U.S. only exacerbated the presentism and, ergo, conservatism that plagued the field, though ostensibly teachers were less individualistic (in Lortie's phrasing) now that they had to answer more to the outside authority of the standardizers.[80] It is unclear, however, whether the

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Reform. Psychology Press, 2004; Lipman, 2009; Stabrowski, Filip. "Inclusionary Zoning and Exclusionary Development: The Politics of 'Affordable Housing' in North Brooklyn." International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 39, no. 6 (2015): 1120–36. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12297

[79] Lortie, Dan C. Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study. University of Chicago Press, 2002/1975

[80] Cohn, Marilyn M., and Robert B. Kottkamp. Teachers: The Missing Voice in Education. SUNY Press, 1993; Kottkamp, Robert B., Eugene F. Provenzo, and Marilyn M. Cohn. "Stability and Change in a Profession: Two Decades of Teacher Attitudes, 1964-1984." The Phi Delta Kappan 67, no. 8 (1986): 559–67

barrage of reforms in standardization and objective measurement that have proliferated since then have actually had the effect of standardizing school culture. "As one visits communities one is gradually struck by how *similar* the structure and articulated purpose of American high schools are," Ted Sizer mused in the introduction to *Horace's Compromise,* a study of one teacher's daily professional dilemmas. "[T]he framework of grades, schedules, calendar, courses of study, even rituals, is astonishingly uniform and has been so for at least forty years."[81] Essentially, there has historically been a cultural uniformity to schooling in the U.S. that did not need the additional imposition of standardization to flourish. The lack of engagement with social inequality and political ideology in this body of literature (Sizer's work included) obscures the ample narratives pointing to U.S. schools' uniform role in supporting racial domination, patriarchy and exploitative capitalism over the years.

If standardization was not wholly to blame for cultural homogenization long at work in schools, it likely did significantly worsen the other ills that Lortie identified in the teaching profession in 1975. Researchers who have spent their time observing classrooms or interviewing teachers about their day-to-day dealings have extensively and consistently described how increased micromanagement has led to the deskilling of the profession and the further narrowing of curricular focus, most troublingly in the pursuit of passable student test scores which Hargreaves & Shirley argue can be "addictive" among teachers who set out to do their jobs well.[82] Michael Apple bemoaned a presentism in teaching that he saw as an "adaptive" response to the way educational corporatization intensified the demands of classroom teaching to the point

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[81] Sizer, Theodore R, National Association of Secondary School Principals (U.S.), National Association of Independent Schools, and Commission on Educational Issues. Horace's Compromise: The Dilemma of the American High School : With a New Preface. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2004. http://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=3304409 (5-6)

[82] Hargreaves, Andy, and Dennis Shirley. "The Persistence of Presentism." Teachers College Record 111, no. 11 (2009): 2505–34

that schooling could no longer even pretend to achieve the symbolic national goals it put forth for its own legitimacy.[83] While Apple's analysis of the culture of teaching mandates the consideration of how political economy constrains and stratifies schools (in 1989 he called this "the fiscal crisis of the state") he is equally attentive to how teacher autonomy is curbed by corporatization and rationalization (reforms often made alongside booming, righteous rhetoric about amplifying our educational investment) rather than simply austerity economics, which implies a more straightforward narrative of national disinvestment and neglect.

Most ironically, the forces that were probably most powerful in structuring the relationship between teachers and teacher education came with no pedagogical or professional expertise whatsoever. Over the past fifty years, researchers in the politics of U.S. public education have observed that the greatest lurches in school policy occurred after national politicians made proclamations warning of crises in national economy or security, for example with the launch of Sputnik in 1957 or the assertion in 1983 that the U.S. is "A Nation At Risk."[84] Much like the way George W. Bush famously deployed the specter of the decline of American empire to blame racial and class inequalities on public schooling, politicians and media commentators have tended to point their fingers at teachers and teacher education for a miscellany of problems.[85] These declarations have historically zapped the legitimacy of

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[83] Apple, Michael W., and Susan Jungck. "'You Don't Have to Be a Teacher to Teach This Unit:' Teaching, Technology, and Gender in the Classroom." American Educational Research Journal 27, no. 2 (June 1, 1990): 227–51. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312027002227; Apple, Michael W. Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education. Routledge, 2013

[84] The chorus of educational commentators echoing this point include Berliner, David C., and Gene V. Glass. 50 Myths and Lies That Threaten America's Public Schools: The Real Crisis in Education. Teachers College Press, 2014; Mehta, Jal. The Allure of Order: High Hopes, Dashed Expectations, and the Troubled Quest to Remake American Schooling. Oxford University Press, 2015; Mitchell, Douglas E., Robert L. Crowson, and Dorothy Shipps. "Shaping the Education Policy Dialogue." Peabody Journal of Education 86, no. 4 (September 1, 2011): 367–72. https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2011.597252; Christopher H. Tienken, and Donald C. Orlich. The School Reform Landscape: Fraud, Myth, and Lies. R&L Education, 2013.Vinovskis, Maris. From A Nation at Risk to No Child Left Behind: National Education Goals and the Creation of Federal Education Policy. Teachers College Press, 2015.

[85] No Child Left Behind Act. "No child left behind act of 2001." Publ. L (2002): 107-110.

traditional teacher education while overloading practitioners with bureaucratic obligations and regimes of punitive measurement.[86] In general, this has meant that atomized factions of the educational field compete for a scarcity of power and influence, and that often entails dizzying oscillations in "best practices" and certification attainment. University-based teacher educators and their teacher candidates are thus left to endure these switchbacks, red tape and jumping hoops as best they can while attempting to concretize some semblance of an educational philosophy.

While this study inquires into how aspiring teachers navigate a neoliberalizing field to form professional identity and position themselves within workplace culture, a body of sociological research has sought to tackle this question of professional identity formation among other kinds of workers. Just as Lortie found that the act of becoming "professional" had a conservatizing influence on workers, researchers who have studied employees in other "helping" fields found a range of similar phenomena.[87] One study of welfare-to-work managers in Florida found that the subjects of the study drew on rhetoric that constructed boundaries between themselves and their clients – the clients being less hard working and less responsible than them. The researchers found that benevolent paternalism and the creation of good wage workers was fundamental to the managers' definitions of what it meant to be good at their jobs.[88] Victor Rios' 2011 ethnography of criminalized young black and brown men in the Bay Area is a partial study of how professional workers in criminal probation and community youth programming must adjust their own conceptions of socially responsible youth work in order to accommodate state

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[86] Apple, 2013; Marsh, John. Class Dismissed: Why We Cannot Teach Or Learn Our Way Out of Inequality. NYU Press, 2011; Spring, Joel. Globalization of Education: An Introduction. Routledge, 2014

[87] Lortie, 2002/1975

[88] Taylor, Tiffany, Christi L. Gross, and Brianna Turgeon. "Becoming a Good Welfare Manager: Paternalistic Oppressive Othering and Neoliberal Boundary Maintenance." Sociological Focus 51, no. 4 (October 2, 2018): 335–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/00380237.2018.1452516.

surveillance mandates.[89] Gloria Watkins-Hayes' study of black and Latinx welfare case workers illustrates how workers' critical and intersectional understandings of racism informs their own interactions with clients (Watkins-Hayes calls this "racialized professionalism") but also comes with real limitations. The workers themselves experience racial inequalities at the office, and in turn, they must demonstrate loyalty to welfare institutions to maintain their own professional status, which partially involves downplaying or rationalizing the ways in which their program is discriminatory.[90] These studies and others like it identify the kind of culture that produces such workers as uniquely neoliberal; it is the common thread in many analyses of present-day professional socialization in much public sector work.

Neoliberal Urban Policy and Public Schooling

One especially significant way in which public schools have been affected by neoliberal political economic patterns, especially urban schools and also suburban schools, is through the transformation of cities into global hubs of capital.[91] As Jean Anyon argues, housing policy is also educational policy, and as major cities restructure themselves to accommodate population growth, the rise of wealth inequality and the influx of contingent, low-wage labor, individual neighborhoods (and their schools) undergo precipitous class transformations, residential displacement and uneven economic investment.[92] This process, colloquially known as "gentrification," has in recent years begun to have a major impact on schools. Maia Bloomfield

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[89] Rios, Victor M. Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys. NYU Press, 2011

[90] Watkins-Hayes, Celeste. The New Welfare Bureaucrats: Entanglements of Race, Class, and Policy Reform. University of Chicago Press, 2009

[91] Lipman, 2004; Sassen, Saskia. The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1991/2004

[92] Anyon, 2014; Cucchiara, Maia Bloomfield. Marketing Schools, Marketing Cities: Who Wins and Who Loses When Schools Become Urban Amenities. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013; Fullilove, Mindy Thompson. Root Shock. New Village Press, 2016. http://www.myilibrary.com?id=972172; Lipman, 2004; Smith, Neil. The Endgame of Globalization. Routledge, 2005; Solnit, Rebecca. Hollow City: The Siege of San Francisco and the Crisis of American Urbanism. Verso Books, 2018; Zukin, Sharon. The Cultures of Cities. Wiley, 1996

Cucchiara, for instance, shows how the corporate "revitalization" of inner-city neighborhoods led to the marketing of public schools to wealthy white families, displacing families of color and hypersegregating black and brown public schools. Hankins demonstrated how white gentrifiers of a neighborhood in Atlanta used their social and economic capital to develop racially exclusive charter schools for their children.[93] Anderson's study of a charter school in downtown Brooklyn flaunting child-centered pedagogy and progressive political values documented how racial apartheid still took place in the school's collocated building.[94] The liberal-leaning charter school families were relatively unmoved.

Indeed, the processes of "gentrification" and public school "neoliberalization" hold extensive, insidious racial consequences. As neoliberal policy unleashes the full potential of capitalist economies to advance class stratification, societies like that of the United States that are underwritten by (though constantly struggling to emerge out of) a racial order inflame and exacerbate racial inequalities as they retrench economically.[95] Just like in housing policy, the rise of mechanisms in public schooling that answer to the doctrine of neoliberalism, like high stakes testing, punitive assessment of school performance, and no-excuses discipline, have worked to disproportionately disadvantage, disenfranchise and miseducate students of color.[96]

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[93] Hankins, Katherine B. "The Final Frontier: Charter Schools as New Community Institutions of Gentrification." Urban Geography 28, no. 2 (March 1, 2007): 113–28. https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.28.2.113.

[94] Anderson, Noel S. "Hood Politics: Charter Schools, Race and Gentrification in Fort Greene, Brooklyn." The World in Brooklyn : Gentrification, Immigration and Ethnic Politics in a Global City, 2011. https://nyuscholars.nyu.edu/en/publications/hood-politics-charter-schools-race-and-gentrification-in-fort-gre

[95] Robinson, Cedric J. Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2000; Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta. From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation. Haymarket Books, 2016; Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta. How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective. Haymarket Books, 2017

[96] Carter, Prudence L., and Kevin G. Welner. Closing the Opportunity Gap: What America Must Do to Give Every Child an Even Chance. OUP USA, 2013; Picower & Mayorga, 2015

These institutional innovations have also distorted public understandings of educational inequality toward reductive, individualistic analyses.[97] The educational theorist David Labaree calls this development the repurposing of education as a "private good" – essentially, even as they are billed as solutions to social problems, schools are tasked with elevating the individual rather than working for the collective.[98] For example, urgency around ameliorating the "achievement gap," one supposedly deficient student at a time, has become a driver of school policy and arguably the foremost shaper of racially discriminatory personnel trends, much like the way in which the imperative to desegregate schools under the banner of civil rights yielded the mass firing of black teachers and the closure of black schools.[99] These historical continuities should put prospective teachers and teacher education programs on high alert for how the laudable aim of effecting social change can easily be co-opted or corrupted in an educational system ideologically positioned to obscure the collective struggle for justice.

Teacher Education and the Neoliberalization of Higher Education

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[97] Carter and Welner, 2013; Ladson-Billings, Gloria. "From the Achievement Gap to the Education Debt: Understanding Achievement in U.S. Schools." Educational Researcher 35, no. 7 (October 1, 2006): 3–12. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X035007003

[98] Labaree, David F. "Public Goods, Private Goods: The American Struggle Over Educational Goals." American Educational Research Journal 34, no. 1 (January 1, 1997): 39–81. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312034001039; Labaree, David F. "The Winning Ways of a Losing Strategy: Educationalizing Social Problems in the United States." Educational Theory 58, no. 4 (2008): 447–60. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-5446.2008.00299.x, 2012

[99] On neoliberal policy augmenting the racial construction of deficit in schools, see Buras, Kristen. "Race, Charter Schools, and Conscious Capitalism: On the Spatial Politics of Whiteness as Property (and the Unconscionable Assault on Black New Orleans)." Harvard Educational Review 81, no. 2 (June 2011): 296–331. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.81.2.6l42343qqw360j03; Buras, 2014; Kretchmar, Kerry, Beth Sondel, and Joseph J. Ferrare. "Mapping the Terrain: Teach For America, Charter School Reform, and Corporate Sponsorship." Journal of Education Policy 29, no. 6 (November 2, 2014): 742–59. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2014.880812; Russakoff, Dale. The Prize: Who's in Charge of America's Schools? Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2015; on the perverse history of desegregation, see Hudson, Mildred J., and Barbara J. Holmes. "Missing Teachers, Impaired Communities: The Unanticipated Consequences of Brown v. Board of Education on the African American Teaching Force at the Precollegiate Level." The Journal of Negro Education 63, no. 3 (1994): 388–93. https://doi.org/10.2307/2967189; Tillman, Linda C. "(Un)Intended Consequences?: The Impact of the Brown v. Board of Education Decision on the Employment Status of Black Educators." Education and Urban Society 36, no. 3 (May 1, 2004): 280–303. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124504264360; Walker, 2001, 2013

Changes in public school structure have happened concurrently with, though somewhat differently than how the institution of teacher education has transformed. Suffice it to say that scholars of teacher education in the U.S. and elsewhere are concerned about several effects of patterns of global political economy on their institutions in recent decades. To be clear, these patterns are not specific to the United States, and also did not just suddenly appear in the years leading up to the 21st century, but can be traced to past ideology and historic trends in policy. Firstly, educational scholars have decried how politicians imposed deregulatory economic policies which subject teacher education programs to the whims of free-market competition.[100] As a result of these political reforms, in the 21st century, for-profit, rapid-training institutions have attracted future public educators and threaten to render traditional academic programs even more detached and irrelevant from public schooling. Proprietary universities like the University of Phoenix, Capella and Walden – almost entirely internet-based, and featuring fast-tracked teacher certification programs – have become by far the most popular sites of formal teacher education in the United States.[101]

In her 2017 book "Lower Ed," Tressie McMillan Cottom illustrates powerfully that deregulatory economic trends combined with higher education's inexorable concretization into a private good has paved the rise of proprietary, for-profit universities as legitimate options for the attainment of technical and administrative job certifications and associates degrees. She calls our current moment of higher educational culture an era of "risky credentialing" for how the act of

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[100] Baines, Lawrence A. "Deconstructing Teacher Certification." Phi Delta Kappan 88, no. 4 (December 1, 2006): 326–28. https://doi.org/10.1177/003172170608800417; Courtney, Steven J. "Privatising Educational Leadership through Technology in the Trumpian Era." Journal of Educational Administration and History 50, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 23–31. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220620.2017.1395826; Lipman, 2013

[101] Angulo, A. J. Diploma Mills: How For-Profit Colleges Stiffed Students, Taxpayers, and the American Dream. JHU Press, 2016; Baines, Lawrence. The Teachers We Need vs. the Teachers We Have: The Realities and the Possibilities. R&L Education, 2010; L. A. Baines, 2006

getting a higher educational credential of any kind has become more economically hazardous and yields less payoff even as collegiate or technical credentials appear to be more necessary for social stability and job competitiveness.[102] In teacher education, this has resulted in the rise of "alternative licensure" programs that serve the public but are backed largely by private corporations and philanthropic organizations. Such programs appeal to young, urban-based aspirant teachers for the speed at which they place their candidates in the field without spending much time in the academic setting studying pedagogical theory or history.

This "boot camp" model of teacher education epitomizes neoliberal ideology in that it banks on the patronage of future teachers who want to help low-income, urban communities of color without challenging the construction of educational deficit that occasions the need for achievement gap-narrowing in the first place.[103] In short, it promotes a teacher saviorism that has historically been white.[104] Educational scholars who center political economy explain how it is top-down policy that is at the heart of a field that reproduces interloping, well-intentioned racism. That is, public school districts and policymakers who sign off on a free-market approach to teacher education force schools to become more reliant on private financial interests and inexperienced teachers, both of which generally come from communities geographically and culturally distant from the folks they claim to want to serve.[105]

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[102] Cottom, 2017, see chapter 1.

[103] Nygreen, Kysa, Barbara Madeloni, and Jennifer Cannon. ""Boot Camp" Teacher Certification and Neoliberal Education Reform." In Neoliberalizing Educational Reform, pp. 99-121. Brill Sense, 2015; Picower, Bree. "The Unexamined Whiteness of Teaching: How White Teachers Maintain and Enact Dominant Racial Ideologies." Race Ethnicity and Education 12, no. 2 (July 1, 2009): 197–215. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613320902995475

[104] on white savior teachers, see Aronson, Brittany. "The White Savior Industrial Complex: A Cultural Studies Analysis of a Teacher Educator, Savior Film, and Future Teachers." Journal of Critical Thought and Praxis 6, no. 3 (May 8, 2017). https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31274/jctp-180810-83; Brown, 2013; Picower, 2009; on black saviorism, Brockenbrough, Edward. Black Men Teaching in Urban Schools: Reassessing Black Masculinity. Routledge, 2018.

[105] Buras, 2011; Irizarry, Jason, and Morgaen L. Donaldson. "Teach for América: The Latinization of U.S. Schools and the Critical Shortage of Latina/o Teachers." American Educational Research Journal 49, no. 1 (February 1, 2012): 155–94. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831211434764; Straubhaar, Rolf, and Michael Gottfried. "Who Joins

On top of this, scholars of higher education along with a wide and diverse community of liberal intellectuals lament how the defunding of public education (and other public services) in the United States in recent years has starved public universities of resources.[106] Scholars of teacher education worry justifiably that such austerity will even further prevent academic teacher education programs from doing their part to alter the status quo in public school teaching. These researchers trace the divestment from public university teacher education programs to their political enablers' corporate backers, who feast on condemnations of university teacher education as "soft" in its emphasis on sociopolitical dynamics and social identity, rather than on so-called basic teaching methods.[107] Likewise, scholars attentive to the defunding of public universities in general (not necessarily those in teacher education) argue that austerity is an elite, white, conservative and male project meant to exacerbate social stratification by making high-quality education inaccessible to the public.[108] Some have found that the retrenchment of academics and student services at the neoliberal university has further inculcated a sense of rugged individualism among the student body and also the administration. Suoranta and Fitzsimmons, for example, in their study of student resistance on a college campus, determined that the administration had thrown its weight into competing for student-consumers, who chose to attend primarily to learn skills to thrive occupationally.[109]

Teach For America and Why? Insights Into the 'Typical' Recruit in an Urban School District." Education and Urban Society 48, no. 7 (September 1, 2016): 627–49. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124514541463.

[106] Ball, Stephen J. "Performativity, Commodification and Commitment: An I-Spy Guide to the Neoliberal University." British Journal of Educational Studies 60, no. 1 (March 1, 2012): 17–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2011.650940; Lyall, Katharine C., and Kathleen R. Sell. "The De Facto Privatization of American Public Higher Education." Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning, August 7, 2010. https://doi.org/10.3200/CHNG.38.1.6-13; Zeichner, Kenneth M. The Struggle for the Soul of Teacher Education. Routledge, 2017 Weiner & Compton, 2008

[107] Zeichner, Kenneth M. Teacher Education and the Struggle for Social Justice. Routledge, 2009

[108] e.g., Newfield, Christopher. "Public Universities at Risk: 7 Damaging Myths." Chronicle of Higher Education 55, no. 10 (October 31, 2008)

[109] Suoranta, Juha, and Robert FitzSimmons. "The Silenced Students: Student Resistance in a Corporatized University." Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies 17, no. 3 (June 1, 2017): 277–85.

Leaders at public universities argue that if they retain fewer state and federal appropriations, their institutions will inevitably become less accessible for students with financial need, and less racially and ethnically diverse. While this argument makes sense and sounds a necessary alarm against the stratifying and anti-intellectual outcomes of austerity, investigative journalists, faculty labor unions and organizational labor scholars point out that that public universities themselves have not in recent years made responsible, equitable financial decisions, either.[110] Rather than contest state austerity, higher educational administrations have used this trend as an excuse for why contingent faculty labor conditions (i.e., adjuncts) have deteriorated and academic departments have lost funding. The consensus among those critical of austerity at the university administrative level is that state funding is a moot point if public universities continue their troubling projects of bureaucratizing the academy, filling their classrooms with adjuncts while slowly eradicating tenure-track positions, and bulking up on athletics programs at the expense of academic funding.[111]

As follows, individual university programs like teacher education will train fewer educators of color and fewer teachers from poor neighborhoods. Moreover, their faculty will

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https://doi.org/10.1177/1532708617706119; see also, Dyson, Lynda. "The Knowledge Market." Text, August 6, 2015. https://doi.org/info:doi/10.3898/136266215815872962

[110] Hopkins, Nick, and Helena Bengtsson. "What Are the Paradise Papers and What Do They Tell Us?" The Guardian, November 5, 2017, sec. News. https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/nov/05/what-are-the-paradise-papers-and-what-do-they-tell-us; Milkman, Ruth, Kim Voss, and Professor of Sociology Kim Voss. Rebuilding Labor: Organizing and Organizers in the New Union Movement. Cornell University Press, 2004

[111] Desrochers, Donna M. Academic Spending versus Athletic Spending: Who Wins? Issue Brief. Delta Cost Project at American Institutes for Research, 2013. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED541214; Gilbert, Daniel A. "The Generation of Public Intellectuals: Corporate Universities, Graduate Employees and the Academic Labor Movement." Labor Studies Journal 38, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 32–46. https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449X13490407; Hawkins, 2013; Kihl, Lisa A., Vicki D. Schull, and Sally Shaw. Gender Politics in US College Athletic Departments: The Case of the University of Minnesota Merger. Springer, 2016; Ternes, Neal. "The Spirit of Aggieland: Neoliberalism, Militarization, and Football Culture at Texas A&M University." Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies 38, no. 3 (May 26, 2016): 276–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/10714413.2016.1178543; Upthegrove, Tanya R., Vincent J. Roscigno, and Camille Zubrinsky Charles. "Big Money Collegiate Sports: Racial Concentration, Contradictory Pressures, and Academic Performance." Social Science Quarterly 80, no. 4 (1999): 718–37

have less capacity to do long-range, substantive research in partnership with local communities, while their graduate students (both teacher educators and prospective teachers) will have less economic capital to aid their professional development. Critical educational scholars argue that the investment away from public universities and their teacher education programs has meant that such programs have begun to look and act more like rapid-certification programs, and only end up developing unprepared teachers who disserve and/or abandon the communities they begin to teach in.[112] Going further, Lois Weiner shows how the precedence of free-market economics could disincentivize teacher education program administrators from using a rigorous field immersion model, since online programs have become fair game.[113]

Proposed Interventions into Teacher Education in Contemporary TE Research

Educational scholars are, unsurprisingly, somewhat prolific in their critical research on teacher education. The ways in which university-based teacher education (TE) is problematized in the literature are multifaceted and complex, but several main themes emerge.

Disconnect Between Theory and Practice

Over a century ago John Dewey fixated upon the conundrum of translating theory into practice in teacher training, and it has nagged at teacher educators ever since. Dewey observed that, in most teacher education schools, "some of the most fundamentally significant features of the real school are reduced or eliminated." He analogized that "the situation approaches learning to swim without going too near the water."[114] Dewey's concerns have remained stubbornly

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[112] Labaree, David. "Teach for America and Teacher Ed: Heads They Win, Tails We Lose." Journal of Teacher Education 61, no. 1–2 (January 1, 2010): 48–55. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487109347317

[113] Weiner, Lois. "A Lethal Threat to U.S. Teacher Education." Journal of Teacher Education 58, no. 4 (September 1, 2007): 274–86. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487107305603

[114] Dewey, John. "The Relation Of Theory To Practice In Education," 2016. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203938690.ch6.1 (12)

relevant over time. While pundits today continue to echo calls for more teacher education in "classroom management" techniques that might elude academic TE programs, critical educational scholars also vouch for the promise of heightened investment in teacher education, especially in programs that succeed in contextualizing teacher training in authentic school environments.[115] Others, however, understand the disconnect between theory and practice as a problem of different ideologies or epistemologies, and have grown skeptical about the potential for their TE programs to truly train teachers for classroom work. Some scholars question whether training teachers for the realities of today's public school classrooms is even desirable. One notable account that evokes this sentiment is Juan Carrillo's story of a first-year Latina teacher who finds she cannot stomach any more time in a public school system that does not value her critical pedagogical and cultural knowledge. "Teaching can break your heart," Carrillo reflects, "and no amount of theory can seem to resolve the hollowness."[116]

Among those who agree that the disconnect between theory and practice is central to the dilemma of training good teachers, a number of approaches to ameliorating this problem have been taken, including building specific socioemotional and psychological qualities in teacher candidates and amplifying fluency in institutional policy and in navigating bureaucracy. The path diverges as some emphasize qualities as individualistic as "grit," while others call for increased savvy and structural knowledge.[117] In making TE more "realistic," other scholars have

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[115] e.g., Berliner, David C. "A Personal Response to Those Who Bash Teacher Education." Journal of Teacher Education 51, no. 5 (November 1, 2000): 358–71. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487100051005004

[116] Carrillo, Juan. "Teaching That Breaks Your Heart: Reflections on the Soul Wounds of a First-Year Latina Teacher." Harvard Educational Review 80, no. 1 (April 2010): 74–81. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.80.1.j2233x37531420j4 (79)

[117] For discussion of the need for "grit," see Duckworth, Angela Lee, Patrick D. Quinn, and Martin E. P. Seligman. "Positive Predictors of Teacher Effectiveness." The Journal of Positive Psychology 4, no. 6 (November 1, 2009): 540–47. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760903157232;Robertson-Kraft, Claire, and Angela Lee Duckworth. "True Grit: Trait-Level Perseverance and Passion for Long-Term Goals Predicts Effectiveness and Retention among Novice Teachers." Teachers College Record (1970) 116, no. 3 (2014). https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4211426/. Among other critical TE researchers, Hammerness &

recommended borrowing tools and program structure from alternative certification programs.[118]

Schneider, for example, suggests that the vertical-alignment aspect of Teach For America's

program is worth adopting (he also argues that TFA disguises the ways it has adapted academic

TE curricula in order to appear innovative and entrepreneurial to attract funders).[119] Mungal calls

the schism between alternative pathway programs and academic certification programs a missed

opportunity, ruing how the latter might have used the former's political popularity and economic

viability, while the hybrid setup also afforded candidates a unique education in the models'

different ideological underpinnings and political stakes.[120]

TE programs that seek to move away from the "ivory tower" and toward local schools or

communities are potentially reframing the dilemma of theory/practice into a question of place

and epistemology. Scholars who call for a "third space" for teacher education understand how

university-based programs have tended to privilege academic knowledge that has historically

been white and middle- or upper-class, in stark contrast to how schooled communities see and

live the world.[121] Resituating TE programs physically closer to local non-university communities

potentially "integrate[s] academic, practitioner, community, and student knowledge, and [does

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Matsko's work counters the craze for teaching that would produce "grittier" students by calling for more structural and political teacher education so that new teachers better understand their students' social contexts. Matsko, Kavita Kapadia, and Karen Hammerness. "Unpacking the 'Urban' in Urban Teacher Education: Making a Case for Context-Specific Preparation." Journal of Teacher Education 65, no. 2 (March 1, 2014): 128–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487113511645; Matsko, Kavita Kapadia, and Karen Hammerness. "Preparing Teachers for the Chicago Public Schools." Inspiring Teaching: Preparing Teachers to Succeed in Mission–Driven Schools, 2014, 17–32.

[118] Korthagen, Fred A. J., and Jos P. A. M. Kessels. "Linking Theory and Practice: Changing the Pedagogy of Teacher Education." Educational Researcher 28, no. 4 (May 1, 1999): 4–17. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X028004004

[119] Schneider, Jack. "Rhetoric and Practice in Pre-Service Teacher Education: The Case of Teach For America." Journal of Education Policy 29, no. 4 (July 4, 2014): 425–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2013.825329

[120] Mungal, Angus Shiva. "Hybridized Teacher Education Programs in NYC: A Missed Opportunity?" Education Policy Analysis Archives 23, no. 0 (September 10, 2015): 89. https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v23.2096

[121] Quartz, Olsen & Duncan-Andrade, 2003Quartz, Karen Hunter, Brad Olsen, and Jeff Duncan-Andrade. "The Fragility of Urban Teaching: A Longitudinal Study of Career Development and Activism.," October 1, 2003. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/74f7p1c0

not] privilege one over the others."[122] UCLA's "Center X," for example, engages the problem of teacher disorientation and attrition by teaching the art of teaching entirely in the field context so as not to delude young educators into thinking that the norms and culture "in [the] bubble" of the academy are anything like the norms of public K-12.[123]

This resituation, in theory, would seem an appropriate TE response to educational researcher Tara Yosso's admonition that educators understand and place more value on the strengths and cultural wealth in poor communities of color that have been labeled deficient by dominant systems.[124] The fact remains, however, that cultural and community knowledge is marginalized in many public schools due to structural forces like coarse teacher evaluation metrics, racist testing standards, and the conflation of school achievement with economic benchmarks. Agarwal et al. speak to this issue of limited teacher agency in their discussion of one young educator who "felt that what she was doing in her classroom was just 'not enough.'"[125] Carrillo laments that these professional realities entail a "continuous counterstream swim in a river of accountability rhetoric that mocks your every goal and violates you spiritually."[126] One might imagine that this might be the case not just for idealistic teachers but for students as well.

Greater Emphasis on Social Foundations in TE

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[122] Klein et al., 2013; see also, Murrell, 2006; Zeichner, Ken, Katherina A. Payne, and Kate Brayko. "Democratizing Teacher Education." Journal of Teacher Education 66, no. 2 (March 1, 2015): 122–35. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487114560908

[123] Quartz, Olsen & Duncan-Andrade, 2003; Rollert, Kate. "Perspicacity, Tension, and Purpose in Under-Resourced Urban Schools: Implications for Urban Teacher Preparation Models." National Teacher Education Journal . Fall2015, Vol. 8 Issue 3, p37-45

[124] Yosso *, Tara J. "Whose Culture Has Capital? A Critical Race Theory Discussion of Community Cultural Wealth." Race Ethnicity and Education 8, no. 1 (March 1, 2005): 69–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000341006

[125] Agarwal, Ruchi, Shira Epstein, Rachel Oppenheim, Celia Oyler, and Debbie Sonu. "From Ideal to Practice and Back Again: Beginning Teachers Teaching for Social Justice." Journal of Teacher Education 61, no. 3 (May 1, 2010): 237–47. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487109354521

[126] Carrillo, p. 76

Another faction of TE scholars takes a somewhat different stance; the problem, they seem to contend, is not that theory isn't connecting to practice, but that social theory and teacher reflexivity is sorely neglected in teacher preparation, thus not even giving it the chance to change the professional landscape.

The most prominent arm of this school of thought advocates more education in the study of critical whiteness, given that most teachers are white and, in just a few years, most publicly schooled students will be youth of color.[127] These researchers have innovated in their own TE programs by introducing the practice of autoethnography, the facilitation of honest and messy discussion about race among white teacher candidates, critical examination of constructs like "caring," "guilt," "diversity," "multiculturalism," and simply introducing more authors of color and teacher educators of color into these predominantly and historically white spaces.[128] Christine Sleeter and others believe that it is necessary for TE programs to feed into specifically low-income schools so that teachers can get a better sense of what inequality looks like, and begin to address it in their practice.[129] Many of these ideas are intended to address and challenge

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[127] "Stats and trends in the education of racial and ethnic groups 2018." NCES, 2018. https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2019/2019038.pdf

[128] Aronson, 2017; Gorski, Paul C. "Instructional, Institutional, and Sociopolitical Challenges of Teaching Multicultural Teacher Education Courses." The Teacher Educator 47, no. 3 (June 27, 2012): 216–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/08878730.2012.660246; Hughes, Sherick A. "Maggie and Me: A Black Professor and a White Urban School Teacher Connect Autoethnography to Critical Race Pedagogy." Educational Foundations 22 (2008): 73–95; Matias, Cheryl E. "'Why Do You Make Me Hate Myself?': Re-Teaching Whiteness, Abuse, and Love in Urban Teacher Education." Teaching Education 27, no. 2 (April 2, 2016): 194–211. https://doi.org/10.1080/10476210.2015.1068749; Matias, Cheryl E., and Michalinos Zembylas. "'When Saying You Care Is Not Really Caring': Emotions of Disgust, Whiteness Ideology, and Teacher Education." Critical Studies in Education 55, no. 3 (September 2, 2014): 319–37. https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2014.922489; Matias, Cheryl E. "On the 'Flip' Side: A Teacher Educator of Color Unveiling the Dangerous Minds of White Teacher Candidates." Teacher Education Quarterly 40, no. 2 (2013): 53–73; Pennington, Julie L., Cynthia H. Brock, and Elavie Ndura. "Unraveling the Threads of White Teachers' Conceptions of Caring: Repositioning White Privilege." Urban Education 47, no. 4 (July 1, 2012): 743–75. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085912441186; Picower, 2009

[129] Sleeter, 2008

"well-intentioned" young teachers' ideas of saviorism and constructions of black and brown deficit, and/or "colorblind" teachers' conceptions of racism.[130]

In one study, Paul Gorski found that it was teacher educators who felt unprepared to teach about matters of social justice and provide critical racial analysis in their courses, raising the question of how teacher education programs like this one that are supposedly focused on enacting justice could possibly do right by its student teachers, let alone their students.[131] Other TE researchers make similar points in calling for teacher educators to amplify how they encourage "structural" competency among their student teachers, or to sharpen and place more emphasis on student teachers coming away with a specific agenda and a definition of social justice.[132] Building on the idea that teacher educators work in ideologically incohesive spaces, Thomas et al. call for full TE program faculties to forge a common vision, even if their particular understandings of social justice are different.[133] All these assessments of teacher education focus on the lapses in political or theoretical positioning within these programs, and seem to suggest that the key to improvement is to put more work into unifying the program's systemic analysis and solidifying definitive understandings of what justice means for teachers.

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[130] see for example, Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006; Tatum, Beverly Daniels. Why Are All The Black Kids Sitting Together In The Cafeteria?: And Other Conversations About Race. Basic Books, 1999

[131] Gorski, Paul. "Rethinking the Role of 'Culture' in Educational Equity: From Cultural Competence to Equity Literacy." Multicultural Perspectives 18, no. 4 (October 1, 2016): 221–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/15210960.2016.1228344

[132] Sleeter, Christine, Carmen Montecinos, and Felipe Jiménez. "Preparing Teachers for Social Justice in the Context of Education Policies That Deepen Class Segregation in Schools: The Case of Chile." In Teacher Education for High Poverty Schools, edited by Jo Lampert and Bruce Burnett, 171–91. Education, Equity, Economy. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-22059-8_10;Reagan, Emilie Mitescu, Crystal Chen, and Laura Vernikoff. "'Teachers Are Works in Progress': A Mixed Methods Study of Teaching Residents' Beliefs and Articulations of Teaching for Social Justice." Teaching and Teacher Education 59 (October 1, 2016): 213–27. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2016.05.011

[133] Thomas, Mary, Christine Clayton, Shin-ying Huang, and Roberto Garcia. "Being in Tension: Faculty Explorations of the Meaning of Social Justice in Teacher Education." Excelsior: Leadership in Teaching and Learning 12, no. 1 (October 19, 2019). https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14305/jn.19440413.2019.12.1.01.

Along these lines, some researchers in teacher education argue that teacher educators need to be more explicit about the fact their student teachers are about to enter a highly politicized and precarious field. These scholars tend to promote a paradigm shift to making TE programs explicitly "social justice"-oriented, and spelling out how certain structures and trends in public schooling are antithetical to that project. Some suggest that teacher education is a necessary "space of resistance" within a rapidly corporatizing and privatizing field, and resolve that increasing coursework in the social foundations of education is long overdue.[134] Additionally, some researchers ask teacher educators to figure out how they will endow young teachers with lesson development and classroom structuring skills that lend to social action in schools. All in all, these researchers are not simply arguing that TE needs more "theory," or even more "politics," but that they programs must do more to help young educational workers see their institutions as politically or structurally controlled and, thus, why it is so important for teachers to be able to take a stance that will yield potentially some agency.

Teacher Education to Inculcate Democracy and Civic Participation in Schools

Not at all separate from those who call for more critical social analysis in TE are scholars who seek to introduce political activist pedagogies into their programs. For some, this entails a significant reconceptualization of what school is for, and what curricula are necessary for young people to study. Nicole Mirra & Ernest Morrell propose a critical democratic model of teacher education tasked to develop teachers as "civic agents" who advance tenets of collectivism,

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[134] Cochran-Smith, Marilyn. Walking the Road: Race, Diversity, and Social Justice in Teacher Education. Teachers College Press, 2004; Kumashiro, Kevin K. Against Common Sense: Teaching and Learning Toward Social Justice. Routledge, 2015; Leland, Christine H., and Khaula Murtadha. "Cultural Discourse on the Frontline: Preparing and Retaining Urban Teachers." Urban Education 46, no. 5 (September 1, 2011): 895–912. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085911398919

production of knowledge, engagement/civic participation in the classroom.[135] They see TE

spaces as ripe for the practice of youth participatory action research (YPAR), in which teachers

and students become producers of knowledge while the school they work at adopts a "pedagogy

of the city."[136] As Rubin, Abu El-Haj, Graham and Clay note, turning teacher candidacy into the

facilitation of youth civic inquiry can subvert dominant notions of who "engaged" students are

and what it means to "manage" a classroom.[137]

In one essay, Christine Sleeter links this reconceptualization of what school is for with

the dismantling of white hegemony in TE program. In strong agreement with proponents of

youth civic action and critical civic inquiry, Sleeter argues that TE must do more to enact the

dreams of social justice movements that educators often problematically separate themselves

from in their adherence to school-based definitions of success and community involvement.

Sleeter contends that TE programs can erode some of their nagging dominant whiteness and

middle-class-ness by humbling themselves to the histories and the political needs/demands of

local communities, and acting as part of active justice movements rather than just their own

insular training grounds. This must happen, she asserts, in addition to hiring more professors of

color and recruiting more student teachers from nondominant backgrounds. All together, this

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[135] Mirra, Nicole, and Ernest Morrell. "Teachers as Civic Agents: Toward a Critical Democratic Theory of Urban Teacher Development." Journal of Teacher Education 62, no. 4 (September 1, 2011): 408–20. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487111409417

[136] Freire, Ana Maria Araujo, and Donaldo Macedo. The Paulo Freire Reader. Cassell and Continuum, 370 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10017; Tel: 212-953-5858; Fax: 212-953-5944; Web site: www, 1998; see also, Mirra, Nicole, and John Rogers. "Institutional Participation and Social Transformation: Considering the Goals and Tensions of University-Initiated YPAR Projects with K-12 Youth." International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education 29, no. 10 (November 25, 2016): 1255–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2016.1192697

[137] Rubin, Beth C., Thea Renda Abu El-Haj, Eliot Graham, and Kevin Clay. "Confronting the Urban Civic Opportunity Gap: Integrating Youth Participatory Action Research Into Teacher Education." Journal of Teacher Education 67, no. 5 (November 1, 2016): 424–36. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487116667195

would be a way for TE programs to go much further in advocating for justice than to simply try to feed more low-income schools or communities of color with their newly trained educators.[138]

In general, TE scholars who emphasize the study of justice and critical notions of citizenship push to upend dominant notions of student achievement, namely, they are intent on disrupting the notion that education is a means of attaining individual social mobility, and instead, should serve as a vehicle for collective social transformation.[139] This alternative conception of public education might potentially tempt teachers to understand themselves more as community organizers than as fosterers of skills, attitudes, good grades or work ethic.[140] One could argue that critical educational researchers and activists who seek to prepare teachers within this paradigm have resituated themselves symbolically and politically. Rather than standing before or above students and their families in an educational project of social uplift, they have tried to move alongside these communities in order to support them in pursuit of social change.

Summary and Implications for This Study

The literature reviewed in this chapter has detailed how the training of teachers in the United States has historically served an array of political agendas. Generally speaking, at first teacher education was designed to accommodate unjust political arrangements, effectively reproducing the oppressive status quo by attempting to support schools that would smooth over social rifts

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[138] Sleeter, Christine. "Wrestling with Problematics of Whiteness in Teacher Education." International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education 29, no. 8 (September 13, 2016): 1065–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2016.1174904

[139] Marri, Anand R., Sara Michael-Luna, Maria Scott Cormier, and Patrick Keegan. "Urban Pre-Service K-6 Teachers' Conceptions of Citizenship and Civic Education: Weighing the Risks and Rewards." The Urban Review 46, no. 1 (March 1, 2014): 63–85. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-013-0248-3.

[140] Carla Shalaby spoke of this occupational reframing at a talk for her book, "Troublemakers" (2017) stating that she did not really understand how to be a good teacher until she learned how to be a community organizer. Shalaby, Carla. Troublemakers: Lessons in Freedom from Young Children at School. The New Press, 2017.

and naturalize hierarchies. At other times, teacher education practitioners rejected the dominant social functions of the schools they influenced, but in their work did not necessarily challenge structures that shaped what schools were built to do. More recently, teacher education programs have been set up to fulfill administrative demands and, to a lesser extent, to help teachers cling to some professional autonomy, but, again, refraining from challenging structures that fuel public disinvestment and elite private consolidation – not just in schooled communities but in their own higher educational institutions.

Through all of this, groups of educators informed by local justice and broader liberation movements have sought out spaces to actualize a different conception of schooling. Arguably, teacher educational organizations that back such movements must involve themselves in these communities' educational reconceptualizations against schools' dominant roles in society and, together, determine how best to lend their support. But at the very least, teacher educators must understand the political implications of their professional training programs, and choose a side – whose interests will their program serve? Moreover, they might develop a coherent strategy for executing this work, including if and how they will work with local public educators, neighboring communities and administrators and government officials who exert considerable influence and control over their institutions. It would be naive, of course, to declare that teacher education programs need to just sharpen their analysis and become more cohesive in strategy and agenda in order to defy the control that larger social structures and professional mandates have over them. The literature reviewed and discussed in this chapter, however, is still useful in clarifying that the way teachers and teacher educators situate themselves in the context of where and with whom the power lies has mattered a great deal to schooled communities in the past, and certainly still matters now.

CHAPTER TWO:

METHODOLOGY

Setting and Participants

Confluence State University and its Teacher Education Program

This study was conducted in a teacher education (TE) program that partnered with a number of

public educational institutions – most of them local public schools – but was run by a graduate-

level department at a large, public university in the eastern United States which I refer to as

Confluence State University (CSU).[1] The university and its local public schools are situated in a

geographic region was usually described as "urban" at CSU's program, though the region also

contained characteristics that could be thought of as suburban or even rural. As discussed in the

following chapter, this had significant bearing on the schools and on the teacher education

program itself, especially on the attitudes of program personnel, affiliates, and the teacher

candidates at CSU, as well as on the program's generally understood mission.

It should be noted at the onset that, while there has been much written on the complex

and dynamic meanings of terms like "urban" and "suburban" (and, in turn, plenty of vagueness

around these terms in conversations at CSU), in this inquiry I am more interested in how these

terms are constructed and denote power by/in teacher education, rather than what definitely is or

is not "urban" and "suburban" and "rural." Among urban sociologists and geographers, urbanity

has been described as a function of economic disinvestment, seen in deteriorating low- and

middle-income housing, job and food scarcity, underresourced public welfare services whose

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[1] All names in this study are pseudonyms.

absences are filled by disproportionate police presence.[2] Building on this definition, others have

theorized a new urbanism marked by uneven or even outsized capital investment, resulting in a

booming real estate market, the banishment of low-income families and an influx of commercial

enterprise.[3] Additionally, while some deem urbanity a byproduct of white flight, others

emphasize a matrix of ethnic culture that predominantly white, wealthy individuals and their

businesses expropriate for its social and economic capital.[4] These descriptions all contain

features of urban spatial development that are relevant in my analysis, but most importantly at

Confluence State prevailing notions of what "urban" meant did not necessarily accord with all or

any of these structural components, depending on how the term was used or imagined.

One peculiar feature of the local power dynamics that perhaps transcended any "urban"

spatial identity was the demographic disparity between the public university and the local public

school population. As of 2017, 40 percent of students at CSU were white; 23 percent identified

as Asian American; 12 percent were Latinx/Hispanic, and eight percent were black/African

American.[5] While these figures are somewhat comparable to the racial and class makeup of

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[2] e.g., Rios, 2011; Rios, Victor M., and James Diego Vigil. Human Targets: Schools, Police, and the Criminalization of Latino Youth. University of Chicago Press, 2017; Sampson, Robert J. Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect. University of Chicago Press, 2012; Wilson, William Julius. When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2011/1996; Wacquant, Loïc, Loïc J. D. Wacquant, and John Howe. Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality. Polity, 2008; Bourgois, Philippe, and Richard Perry University Professor of Anthropology & Family and Community Medicine Philippe Bourgois Professor. In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

[3] e.g., Smith, Neil. Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space. Blackwell, 1984; Hackworth, Jason. "State Devolution, Urban Regimes, and the Production of Geographic Scale: The Case of New Brunswick, New Jersey." Urban Geography 21, no. 5 (July 1, 2000): 450–58. https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.21.5.450; 2007; Stein, Samuel. Capital City: Gentrification and the Real Estate State. Verso Books, 2019; Schulman, Sarah. Gentrification of the Mind: Witness to a Lost Imagination. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.

[4] e.g., Zukin, 1996; Hackworth, Jason, and Josephine Rekers. "Ethnic Packaging and Gentrification: The Case of Four Neighborhoods in Toronto." Urban Affairs Review 41, no. 2 (November 1, 2005): 211–36. https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087405280859; Turley, Alan C. Urban Culture: Exploring Cities and Cultures. Routledge, 2015.

[5] Demographic data retrieved from datausa.io

many neighboring towns, including the focal cities of Sycamore, Obsidian and Tufted Downs, they stand in steep contrast to the demographics of the cities' public schools. In Sycamore, a city of about 50,000 people, 99 percent of the schooled population was black or Latinx. The schools in Obsidian and Tufted Downs were, respectively, 71 percent and 79 percent black/Latinx. All three school districts received Title I funding, though the median family income for the latter two cities was $73,000 and $69,000 per year, respectively (the median family income in Sycamore is $42,000).[6] These various disparities hold considerable weight for public schooling and teacher education in the area. The implications and effects are discussed at length in the following chapter.

The teacher education (TE) program at Confluence State University contained approximately two years of coursework, which student teachers for the most part completed during their senior year of college and then, upon being accepted to the TE program, in a final, fifth year, whereupon they would receive a master's of education and a certification to teach in state public schools. A minority of student teachers applied to and were accepted into the TE program at CSU as post-baccalaureate students, having already graduated from an undergraduate institution and, in some cases, having already worked in schools or in a different profession.

Before formally entering the program, student teachers took required introductory courses in the philosophy of education and the social context of public schooling, as well as introductory courses in pedagogy and curriculum related to their chosen school discipline or level (e.g., science, special education, elementary education). While taking these courses, they were placed at a local public school and began observing one or more host teachers there. The student teachers' experiences differed greatly based on the partner schools and host teachers they

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[6] Demographic data collected from the U.S. Census

were placed in/with. This was a theme that came up frequently in the study. Some student teachers reported being allowed to miss several hours of "required" observational time each week simply because their host teacher's or school's schedule did not match up with the window of time CSU had designated for practicum work. Meanwhile, other student teachers spent a quantity of time at their host school that exceeded the requirement. There were major differences in the kind of work student teachers took on at their school placements as well; while some student teachers mainly just observed the goings-on or perhaps worked one-on-one with students, others were encouraged to begin leading classes and teaching lessons immediately. After getting to know the ins and outs of the program, I came to understand that the nature and scope of responsibilities that student teachers took on in their field placements was truly based on the luck of the draw.

After being formally accepted to the program at CSU, student teachers spent a year taking more required courses, including more practice-oriented methodological classes within their discipline as well as required courses that dealt with topics like inclusive teaching, differentiating instruction and "classroom management." The fall semester of that year, the student teachers worked full-time in their placement schools teaching a number of sections of the same course or several different courses – again, depending on the placement. This was generally understood to be the most taxing semester, as student teachers took at least one methods class while working full-time and also began to work on amassing their "EdTPA" student teaching portfolio which would eventually be sent to the state credentialing division in hopes of earning their certification. (The program's relationship to the EdTPA requirement was nuanced and is discussed in chapter six.) In the spring, student teachers took at least three more courses at CSU, usually one of which entailed more observation, teaching, community advocacy and/or

extracurricular participation at their school placement. Finally, at the end of the spring semester, the student teachers would graduate and, hopefully, be on their way to finding a teaching job.

Participants and Sampling

I decided to focus my research on one individual cohort within the CSU TE program, rather than attempt to understand the experiences of people in several different cohorts, all of which were no doubt somewhat unique from one another. This was a methodological decision made in the interest of grounding my own participation within a community of people, for the sake of ethnographic consistency and trust. I knew that in order to "get into place" in a way that would allow student teachers to become accustomed to my presence, it would be better to become part of one cohort rather than several.[7]

This is to say that my decision to follow a social studies cohort was not about an interest in how people learn to teach social studies, per se, but just for the sake of following one individual cohort. I chose to conduct the research with a cohort of secondary social studies teachers somewhat randomly – I was most interested in finding out how teachers in general are being educated to become professionals in public schools, and any kind of teacher truly fit that rubric. I should admit that this was also partially a strategic decision since I knew that the topics and goals that social studies teachers normally consider integral to their work overlapped with some of the themes of my own inquiry – political ideology, social change, the nature of public institutions. It seemed to make sense that I study a discipline in which these themes routinely came up in the very classes the student teachers taught. Additionally, I believed it would be advantageous to work with teachers who, I imagined, were already somewhat versed in the language of an institution's social foundations and political functions, so that interviews and field

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[7] On ethnographers "getting into place," see Emerson, Robert M., Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw. Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes, Second Edition. University of Chicago Press, 2011 (17-18)

observations might be more conducive to direct findings. In reflecting on doing this research, I do not regret working with secondary social studies teachers but I believe that working with teachers in other disciplines or grade levels might have been just as fruitful, and certainly just as worthy of analysis. The assumption that social studies teachers are more politically oriented or fluent in "social foundations" knowledge seems specious and a product of some biased educational conditioning of my own. It would have been fascinating to conduct the same study with, say, special education teachers, math teachers or early childhood education teachers. These kinds of teachers are absolutely, to an equal degree, conduits of ideology and social structure in public schools; moreover, working with cohorts that are more racially diverse and also potentially have fewer men would have afforded this research new perspectives on institutional power.

If, demographically, the student body at CSU contrasted mightily with the public school populations they were teaching, the seven participants of this study stood out even more glaringly. This study initially drew the interest of eight secondary student teachers; seven of them identified as white, five as men, and seven who had grown up in suburban towns that the participants understood to be nothing like the "urban" suburbs they were now working in (more detailed introductions to the participants are given in chapter three).[8] At first I had some reservations about doing research with mostly white men from the suburbs since, historically, affluent white men have been centered and overrepresented in media and in policymaking, just as whiteness and middle-class-ness has always been centered and normalized in the practice of

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[8] It should be mentioned that I only visited the student-teaching classrooms of seven participants, in three public school districts altogether, since the eighth participant student taught at a fourth school district. I felt that I would not have the capacity to collect data there, too; furthermore, I figured it would not benefit the study to add yet another school site at the expense of my time in the first schools. Essentially, after I made this decision at the beginning of the data collection period, I had cut my sample down to seven focal participants.

teaching.[9] This was, of course, a reality that the participants themselves felt, for the most part, that they should be attuned to in their teaching. On the other hand, I knew that the fact of my largely white, majority male sample could be a natural pathway to discuss cultural and social power in the context of teaching. Following the lead of scholars who study racial and gender inequality in organizations like schools, I reasoned that working with folks who were mostly white, mostly men, mostly cis-gendered and mostly from middle- or upper-class backgrounds would afford me an opportunity to look closely and critically at constructions of whiteness, masculinity and middle-class-ness (and intersections of these constructions).[10] Too often do we attempt to understand how institutions transmit inequality by scrutinizing the recipients of those inequalities, while in the process neglecting to look at power.

To expand on this point a bit, the history of academics from dominant social groups doing research "on" people from nondominant groups is vast and concerning, especially in educational research.[11] Since I myself am a cisgender white man from a middle-to-upper-class background, working with study participants who share these integral parts of my social position seemed especially appropriate. This is not to say that white people or men or cis white men should not ever conduct research with/alongside/for people who have less social privilege due to identity and/or circumstance. What is most problematic, again, is how much social scientific research attempts to solve the problems of social inequality by studying the people who have been subjected to oppressive institutions in hopes of refining practices imposed upon them,

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[9] e.g., Baldwin, James. "A Talk to Teachers." The Price of the Ticket: Collected Nonfiction, 1948-1985. Macmillan, 1985; Tatum, 2003

[10] e.g., Lewis, Amanda E. "Everyday Race-Making: Navigating Racial Boundaries in Schools." American Behavioral Scientist 47, no. 3 (November 1, 2003): 283–305. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764203256188; see also, Matias, 2013; Connell, 2000

[11] Patel, Leigh. Decolonizing Educational Research: From Ownership to Answerability. Series in Critical Narrative. New York: Routledge, 2016.

rather than studying the people who implement the practices – or the practices themselves. In consideration of how my study is an investigation of practices that could potentially be used by sociologists, pedagogical theorists, educational psychologists and policymakers intent on improving the teaching profession, it seemed important that I would be able to critically interrogate social identities that curry institutional power – to "study the powerful, not the powerless," as ethnographer Hugh Mehan has put it.[12] Indeed, the demographics of my participant sample felt particularly conducive to socially responsible research within a professional field that has remained stubbornly white and middle-class (and within a discipline that remains majority-men and -male).

My goal for conducting this study with student teachers as the focal participants was to investigate the subjectivity of becoming a teacher. I wanted to see, feel and hear what student teachers were learning was the "right" way to teach; what different messaging or "best practices" they were told and shown at different institutions (i.e., how the university's teacher education differed from the partner schools' teacher education); what it felt like to be a student teacher in a certification program (again – I had already done it once myself, a decade ago). Getting into the heads of student teachers, so to speak, would potentially afford me a way of understanding the institution that is public education (and teacher education) deeply and critically. To me, student teachers seemed to be a positionality within this institution that had some power (over students) but who were also heavily controlled by authority figures (supervisors, cooperating teachers, professors, other school faculty members, and most of all, school administration). Studying student teachers could be a way of apprehending the dominant logic of teaching, as experienced

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[12] Mehan, Hugh. "Engaging the Sociological Imagination: My Journey into Design Research and Public Sociology." Anthropology & Education Quarterly 39, no. 1 (2008): 77–91. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1492.2008.00006.x (82)

by my participants, while also discerning how these teachers intuitively disagree with some of that logic. Since student teachers are novice workers who find themselves near the bottom of the social hierarchy, and in some cases have considerable frustrations with the institution that perhaps get pushed aside as they become professionals and move up the ladder, I envisioned this study as an opportunity to illuminate some of that worker dissonance and tracing where it potentially gets lost in the process of becoming a professional.

In the process of doing this research, even as I focused on the experiences of my participants, I supplemented this inquiry with many interactions with people in other teacher educational positions. This included conversations with school administrators, student teacher supervisors, TE course instructors, hall monitors, security guards, substitute teachers, administrative assistants, students, other teachers in the schools as well as student teachers who were not formal participants in the study. These non-focal interactions helped me better understand the things my participants were experiencing and being taught about teaching and schooling; without consulting these other educational actors I would not have been able to grasp institutional culture and ideology nearly as expansively or as critically.

I should note, though, that student and parent perspectives on schooling and teacher education are, for the most part, obscured or missing from this research and this account. I imagine that, like in other research that centers the experiences of young people and their families in schools, such an inquiry would have occasioned a much more critical account of teacher education and public schooling.[13] I was not trying to get to know students or to become a mainstay in their classes; I could not begin to appear to be a "non-sanctioning adult" in their eyes

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[13] e.g., Pascoe, C. J. Dude, You're a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007; Shedd, Carla. Unequal City: Race, Schools, and Perceptions of Injustice. Russell Sage Foundation, 2015; Foley, 1995; El-Haj, Thea Renda Abu. Unsettled Belonging: Educating Palestinian American Youth After 9/11. University of Chicago Press, 2015

since they hardly saw me and I did not often speak to them; thus I did not ever earn their trust

and cannot speak with any kind of authority – only conjecture and suspicion based on my own

time working as a public school teacher – about students' experiences in these institutions.[14] This

constitutes a considerable lacuna in any research on schooling, and while I have tried my best in

this study to approximate or nod to student or community perspectives whenever possible (and

whenever necessary), this account does not ever fully do that work.

Data Collection

The data collection for this study began in the late summer of 2018 and ended in the late

fall of 2019.[15] During that period of time, I interviewed focal participants, observed the classes

they student-taught, observed the classes they took at Confluence State University, conducted

focus groups with participants, asked participants to respond to a long-response questionnaire,

and talked with participants informally if I ran into them at CSU or at their student teaching

placement. I also conducted brief, often spur-of-the-moment interviews with secondary, non-

focal participants (listed in the previous section) on occasion.

Research Questions. The research questions that informed the collection of data were as

follows:[16]

1. Why do teacher candidates at a teacher education program decide to teach? How do

   teacher candidates' rationales for teaching change over the course of their preservice and

   student teacher training?

   a. How do student teachers see the role of school in our society? What do they

      believe school should do?

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[14] Feagin, Joe R., and Debra Van Ausdale. The First R: How Children Learn Race and Racism. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001

[15] See Table 2.1 for full schedule of data collection and data analysis activities

[16] See Table 2.2 for rough outline of how data collection activities lined up with research questions

b. How do teacher candidates' motivations, goals, and philosophies of schooling evolve over the course of their time in a teacher education program?

c. What does "social justice" mean to teacher candidates in a "social justice" teacher education program? Why did they choose such a program to become trained as a teacher, and how do they employ a "social justice" framework in their preservice and/or student teaching work?

2. How do neoliberal educational policies affect teacher candidates in a TE cohort, and how do they contest these policies in their practice?

a. How do teacher candidates experience professional norms within public school and university institutions? What is it like to navigate such an environment?

b. In their student teaching and their scholarship, how do teacher candidates accommodate, internalize and/or adapt to corporate culture and neoliberal/free-market ideology?

c. How do teacher candidates strategize in the short- and long-term, with respect to these dynamics? What does resistance look like collaboratively and individually?

Field observations. As I observed in the field I took a more distant, non-participatory stance in the activities for which I was present. Emerson et al. call this "getting into place" for a more "inscriptive" approach to taking field notes, as opposed to a more immersive ethnographic strategy in which the researcher participates fully in activities and values constant interaction with the individuals they are studying.[17] Like Emerson et al. describe, I sometimes abandoned this more watchful note-taking position and participated in activities, especially during university courses and secondary school classes when the instructor (often the student teacher) facilitated a

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[17] Emerson, 2011, (17-18)

lesson that required discussion and movement. Other times I chose to simply watch while

students and educators participated in such activities, in order to return to the more discreet

position in order to "produce a more detailed, closer-to-the-moment record of life."[18] Taking

some distance to note details of place, movement and expression were essential in capturing

vivid portraits of the focal participants, much in the way that educational researcher Carla

Shalaby writes about young people in her study of classroom behavioral control.[19]

As mentioned above, I observed in both the public school setting and the university

program setting – in participants' courses taught and taken. The data collected in the public

school setting were field notes and key quotes; they were collected in classrooms, in the halls, in

the faculty lounge, and in other places around the buildings like the reception desk and outside

the school. At the university as in the public schools, I took notes by hand on a notebook,

sometimes pausing on a bench after a chance exchange with a participant, or scribbling down a

quote or a description while kneeling in a corner of the hallway after a brief conversation with a

course instructor. I did not take any audio recordings during field observations due to my own

reluctance to record people without their permission (especially students); rather, I scribbled

down the things I heard rapidly as I took notes, and in some cases used those quotes in narratives

of the field setting.

In public schools, I observed a total of 21 classes in three school districts (four schools

altogether). I had aimed to observe each focal participant on three different days of the practicum

semester, but for four out of seven participants I was only able to see them teach on two days,

sometimes observing for more than one class. At Confluence State, I observed 23 teacher

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[18] *ibid.*, p. 18
[19] Shalaby, 2017

education class sessions altogether, spread over eight different courses. While my observations at CSU occurred between September of 2018 and December of 2019, the observations I conducted at district schools commenced in September 2018 and concluded in December of that same year.

Participant interviews. Going into interviews with my participants, I sought to establish a relationship with my participants that approached a "research partnership" in which the participant's integrity, the researcher's monitoring and judgment, and a sure direction to the questioning toward practical or theoretical insights were all paramount.[20] I can only hope that this is what happened; while my participants hopefully answered my questions as honestly as they could, I in turn tried to bring a focus and a structure to the interviews that made for productive conversations. I conducted eight preliminary interviews with the eight participants; these were approximately 30-45 minutes long, were conducted in person and were recorded on my phone. At the conclusion of the data collection phase, I conducted one closing interview with each of the seven remaining participants; these interviews were approximately 20-30 minutes long and were conducted over phone. Again, these conversations were recorded on my phone.

All the participant interviews I conducted were semi-structured; themes and questions were prepared beforehand, however I also allowed room for participants to expand on a question or for myself to ask a related question if it felt necessary and relevant. Additionally, while all participants were asked questions about the same themes and often asked the same questions verbatim, sometimes I phrased the questions in a different way based on whom I was interviewing; many times I would ask one participant a question that I did not ask other participants. The reason for this was usually to clarify something I had observed or heard

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[20] Weiss, Robert S. Learning From Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies. Simon and Schuster, 1995

beforehand that pertained to this specific participant, or maybe based on participants' unique

identities, backgrounds or teaching placements.[21]

      Over the course of the data collection, I also conducted many brief, informal interviews

with the aforementioned individuals at the different data collection sites. These happened more

often than not when one of these individuals struck up conversation with me, perhaps to get to

know me better, to feel out my allegiances and my opinions, or just to be friendly. Whenever

they might have shed light on the research, I included insights or quotes from these conversations

in my findings. As mentioned before, these conversations were never recorded; I wrote down

quotes exactly as I heard them.

      Focus Groups. It was useful in conducting this study to facilitate focus groups. I drew on

this data collection technique knowing that it might have disarming for participants to be in the

presence of familiar colleagues ("safety in numbers," writes qualitative methodologist Michael

Patton), as well as because I imagined that bringing several people together for an interview

might help elicit social truths that participants might have been less inclined to articulate on their

own.[22] Since the cohort model was so integral to the student teacher experience, focus groups

seemed like an especially good way to capture the experience of learning how to be a teacher,

specifically what it was like to take courses together, undergo the same administrative

requirements, teach in the same building or district, or come into contact with the same people on

a day-to-day basis.

      I conducted three focus groups total, and formed groups based dually on common

practicum sites as well as simple familiarity. So, I asked the two participants who were working

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[21] See Appendices A and B for the basic protocols for these semi-structured interviews.

[22] Patton, Michael Quinn. Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice. SAGE Publications, 2014

at Obsidian High School, who also were friends with one another, to form one focus group; I asked two close friends who both student-taught at Sycamore to make up a second group; and, finally, for the third group I asked the final three participants, who were close friends but taught at two different schools, to join up. These focus group conversations were semi-structured and spanned approximately 45-60 minutes.[23] Like the individual interviews, focus group questions drew on the same themes and, at times, were identical regardless of which group was convened, however sometimes I varied the questions' exact verbiage or asked follow-up questions or site-specific questions that were relevant to only one or two groups. The focus groups were recorded on my phone.

Questionnaire.[24] After each participant's student teaching semester had ended, I disseminated a creative-response questionnaire which six out of seven participants completed. The questionnaire contained questions that invoked similar or overlapping themes from our interviews – and in some cases asked some of the same questions but in different ways. The questions were also quite personal and invited the participants to reflect on their past schooling, their philosophies as teachers, students, workers and civic actors, and their identities. My goal in asking the participants to do this exercise was to compel them to answer reflective questions possibly in more depth than might be possible in a face-to-face interview, or with concrete examples from their lives or their teaching experiences. I asked the participants to take their time and made it clear that completion of the questionnaire was voluntary (as were all the research activities they participated in over the course of the study).

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[23] See Appendix C for semi-structured focus group protocol

[24] See Appendix D for questionnaire

Document collection. Finally, I sometimes asked the participants to share with me documents from their lesson planning (the plan itself, assessment methods, activities, justification, objectives met, and so on), documents from the actual class sessions (e.g., tests given, worksheets, primary source readings) as well as their EdTPA submissions. In a few cases, participants shared with me some of their university course work. These ancillary data were helpful to me in a variety of ways, none more obvious than that they gave me yet another lens through which to see who they were and what they wanted out of teaching.

Sometimes such documents helped me better understand exactly what the student teachers were intending when they taught a lesson – and helped clarify how the classes that I saw compared to the what the participants had envisioned when planning them. Some of these documents shed light on how the resources that were available to them did not always reflect their ideals for teaching. Incidentally, many lessons I observed participants teaching had not been planned by the participants themselves but, rather, had been given to them by their cooperating teachers.

Table 2.1: DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS SCHEDULE		
Month	**Data Collection Activity**	**Data Analysis and Data Presentation Activity**
September 2018	> Initial interviews with participants > Begin classroom observations in public schools > Begin classroom observations at Confluence State University	> Memoing, coding > Databasing
October 2018	> Initial interviews with participants > Conduct observations in public schools (continued) > Conduct observations at CSU (continued)	> Memoing, coding > Databasing

November 2018	> Conduct observations in public schools (continued) > Conduct observations at CSU (continued) --Continue brief interviews with ancillary participants at public schools	> Memoing, coding > Databasing > Preliminary writing up of data > Selective transcription of recordings
December 2018	> Conduct observations in public schools (continued) > Conduct observations at CSU (continued)	> Memoing, coding > Databasing > Preliminary writing up of data > Selective transcription of recordings
January 2019	> Continue internship seminar observations / CSU observations > Member checking	> Memoing, coding (sometimes secondary coding or revised codes) > Databasing > Selective transcription of recordings
February 2019	> Conduct observations at CSU (continued) > Prompt participants to write reflectively about student teaching experience (questionnaire) > Member checking	> Memoing, coding (sometimes secondary coding or revised codes) > Databasing > Selective transcription of recordings
March 2019	> Conduct observations at CSU (continued) > Member checking	> Memoing, coding (sometimes secondary coding or revised codes) > Databasing > Selective transcription of recordings
April 2019	> Conduct observations at CSU (continued) > Conduct focus groups 1 and 2 > Member checking	> Memoing, coding (sometimes secondary coding or revised codes) > Databasing > Selective transcription of recordings
May 2019	> Conduct observations at CSU (continued) > Conduct focus group 3 > Member checking	> Memoing, coding (sometimes secondary coding or revised codes) > Databasing > Selective transcription of recordings > Begin drafting of chapters

June-August 2019	> Member checking	> Coding > Drafting chapters, outlining > Full transcription of recordings (or finishing half-completed transcriptions)
September-December 2019	> Conduct final interviews with participants > Member checking	> Coding, memoing > Databasing > Drafting chapters, outlining > Full transcription of recordings (or finishing half-completed transcriptions)
January-March 2020	> Member checking	> Drafting chapters > Finish transcription of recordings > Complete full draft of dissertation > Initiate revisions process with committee

Table 2.2: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DATA COLLECTION METHODS			
Research question		Type of data collected	With specific attention to…
Why do teacher candidates at a teacher education program decide to teach? How do teacher candidates' rationales for teaching change over the course of their preservice and student teacher training?	How do student teachers see the role of school in our society? What do they believe school should do? How do teacher candidates' motivations, goals, and philosophies of schooling evolve over the course of their time in a teacher education program? What does "social justice" mean to teacher candidates in a "social justice" teacher education program? Why did they choose such a program to become trained as a teacher, and how do they employ a "social justice" framework in their preservice and/or student teaching work?	Preliminary interviews Closing interviews Lesson plans, EdTPA documents and other teaching artifacts Focus groups Observations of student teaching Observations of university courses Questionnaire responses	Responses to interview questions and focus groups Changes in responses to past questions in interviews and FGs Justifications and nods to social context in lesson planning Comments in university courses, especially on foundational or politics topics Responses to reflective questions in questionnaire Participants' background information and discussion around this information Events and professional decision making post-graduation
How do neoliberal educational policies affect teacher candidates in a TE cohort, and how do they	How do teacher candidates experience neoliberal policy and norms within public school and university institutions? What is it like to navigate such an environment?	Field observations Informal interviews post-observations / debriefing	Descriptions of experiences taking authority and deferring to authority in public school classrooms

| contest these policies in their practice? | In their student teaching and their scholarship, how do teacher candidates accommodate, internalize and/or adapt to corporate culture and neoliberal/free-market ideology?

How do teacher candidates strategize in the short- and long-term, with respect to these dynamics? What does resistance look like collaboratively and individually? | Preliminary and closing interviews

Focus groups

Questionnaire responses

Some coursework from university classes | Perceptions of school/classroom environments Actions in classrooms Participants' descriptions of those actions Participants' descriptions of expectations placed upon them Interactions with students Descriptions of key encounters via questionnaire Reflections on feelings / current feelings (especially in university course asides, in debrief interviews and in closing interview) Articulations of goals and strategies when presented with recollections of past student teaching encounters (in interviews) |

Positionality and Researcher Reflexivity

In conducting this research, various aspects of my social position and my own

professional and educational background raised issues of power and perspective. These matters

are worth enumerating and reflecting upon in the interest of attending to the social dynamics at play in this research as well as the way my past has influenced my analysis.

  Relationship to participants. First, my position as a professional academic researcher in higher education may have had an effect on how my participants perceived me, and how they acted around me. The focal participants in this study were all student teachers in a master's program, some just having finished their undergraduate degree at Confluence State University. They had spent four years studying under professors that might have looked a lot like me, and in their program at CSU their position as student teacher was inherently subordinate to their professors, their supervisors and other academics that worked for their institution. The participants could have easily gleaned that I had professional relationships with some of these individuals since I worked at a different higher educational institution that considered itself on "peer" level with CSU, and thus participants might have assumed that I could potentially influence the way they were judged or evaluated in their classes or their student teaching. Members of the academic research community like myself – even those who are getting by on a minimal salary while completing a doctoral degree – need to be aware that we always have some power over unpaid graduate students and undergrads, and that to some extent they might be performing for us just as I performed when I was a master's-in-education student for my professors, their TAs and other members of the educational elite that I knew would be good connections to have. In my research, I tried my best to mitigate the effects of this significant power dynamic by making it clear that I was not going to evaluate anyone in this study. I tried to convey in my conversations with participants that my judgments about their teaching were peripheral and that I was much more interested in how they felt about what they were doing –

this was the stuff most worthy of theorization. Still, it seems inevitable that my status and my presence rubbed off on their actions or opinions when I was around.

In fact, most if not all of my participants at some point asked for my feedback and, indeed, my judgment when I observed them. I imagine this happened because they knew I had taught in public schools and because I was a doctoral student in educational theory and policy and might have something constructive to say about their practice. Of course, I had a lot to say and did not hold back if they really wanted me to share my thoughts – this felt like a way of giving something back to student teachers who had offered their time and their vulnerability for the sake of my study. In these moments I found it impossible to be the impassive, watchful kind of ethnographer who simply sat back, studied and took quiet notes. It also felt irresponsible to take such a stance, especially since ethnographic research is often participatory and carries the assumption that I, the researcher, am part of the space and cannot ever truly separate myself from what is happening around me. So while I attempted at all times to take on what ethnographers Joe Feagin and Debra van Ausdale call a "nonauthoritarian" stance in the field, I also at times worked "with" my participants and tried to support them in becoming better teachers. I like to think that this was a way of trying to equalize the power dynamic between us – the act of leaving my high post as a researcher and offering my perspective was, perhaps, a gesture of respect. I was signaling that my research did not always take precedence over their work of trying to become good teachers, and, moreover, that our two projects did not necessarily overlap. I was also trying to respect my participants by being as honest as I could when we did talk about their teaching practice. I was critical of student teachers at times; I showed frustration with their methods and asked questions that had little to do with my research. This might have frustrated my participants more than it validated them, and by no means made our relationship equal, but

might have been more responsible than just telling participants what I felt they wanted to hear or avoiding discussion of problems I discerned in their work since they supposedly weren't germane to mine.

Social identity and power. There are other, obvious components of my social position that require more mention. The fact remains that, like many of my participants and like the wide majority of teachers in the United States, I have enjoyed the privileges that my array of dominant identity traits has afforded me. In public educational spaces in the U.S., as mentioned copiously already, most adults are white and from middle class backgrounds, though their identities do not reflect the majority of students in their schools. At the same time, most teachers are women – in public schools and in teacher education programs (though not in social studies), while most administrators are cis men. When talking with participants who were also white, or also cis men, or also from middle class or upper class backgrounds, I frequently felt that if I did not acknowledge the salience of identity and existence of racial, gendered and class power dynamics, they would have never been engaged. White people have a way of never talking about race; men have a way of avoiding discussions about gender or masculinity; straight folks tend to presume heteronormativity; I felt I would have been complicit in these political acts of elision, erasure and silencing if I had not insisted (probably annoyingly so) on broaching the topics with participants. I did this by routinely asking questions like, "What does it mean to you to be a man in this space?" or, "How do you navigate the power dynamics when you are the only white person in your classroom?" I said things like, "I noticed that the people talking during that discussion were almost always men," or "I found it interesting that there were no teachers of color on that panel," hoping the participants would respond to my assertions.

Still, talking about race, gender and power is never enough, and no matter how much reflection occurred, my/our dominant identities always had some impact upon the classrooms I observed -- often in ways I missed. I had to constantly remind myself that it is jarring and not okay to find oneself in a room full of white people – most of them cis men – talking about how to teach students of color but never mentioning race, gender or class. While conducting this study, remembering my positionality was tantamount to remembering to slap myself across the face, so to speak, every once in a while, in order not to slouch into a state of complacency with what was supposedly normal.

Researcher background and assumptions. Finally, it is worth talking briefly about how my past experiences have informed this research, and, inevitably, how I make sense of the phenomena I saw and participated in in the field. As previously mentioned, I myself went through a teacher certification program similar to that of Confluence State University, and then taught in public schools for five years before returning to higher education to pursue a doctoral degree. I taught in a public school district outside Denver, Colorado, attended by mostly Mexican American immigrant students, many of whom were undocumented; then I taught at a program for court-involved youth (i.e., young people who were entangled in the criminal justice system) in New York City that was administered by the city government and the city's public university system (CUNY). In my two and a half years teaching at that program, I encountered one white student. Without going into detail, much of what led me back to academia and to decide to study public school teachers was, in general, a disillusionment with the project of schoolteaching and the institution of public school, mostly because I discerned that students in those public schools completely distrusted the adults who worked there – especially those adults who framed the schools' mission and policies. School, based on what I'd seen, was so obviously

a way of containing immigrant students and students of color; abetting social enclosure and inhibiting collectivism; stanching political unrest and palliating social injustice; above all, perpetuating the status quo.[25]

At the PhD program at Rutgers University where I enrolled thereafter – and which sponsored this dissertation as I conducted research at Confluence State – I got the sense that academic researchers were pursuing robust critical research about public schools but, meanwhile, heavily deprioritizing any attention to the professional school workers whom the university was churning out semester after semester (chapter six focuses, in part, on how candidates perceived these critical researchers, and unpacks the structural impositions that may play a role in driving professorial atomization in university education departments). To me, it felt like there was an odd separation between critical educational research and critical teacher education – as though those being educated to become teachers under the researchers' noses were a lost cause since they were part of a fundamentally different project than that of researchers who critiqued school practices. On the other hand, other researchers in education who were less critical of the school system as a sociohistorical entity and more interested in developing good pedagogical, curricular and interpersonal practices appeared to bestow upon teacher candidates a presumption of good intention. These researchers left the attendees of teacher certification programs to their own devices while they (the researchers) continued to tweak microstructures, ostensibly so the

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[25] For accounts that make arguments to this effect, see, for example, Shange, Savannah. Progressive Dystopia: Abolition, Antiblackness, and Schooling in San Francisco. Duke University Press, 2019; Sojoyner, Damien M. First Strike: Educational Enclosures in Black Los Angeles. U of Minnesota Press, 2016; Vaught, Sabina E. Racism, Public Schooling, and the Entrenchment of White Supremacy: A Critical Race Ethnography. SUNY Press, 2011; Vaught, Sabina E. Compulsory: Education and the Dispossession of Youth in a Prison School. U of Minnesota Press, 2017; Rios, 2011; Ferguson, Ann Arnett. Bad Boys: Public Schools in the Making of Black Masculinity. University of Michigan Press, 2010; Kozol, Jonathan. Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools. Crown, 2012/1991; Kozol, Jonathan. The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America. 1. paperback ed. New York: Three Rivers Press, 2005; Valenzuela, Angela. Subtractive Schooling: U.S.-Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring. SUNY Series, the Social Context of Education. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999; Foley, 1995

teachers could one day have better research-based practices to implement. I decided I wanted to see what teacher candidates thought about several tacit assumptions I was making – namely that (1) teachers were not capable of staging their own resistance to oppressive social/professional conditions, and (2) school was an inherently good institution whose workers just needed better material and norms to work with.

These formative experiences and informative stance were clearly the source of a great deal of bias on my part. I brought strong views and very specific perceptions into my lines of inquiry, and created a research plan in hopes that they might be addressed. While it is probably not necessary to understand this about me before engaging with the findings of this study – every researcher has baggage that leads them to do their chosen work, I suppose – readers of this dissertation might find such background helpful in parsing my analyses, my interpretations and conclusions. For what it is worth, I did my best to render analysis based on the data I collected, not so much on the worldview I had already concretized before entering this research space. I did this by coding and mapping data diligently, laying out every piece of data by theme and sub-heading so as to draw out patterns of occurrences and dynamics before beginning to say what the discrete data meant (detailed in the section below). Still, the overarching analysis and conclusions of this study, which I have written in the final chapter, would not be the same without the pre-formed understandings I bring to this work based on much prior and concurrent experience in public education and teacher education.

Data Analysis

Data organization. All data collected in this study was uploaded onto my computer and stored in a systematized database. This included folders for observations of each participant in

their field placement (this included any documents used during lessons and debriefing conversations after class observations); folders for observations of each course at the university (including course work); folders for each of three focus group sessions; folders for each kind of interview (preliminary and closing); and a folder for questionnaire responses. All recordings were uploaded and transcribed by myself. I did not use any formal data analysis software, instead doing all analysis activities using markup and categorization features in Microsoft Word and Adobe Reader, as well as markup by hand that I later transferred electronically to my database.

Preliminary data analysis. To begin analyzing data, I pored over the interviews, observations, artifacts and documents I had collected thus far, made notes that pointed to themes I was finding in the data, and then reread the notes I had taken. These notes were helpful in informing what I continued to look for as I pushed forward with data collected. They were also instrumental in informing the preliminary writing that I began to do to start to make sense of what I was seeing, hearing and feeling as I collected data. It was also important for me to be able to talk through some of these preliminary themes and preliminary narrative making with several members of my committee, who encouraged me to follow the thematic leads I had already discerned and asked me pointed questions in response to what I speculated this first batch of data meant.

Coding and memoing. Heeding the advice of a number of qualitative research methodologists, I began memoing and coding data as soon as I collected it.[26] Memoing involved writing up summaries of what happened during a session of data collection, or what I gleaned, suspected, felt, believed, concluded, etc. upon a short period of reflection. Topics of memos

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[26] Coffey, Amanda Jane, Amanda Coffey, Paul Atkinson, and Paul A. Atkinson. Making Sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Research Strategies. SAGE Publications, 1996; Miles, Matthew B., and A. Michael Huberman. Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook. SAGE, 1994

included things like "social studies greatest hits," "bro culture in schools," "deficit logic and its euphemisms," "hierarchy of power in Frances Reed's classroom." The initial round of coding consisted of going through memos or through the raw data itself and writing down blurbs of ideas or themes beside the text. Sometimes I coded by simply writing codes on a new Word document or by hand, in a notebook, while I read through data on the computer (or while I listened to it). My initial codes included things like: "patriarchy," "silence," "gender essentialism," "rote memorization," "different stories," "asset-based," "white centricity," "helping kids," "powerlessness," among many other words and phrases.

Copious notes and patterns emerged from code-making sessions, which would eventually inform outlining, preliminary writing and even summarizing or idea-hashing that I did vocally into my phone's voice recorder. A second round of coding, or theme-making, commenced after this, in which I studied different transcripts alongside one another and made new notes full of thematic codes which were, essentially, long lists of words (both initial codes and new codes) on new pieces of paper or on Word documents. I took photos of these documents or opened them on the computer and, from there, began to make thematic outlines that could serve as a narrative for what I had seen, felt and heard in data collection. Secondary codes that became themes and patterns of the research included the following: "self-determination;" "resisting adultism;" "checked out, burned out;" "white saviorism;" "authority." Some of the themes that emerged were as follows: "goals and motivations of teaching;" "teacher education perceptions;" "race, power and urban teaching;" "obsessions and norms of social studies;" and "student teacher-cooperating teacher relationship." Even more themes and reworked compartments for patterned data emerged when I began to write paragraphs and narrative sections dedicated to enumerating and analyzing these themes.

While one of the main rationale behind memoing and especially coding (and recoding) is to cut down on data, I found that I kept coming back to my raw data – recordings (and their transcriptions), field notes and scribblings, questionnaire responses and the myriad documents that I collected from my participants. Sometimes I found myself making codes only to make new codes based on the same data a week later, often after gaining distance from data I had taken or after a new data collection activity had caused me to consider phenomena in a different light. Months after I had made lists of themes and begun writing paragraphs about them, I was still revisiting the raw data, not just to retrieve language verbatim but to continue to develop my analysis.

I also leaned heavily on having constant interactions with my participants, whom I could consult for confirmation or clarification on some piece of data that I had mulled long after it had happened. In these situations, participants were often caught off guard by my recollections and had to guess about what had happened or what they had been thinking when it had happened. These interactions made me realize just how transitory and selective people's perceptions and experiences are; especially when life is hectic (like, say, when working full-time in a public school and also having to take master's-level classes while putting together a professional application), we are easily apt to pass over some happening and perhaps push it aside forever if a researcher isn't sitting there noting every occurrence and revisiting it later on. Relatedly, my own perceptions of observations and interviews were fleeting as well. Countless times I would look over codes and memos and try to recall exactly what had happened, make a note of it or write a paragraph about it, and then return to the raw data only to find that I had remembered it with startling inaccuracy.

Data analysis. Due to the small size of focal participants in this study, analysis and interpretation was necessarily based on deep and complex understandings of these teacher candidates. This entailed employing narrative structure to accurately portray their stances and approaches based on themes and patterns in the data; without a narrative to explain what happened in the field (and what was happening to the people who attended and worked at those institutions), analyses might be fragmented and piecemeal. Suffice it to say that in conducting this study I was committed to creating an account of what I heard and observed in the interest of making some sense of so many different and disparate experiences.[27]

As I sat with the data, my notes and my lists of codes, I was able to quickly begin an analysis of what was there. Analysis sometimes happened participant by participant, but also site by site, and many times came from juxtaposing different data sources and contexts to situate the phenomena upon broader and more variegated landscapes. As I drew conclusions about chunks or categories of data, I juxtaposed those conclusions with separate findings derived from other data. I found that analysis could happen instantaneously based on my gut reaction, but then could change after considering other data or other analyses that I had previously made or would later make. I also found that it was fairly unending; there were infinite ways I could put data up against one another and manifold lenses through which to see them.[28]

Validity. The primary way I strove for validity in this research was through the triangulation of data via multiple different sources of data collection – participant interviews, focus groups, observation, written work, artifacts. Not only did I triangulate different types of data but I had the benefit of drawing upon non-focal participants and multiple institutions so as

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[27] see Shank, Gary D. Qualitative Research: A Personal Skills Approach. Pearson Merrill Prentice Hall, 2006

[28] Commentary on data analysis that was influential for my research can be found in Wolcott, Harry F. Transforming Qualitative Data: Description, Analysis, and Interpretation. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 1994.

to make inquiries into different positional and institutional perspectives. For example, I had the advantage of hearing what some experience meant to student teacher in an interview, then attending that student teacher's university course to see what their instructor was saying about the same issue, and then, after watching the student teacher in their school classroom, asking them to reflect on how they had approached that issue.

One other way I tried to ensure validity was to carry out the practice of member-checking throughout the study. This involved engaging in a constant conversation with my participants about what I had seen and whether or not it was accurate, whether over email, in informal in-person conversation, or during a follow-up formal interview. In this way I hope to have characterized my participants' narratives and ideas with accuracy, even if ultimately they disagree with my analysis or interpretations of those occurrences.

CHAPTER THREE:

BETWEEN THE STUDENT TEACHER AND THE SCHOOL

A Closer Look at the Setting and Participants of this Study

The following chapter offers an introduction to the complex setting and the seven focal

participants of the study. The first section serves as a chronicling of historically and politically

significant information about the places that were prominent in this study. I call the setting of the

study "complex" because there were in fact four main sites at which data was collected, one of

which, the campus and classrooms at Confluence State University, served as a home base for the

teacher education (TE) program, while the other three significant places in the study – the towns

of Sycamore, Tufted Downs and Obsidian – were only frequented by some of the participants

during a single semester of their time getting their certification. Although the towns of

Sycamore, Tufted Downs and Obsidian were strictly satellite sites of teacher education that

handfuls of student teachers worked in for some of the time (and which altogether I visited

twenty-one times to observe student teachers working in schools), these places were vividly alive

in student teachers' and professors' dominant narratives and personal anecdotes of schools.

Many times these districts were talked about interchangeably from one another as generalizations

about "the community" or "urban schools" were made. These places were often what schooling

looked like in the dominant imagination of the TE program, and must be understood on their

own terms rather than simply how people from CSU perceived them. All these places –

Sycamore, Obsidian, Tufted Downs and Confluence State – comprise the setting of teacher

education in this study.

The second part of this chapter presents brief sketches of the seven focal participants in the study, again without rich ethnographic data but nevertheless using key details about these individuals' upbringings, teaching philosophies and styles, and some experiences that lend an arc to their evolution from student teachers into professionals. Other, more situational examples of the participants' personal histories, their perceptions of their surroundings, their strategies and their teaching experiences factor into the later chapters of this account. On the whole, these sketches are meant to draw contrast and illustrate connections between the candidates, but also begin to engage issues of social power disparities and professional socialization that loomed large in this study of teacher education.

Setting

Confluence State University

The campus at Confluence State University sprawls along a riverbank, not unlike many of the university's peer institutions in the Eastern United States that also boast scenic views and ornate architecture. The plush lawns at CSU ascend to opulent administrative buildings while on the patchwork of academic quads the students' foot traffic has over the years worn dirt paths through the overwatered grass. There are several different sub-campuses at CSU, and travel from one campus to the next requires an automobile or the time to wait for the bus (making these long trips by bicycle is certainly possible, but I saw an extreme minority of people ever do this at CSU, even in good weather). The halls in which classes are held feature labyrinthine passageways lined with fliers advertising student political groups and university-sponsored study break events. Many tens of thousands of students attend CSU – it is one of the largest schools in the country – but although crowds build in the narrow spaces outside classrooms right before one

class lets out and another begins, Confluence State still bears resemblance to its pastoral roots. It

is situated in Sycamore, a town laden with woods, bordered by farmland and verdant hills.

A public, state university, CSU's student body is racially diverse – as seen below in

Table 3.1, much more diverse than its faculty. Still, its demographics are not exactly

representative of the state population, especially for Black and Latinx students, the percentage of

whom are enrolled at CSU is only about half that of the state population (i.e., more than 35% of

the state population identifies as either Black or Latinx). Moreover, the demographics of the

student body are drastically different from that of Sycamore, where 65 percent of the population

is either Black or Latinx. A glance at some socioeconomic demographic information about the

CSU student body illustrates this point convincingly: at CSU, the median family income is over

$100,000/year, while 47% of the student body comes from families in the top fifth of income

earners in the United States. Only about 7% come from the bottom 20%.[1]

Table 3.1: RACIAL DEMOGRAPHICS OF STUDENTS AND FACULTY AT CONFLUENCE STATE UNIVERSITY					
	White	**Asian American**	**Black/African American**	**Latinx**	**Temporary/ Foreign**
Undergraduate students[2]	39.8%	23.3%	7.8%	12.2%	12.0%
Graduate students[3]	44.9%	10.3%	7.9%	7.4%	25.0%
Part-time faculty (adjuncts)[4]	73.6%	13.6%	6.9%	3.7%	- ("Other": 2.2%)

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[1] Demographic data collected from the US Census.

[2] Data collected from datausa.io; 2% of students did not report their race

[3] Data collected from university's website.

[4] Faculty data was collected for a study conducted by a faculty member at Confluence State; reference withheld for purposes of confidentiality. Please note that a significant number of adjuncts, instructors and full-time faculty chose not to identify themselves racially for this survey (57.0%, 21.2%, and 5.7%, respectively) and were marked "missing" in the data set. To account for this, I subtracted the amount of adjunct responses that indicated a clear racial identity from the total number of clear (i.e., non-"missing") adjunct responses, and then calculated percentages using this new total. For example, if there were 500 self-identified white adjuncts out of 1500 total responses, 700 of which were unambiguous, I divided 500 by 700 to get the percentage of white adjuncts out of all those who specified a racial identity.

Non-tenure-track instructors	56.8%	21.2%	2.7%	3.6%	- ("Other": 15.8%)
Tenured or tenure-track faculty	67.6%	14.7%	3.3%	3.9%	- ("Other": 10.5%)

Table 3.2: SELECTED RACIAL/SOCIOECONOMIC DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISON BETWEEN CONFLUENCE STATE AND SYCAMORE CITY/SCHOOLS			
	% Black/Latinx	**% White (non-Hispanic)**	**Median family income**
Confluence State University student body	20.0%	39.8%	$105,000/year
City of Sycamore	64.7%	24.7%	$42,000/year
Sycamore Public Schools	98.7%	0.6%	No data available (Title I status)

CSU and Sycamore: A political economy of inequality

Like many of its peer universities across the United States, Confluence State has become more exclusive and corporatized in recent years. As discussed in chapter one, liberal economists and scholars of higher education have rightly lamented how state funding for public higher educational institutions has decreased in a new era of fiscal austerity.[5] Moreover, as state financial support has declined, financial aid awards have become more generous, which means that the U.S. has shifted to a system in which individual families take on greater responsibility for paying college tuition, while public subsidization of higher education has receded into faint memory.[6]

Following this trend, at Confluence State, based on yearly financial audits between 2001 and 2017, appropriation of operating costs from the state stagnated and then declined slightly in the 2000s and 2010s. This translated to a significant decline in funding from the state in real

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[5] Ball, 1999; Lyall & Sell, 2006; Zeichner, 2014

[6] McMillan Cottom, 2017

dollars. Central administration at CSU responded to this drop in state appropriations by proceeding to make decisions that reflect national trends of neoliberal higher ed corporatization and educational disinvestment, citing how state austerity had left them with no other choice. Between 1999 and 2019, tuition at CSU tripled, while funding for athletics infrastructure and administrative positions exploded disproportionately compared to academic investment.[7] All of this made CSU less accessible to the general public and potentially more productive of student loan debt.

As might already be deduced from the above statistics, the relationship between the residents of the city of Sycamore and the local university was unique and complex. From the perspective of global capital and national and local media, the city of Sycamore existed in the shadow of Confluence State, as though Sycamore were the incidental, forgettable host of a world-class educational institution rather than a place with its own history, political economy and character. While CSU and its campus limits saw ongoing development, including high-rise condominium towers, new academic buildings, a swiftly expanding medical center and booming, state-of-the-art athletic fields, the city was and remains replete with landlord abuse, worker exploitation and wage theft, food desertion, poverty and homelessness. The unequal and parasitic relationship between CSU and its home city resembles that of other college towns across the United States, where mayors welcome university expansion for the state and federal funding it attracts while local residents get little if any say about how jobs are developed, where revenue is invested, or which physical areas get bulldozed.[8]

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[7] This is based on a quantitative statistical analysis of publicly available university financial data I conducted before beginning the ethnographic research for this study.

[8] Historian Jennifer Klein points out that specifically medical school and university hospital development are often most responsible for rising inequality, corporate development and unemployment in host cities. Urban historian Guian McKee's case study of the Tufts-New England Medical Center in the city of Boston illustrates how public policies of racial and class dispossession are used to literally pave the way for private university profits. McKee,

These dynamics did not arise overnight, nor were they created by any one event or decision. Rather, Sycamore's structural problems in coincidence with CSU's growth were the result of a general trend of classed and racialized public disinvestment combined with the privileging of a select group of corporate and university-affiliated, pseudo-public interests. In the latter decades of the 20th century, deindustrialization, suburbanization and state-designed race-class segregation had resulted in infrastructural deterioration and deepening poverty within Sycamore's wider city limits. Sycamore lost an estimated five thousand jobs as factories closed down and businesses moved to malls in the suburbs. While many white families were able to buy houses in quieter suburbs, Black and Puerto Rican residents did not enjoy the fruits of suburbanization and stayed not only in the city of Sycamore but in its public schools.[9] And although racial segregation of schools had long been illegal in the state, local white families were able to manipulate the law in a watershed episode in the late 1960s, spurring a mass exodus of white students from Sycamore to a neighboring school district.[10]

Guian A. "The Hospital City in an Ethnic Enclave: Tufts-New England Medical Center, Boston's Chinatown, and the Urban Political Economy of Health Care." Journal of Urban History 42, no. 2 (March 1, 2016): 259–83. https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144215623950; see also, Klein, Jennifer. "Introduction: The Class Politics of Privatization: Global Perspectives on the Privatization of Public Workers, Land, and Services." International Labor and Working-Class History 71, no. 1 (ed 2007): 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0147547907000300; Dissent Magazine. "New Haven Rising." Accessed May 29, 2020. https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/new-haven-rising.

[9] On white racial assimilation see Ignatiev, Noel. How the Irish Became White. Routledge, 2009/1995; Brodkin, Karen. How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America. Rutgers University Press, 1998; Roediger, David R., and Kendrick C. Babcock Professor of History David R. Roediger. The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class. Verso, 1999; For histories of U.S. suburbanization driven by discriminatory real estate and bank lending policies, see Jackson, Kenneth T. Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States. Oxford University Press, USA, 1987;Hirsch, Arnold R. Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960. CUP Archive, 1983; Massey, Douglas S., and Nancy A. Denton. American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass. Harvard University Press, 1993; For the history of predatory real estate practices after the passage of the Fair Housing Act supposedly outlawed racial discrimination in real estate and home financing, see Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta. Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership. UNC Press Books, 2019

[10] References have been withheld to preserve the anonymity of those who participated in this study.

To address the litany of problems wrought by suburbanization in Sycamore's surrounds, a triumvirate of powerful economic interests that included a famous multinational corporation, the mayor's office and Confluence State University combined forces in the 1970s to fund an elaborate development project downtown, adjacent to the campus. The initiative would oversee the destruction of low-income housing in areas closest to downtown followed by targeted commercial and residential development in the area. New middle-income housing, upscale restaurants, parks and cultural institutions were built downtown, while the rest of Sycamore benefitted from no such infusion of capital. The effects of this lopsided development was that Sycamore residents (including college students) watched their cost of living rise even as infrastructural, educational (i.e., public school) and workplace investment in their neighborhoods remained static. Much like in other cities where similar neoliberal urban planning unfolded, poor residents in Sycamore were displaced, racial segregation and isolation continued, and wealth inequality worsened.[11]

The unequal investment between Sycamore's ivory tower economy and the greater public community might be epitomized by an especially tense and relevant episode in local politics. During the time this study was conducted, Confluence State University and Sycamore Public Schools (SPS) agreed upon a deal in which the university would purchase a local public elementary school that had stood in the way of the university's medical center's expansion. The school was brand new – SPS' most recently constructed school building – and was proposed by CSU to be shut down and converted into a part of the university's hospital. The children who attended the school would be moved to a warehouse building until a new school was built. Met

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[11] For good introductions on the effects of neoliberal real estate development on city residents, see Fullilove, 2016; Hackworth, 2007; Smith, 2005; Solnit & Swartzenberg, 2002. For authoritative works on how housing policy and the politics of public space in general are hugely influential on schooling and opportunity, see Anyon, 2014; Lipman, 2004, 2013; Buras, 2014; Cucchiara, 2013.

by fierce resistance from the Sycamore public school community as well as Confluence State student activist groups, both the university's and the school district's administrations advertised the deal as a win-win for the city of Sycamore and for the college. The teacher education program at CSU was left in the middle of it all as it aspired to support local communities like that of Sycamore in working toward educational justice, but undeniably remained an arm of the university in all of its business endeavors and thus could not conceivably oppose an administration that it answered to.

Obsidian and Tufted Downs

The city of Sycamore and the towns of Obsidian and Tufted Downs are all important to this study, as a large amount of participant observations were conducted in some of the schools in these locales. Among these three municipalities, Sycamore stands out as a place that perhaps approaches "city" status in the traditional sense of the word, as it is home to some 50,000 people and contains features that could be considered "urban" for its densely populated residential areas where mostly people of color live, pockets of concentrated poverty and deteriorating infrastructure. While Sycamore's downtown arts and restaurant district and the adjacent university campus might appear to be its greatest points of pride according to statewide and national advertisements, these are not always the city's most bustling areas. Further into the city one can find crowded rows of local businesses, including taquerias, laundromats, pharmacies, delicatessens, bodegas and cafés. These kinds of establishments line a number of busy intersections that clog with standstill traffic during the late afternoon rush hour, as parents drive their kids home from school, administrators try to escape onto the highway, and custodial workers commute to CSU to begin their shifts.

But Sycamore also has many suburban and even some rural characteristics that compare to the towns of Obsidian and Tufted Downs, most especially its winding, tree-lined residential roads, its many parks and athletics fields, its dominant car culture and its islands of strip malls. Considering this kind of geographic versatility, it might not always be accurate to call Sycamore an "urban" place; on that note, from this outsider's perspective (and based on the demographic data given below) it is disconcerting to hear towns like Obsidian and Tufted Downs described this way. (The implications of the "urban" label as ascribed to these places are detailed in the following chapter.)

Obsidian, where two of this study's participants worked during their student teaching semester, is a town with a population of about 28,000 residents, situated about an hour from Sycamore. Its high school and middle school are both situated on the same hill beside a four-lane byway, across from the district administrative building, next to a county hospital and a town municipal building. The town itself is dominated by roads woven through forests and hills, and its businesses are mostly clustered together in strip malls near Obsidian's geographic boundaries. The two participants who student-taught at Obsidian lived elsewhere, in smaller towns some 20-30 minutes away. And then there is Tufted Downs, home to about 10,000 people and surrounded by forest and river valley in all directions. This town is situated about a twenty-minute drive from Sycamore. Most of Tufted Downs' commerce is centralized on two or three blocks of one street; the elementary, middle and high schools are located one block over from this hub on a quiet residential street, between medium sized houses and their well-kept lawns. One study participant did her student teaching at Tufted Downs High School, and lived about a half hour's drive away.

The main thing that Sycamore, Obsidian and Tufted Downs had in common – along with other districts that partnered with CSU – was their demographic patterns. All three municipalities had once featured a white demographic majority that, at different points in the last several decades had either become a local minority outright, or whose numbers were no longer reflected in the schools since many white families did not send their children there (for towns' racial demographic information, see Table 3.3, below). In fact, the towns' recent demographic changes were mild compared to the extreme racial and class disproportionalities that now defined their public schools. In Sycamore, though a full one-quarter of residents were white ("non-Hispanic," according to the U.S. Census), white students accounted for less than one percent of the public school population – 99 percent were Black or Latinx. In Obsidian, a town in which 43% of residents were Black or Latinx, 71% of students at the high school identified as one of these racial groups. In Tufted Downs, while 54 percent of city residents identified as Latinx/Hispanic and 38 percent were white, the high school was 65 percept Latinx and only 18 percent white (see Table 3.4, below).

Furthermore, the schools' socioeconomic profiles were radically different than their cities' socioeconomic Census data, with rates of students on free or reduced lunch at around 50 percent even though in some cities, like Tufted Downs and Obsidian, poverty rates hovered around five percent and median family income was roughly $70,000/year (see Table 3.5, below). In general, the schools in these districts were a great deal poorer and browner than the broader demographic makeup of their towns, than they had been in the past. As the following chapters will make clear, just as significantly and even more drastically did the schools' student populations diverge from that of the staff.

Table 3.3: CHANGE IN RACIAL DEMOGRAPHICS IN THREE CITIES SURROUNDING CONFLUENCE STATE UNIVERSITY, 2000-2018[12]								
	Hispanic/Latinx		Black / Afr-Am		Asian American		White (non-Hispanic)	
	2000	2018	2000	2018	2000	2018	2000	2018
Sycamore	39%	50.1%	23%	14.6%	5.3%	10%	32.9%	24.7%
Obsidian	5.6%	8.8%	39.9%	34.4%	1.2%	2.8%	53.7%	49.9%
Tufted Downs	34.9%	54.4%	2.5%	4.7%	2.9%	2.5%	58.7%	37.8%

Table 3.4: COMPARISON BETWEEN CITY AND PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL RACIAL DEMOGRAPHICS								
	Hispanic/Latinx		Black / Afr-Am		Asian American		White (non-Hispanic)	
	City	High school	City	High school	City	High school	City	High school
Sycamore	50.1%	87.2%	14.6%	11.5%	10%	0.5%	24.7%	0.6%
Obsidian	8.8%	21.6%	34.4%	49.6%	2.8%	1.6%	49.9%	22.8%
Tufted Downs	54.4%	65.4%	4.7%	14%	3.5%	1.5%	37.8%	17.6%

Table. 3.5: CITIES' CHANGE IN SELECTED SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS, 2000-2018 / COMPARISON BETWEEN CITY AND SCHOOL SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS						
	% below poverty level		Median family income (in 2018 dollars)		% students on free/reduced lunch	Schools receive federal Title I funding?
	2000	2018	2000	2018	2018	2018

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[12] data collected at National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) and the "Community Facts" tool at the U.S. Census: https://nces.ed.gov/ccd/schoolsearch/;
https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml

Sycamore	16.9%	34.2%	$57,000	$42,000	48%	Yes
Obsidian	5%	10.9%	$69,000	$73,000	51%	Yes
Tufted Downs	6.9%	6.4%	$70,000	$69,000	47%	Yes

Study Participants: Sketches and Patterns of Fledgling U.S. Social Studies Teachers

The following introduction to the seven focal participants of the study begins with brief portraits of each student teacher in order to give the reader a sense of each individual's background, ideas about teaching and pedagogical approach. The data used in this section is almost entirely from formal interviews, post-teaching debrief interviews and questionnaire responses. Afterward, I discuss themes in the participants' motivations for teaching and in their ideas about identity and power.

These thematic sections are not meant to strictly categorize each participant but to convey some of the patterns in these young educators' ideological positions. This serves to provide context for the findings presented in chapters four, five and six, in which the participants' perceptions of their schools, their TE program and their discipline (respectively) are considered and interrogated.

Table 3.6: SELECTED INFORMATION ABOUT STUDY PARTICIPANTS			
	Racial identity	**Gender identity**	**School placement**
Celeste Alfonso-Enrique	Hispanic	Cis woman	Tufted Downs HS
Xavier Bonnaventura	White	Cis man	Sycamore High School
Sam Devenski	White	Cis man	Obsidian High School
Dale Gibbs	White	Cis man	Sycamore High School
Luisa Karpouzi	White	Cis woman	Sycamore High School
Robin Malone	White	Cis man	Obsidian High School
Frances Reed	White	Questioning/Non-binary	Sycamore Community Middle School

Celeste Alfonso-Enrique

Celeste Alfonso-Enrique's teaching style was, ideally, interactive. She liked to pose questions and facilitate activities for her students, but when I saw her teach she was, for the most part, bound to delivering notes to students in lecture form. Celeste wished she had had more opportunities to break out of this mode of teaching but, based on several conversations we had about this topic, it seemed as though she felt pressured to teach a litany of basic facts. This was "restrictive" for Celeste; she felt "forced to get through as much as physically possibly [and] end[ed] up doing a very base level analysis on everything." On the other hand, she knew that her students "like [when] I'm not always talking in front of the class because they get bored and they stop paying attention or they won't do their notes." She recounted a time when she structured a "gallery walk" activity and laid bean bag chairs and carpets out on the floor so that her students could lay there while looking at and then talking about the material – photos, song lyrics, a map of election results. This was her ideal kind of class and she hoped to teach like this more often when she graduated from CSU and got a full-time job.

Celeste grew up in a small suburban town about a twenty-minute drive from the Confluence State campus. Significantly, Celeste was the only participant in this study who did not identify as white. She considered herself "well off" but she made a point of describing how her parents had hustled for their economic success. Her father had immigrated to the U.S. from Cuba as a child. "He had to be held back two years because he didn't speak English," Celeste said. "They didn't have ESL back then." Celeste's mother was Italian American and "moved around a lot when she was younger." There was a saying that had been passed down in her family that Celeste recited as a way of characterizing her class status: "'We do because we can,

when we can't we won't.' That type of thing." She gave an example: "My grandparents got into a bad car accident a year ago and totaled their car. So my parents were able to buy them a new car for Christmas and my mom was like, 'We [did it] because we can. When we can't we won't.' That kind of mentality has always been floating around our household."

In my time getting to know her, Celeste came across as introverted and gave off a warm and validating vibe. Her closest friends relied upon her for support and levity – she and Luisa Karpouzi called each other every day to vent about their student teaching experiences. She told me that her "positivity and genuine caring for the students" were what suited her best for teaching, and that her "goofiness and happy-go-lucky disposition" were things she loved most about herself. "I'd like to think that it shows students that it's okay to be a little weird, and that my classroom is a space where you can be yourself." In these descriptions I noticed that she left out how fierce a worker and advocate she is, but some of her cohortmates made sure to fill me in. Frances Reed remarked that Celeste was "empathic and thoughtful," who "speaks when she has something to say and always shows up prepared for whatever she needs to do." Luisa reflected that Celeste was "the person I looked up to and admire most in the cohort… I wish I could've seen her in action and interact with her kids. She most definitely pushed me to be better."

I felt that this basic ability and desire to connect with other people was what fed Celeste's desire to teach. She told me that she loved working with kids, specifically "how so many of them are unabashedly themselves, they just do not care what other people think of them. I love making connections with kids, I love talking with them, hearing about their lives, what they're interested in." It was discouraging to her, then, to find that students at the first high school she got a job at seemed to have little interest in connecting with her. "I have found that there is such an entitlement and a privilege at this school," she said in our final interview, about her new place of

employment. It made her "feel like I've been relegated to a subpar babysitter…I feel like it's more about wrangling the children than it is about learning." To Celeste, the students seemed to be saying, "I don't wanna be here, why am I even here? What's the point? And that's frustrating to no end."

Xavier Bonnaventura

Xavier struck me as one of the most vocally opinionated members of his cohort, his hand reliably up in the air when prompted by the professor to respond to a question of professional practice or theory. Yet his manner of speaking and being in the classroom was not confrontational but, rather, thoughtful and inquisitive. From my university classroom observations and my conversations with his peers, I got the sense that Xavier was well-liked in his cohort, and in general. His memories from his own days in school seemed to confirm this. He related that, back in high school, he was "relatively popular, I had a lot of friends," which was part of the reason why he liked school so much. He came from a "regular suburban town" that he estimated was 85 percent white when he was growing up there (some fifteen years later it has still retained its heavy white majority, though it has become slightly more racially diverse in the last two decades). His perception of the town was almost utopian: "Most people were well enough off, not too many people really struggled…Most people were just standard, either middle class, upper lower middle class, there's no one that was really killing it and nobody who was really, *really* struggling."

True to the way he acted around his peers and his friends, Xavier's presence in the classroom indeed demonstrated his capacity for connection (much like Celeste, one of his closest friends in the social studies cohort). At Sycamore High School, I watched Xavier adopting a considerably different stance than his cooperating teacher – a loud, charismatic man who tended

to dominate the airwaves – as Xavier emphasized small-group visits with his students and frequently engaged in chats with them, sometimes seemingly just for the sake of earning trust and offering his confidence. It was obvious to me that Xavier did not like to talk as much at the front of the room as some of his mentors, and saw the power of students getting to move around and talk to each other all the time when they learned.

Dialoguing toward common understandings and civility was something that Xavier considered paramount in his teaching practice. He told me that "isolation [and] a lack of dialogue between opposing ideologies" were two of the gravest problems in our society, and he liked teaching for how it enabled him to address these mass cultural tendencies and, potentially, empower his students to do the same. "Something that I tried to talk with my students a lot about is civic engagement," Xavier said. "I tend to talk about the divisiveness that exists in America right now and just how the dialogue is completely closed between both sides. For the most part one side is shouting one thing and the other side is shouting another thing and it's just going into a void." For Xavier, this was partially a matter of media literacy, but also courage to seek out conversations with folks who they knew might disagree with them. "I just want [the students] to be able to articulate what it is they're thinking. But also synthesizing info that other people are giving them." This certainly entailed "dealing with all the fake news that exists in the world now. I want them to be able to not take things at face value and to be able to engage with somebody that they may or may not interact with on a daily basis."

Sam Devenski

Sam Devenski was one of the only self-identified conservatives in his cohort – maybe one of the only ones in all of Confluence State, he mused, pointing out how the university was known for its liberalism, like so many other large, elite universities in the United States. He told

me he thought that his politics were scorned by his professors and that, in many cases, these professors held his political identity against him, if not necessarily in the actual arguments he made in class but in how they seemed to want the label "conservative" to box him into a category, and took points off his papers as a function of their enduring prejudice. Sam thought the same gutshot prejudices held true for his colleagues. "Honestly very few ever asked [about my beliefs]. I was a conservative and they put me in the Trump box. Nobody ever asked me if I voted for Trump, they just assumed that I did." From this Sam learned the lesson that he should "be careful who I tell. 'Conservative' has become a taboo word. When the conservative kid starts to talk everyone just rolls their eyes."

Indeed, from my perspective, Sam seemed fairly isolated in his cohort, sticking close to two or three friends whose politics or small-town cultural identity might have been similar to his own. Sam was one of the "people [who] keep their opinions to themselves," Frances Reed offered. In turn, some of the participants in this study kept their distance from Sam, conveying their distrust or disapproval by referring to him as "a bro" or alluding to his clique as being "on a total different wavelength." On the other hand, among members of the cohort who knew Sam more personally, he was admired. Robin Malone knew Sam as "a really smart guy whose ethic supercedes his intellect...He provides an interesting perspective on lots of topics [and] I've always come away impressed by his lessons. His content is always interesting and he's well-versed in it, and his students always seem engaged."

Sam got his conservatism from the town he grew up in, a small, rural community in which his parents made their living as farmers. They were first-generation high school graduates (his father also taught math) whose love and support, Sam felt, was unique among the kids he grew up with. "If it wasn't for my parents I would not be where I am today. I saw so many of my

friends in high school who were bright, but they had nobody in their life motivating them to do anything with it… if they got pushed a little bit, they had somebody who cared? Who knows what they could have done! They're working, you know they're making more money than I ever could make in education, and I grew up doing manual labor and there's nothing wrong with that. But for someone who wants more than that, I just saw so many kids who wanted more but just didn't have the support to back them up."

Clearly these experiences and past relationships played some role in compelling Sam to become a teacher; a year out of the teacher education program, Sam found work at the local community college back where he'd grown up, while also continuing to help out on the farm. Of the former work, Sam told me that he was enjoying "show[ing] students the role that education should play in their life." These were "students who don't really care about education or don't see the importance." His goal was to "show how helpful and beneficial it can be for them not only in their career but as a person."

Sam conveyed his respect for his students, I thought, through the energy he brought to the classroom and his strict adamancy that the students develop their own opinions. Sam liked to pace around the room while he talked, segueing naturally from lecturing or professing an opinion to eliciting responses from the students, often in very direct, confrontational ways. He was not afraid to cold-call his students and expected folks to have thoughts of their own to share. He also knew it was crucial for students to participate in activities rather than simply spout knowledge or take notes, and I watched him put these ideas into practice while teaching. Once, Sam had his students reenact the election of 1932, and staged a debate between those supporting Roosevelt and those for Hoover; on another occasion his students spent half the class drawing mock-propaganda posters on a political issue of their choice.

Sam also had what I thought was a subtle streak of self-deprecation, and this manifested in his willingness to put himself on the spot before his students. "Is Mister Devenski a racist?" he asked the class by way of introducing a lesson on post-WWII suburbanization, baring some of the white rural cultural consciousness by which he was raised. While he had "small-town values" and traditional notions about the importance of school and family on individual success, he hoped to make his social studies class lively and generative, not simply an exercise in copying down material and committing it to memory for future regurgitation.

Dale Gibbs

Dale Gibbs had been heavily involved in campus activism at Confluence State before he signed up for the teacher education program. He and Frances Reed, one of his closest friends, were active in a student organization that had successfully pushed the university to raise its minimum wage for campus workers, and also participated in a campaign to expose and curb a culture of sexual harassment and assault that activists argued the university's administration was doing nothing little to nothing about. Interestingly, Dale had not really identified as someone who was politically involved – "I wasn't organizing or anything like that" – until he got to college. In high school he was "more quiet and hung out with punk rocker friends," a change from the "class clown" he'd been in middle school, which he looked back on somewhat disapprovingly but not uncharitably.

It was a very wealthy residential area on the outskirts of a major U.S. metropolis that Dale had come of age in, "a town where there's a lot of police presence but not much crime or anything like that. Very kind of posh." Most everyone there was white. It sounded like it was almost a fluke that he came to CSU – it had been "the school I cared least about" -- but he didn't get into any of the prestigious universities he'd applied to. Dale struck me as the kind of person

who went with the flow but who also approached decision-making with a great deal of reflexivity and regard for his impact. He had strong and precise ideas about why he wanted to teach: he hoped to "politiciz[e] students in the sense of pushing them to see the world around them" as well as to "empower students by pushing them, giving them the opportunity to look at problems and look at their lives and give them the tools to be able to make any change they want." It was immediately clear to me that Dale saw the role of teacher as a kind of community organizer. "By being a teacher you hold an important role, not just within the students' li[ves] but automatically connected to parents in the community. Not just the union representing the teachers," he added, "but you're part of the moral fabric of the community."

Dale's formidable social privilege had likely played some role in guiding him to learn how he could become involved in the business of making change, just as this racial and class background no doubt offered him a point of comparison as he developed critical views about society while living in the city of Sycamore. In the schools he observed and then student-taught in, Dale saw how "a lot of times adults don't even ask kids at all to give any sort of opinion on what's going on around them. It's just like, shut up, you'll get your turn to speak eventually in like 20 years or something like that." Dale knew that this was not just a brute adultism that drove "an education system that kids aren't obviously allowed to take any sort of autonomy or power." Rather, he saw these conditions as a byproduct of racial and class structures. "This is very big-picture," he disclaimed, "but the bigger problem is just the larger system of American capitalism and that all trickles down to the way we value kids' opinions, the way the school system claims it wants to form citizens. Like in [the predominantly poor and Latinx city of] Sycamore they say 'we want to create the best citizens and employees that we can.' Seeing this community as just

movers of capital, basically. It's not even looking at these students as whole people, [instead] just seeing them as pieces."

After graduation, Dale started working for one of the largest school districts in the country as a middle school social studies teacher. He found himself at odds with the administration at the school, which wanted Dale to implement zero-tolerance disciplinary policies, as well as with most of the other faculty who "seem to always be talking to kids in a really hostile manner, something that I feel like would make me hate my job and make students feel shitty." Unsure of how to proceed, Dale told me that he had become more active with the socialist caucus of the city's teacher's union, and he was weighing how to remain supportive of his students while also not completely burning the bridge of his principal, who disapproved of his teaching style but whom he would need to use as a reference once he started looking for new teaching jobs for the next year. But he was not certain that he'd stay in teaching either. "I think more than anything I'm just very burnt out from this first year."

Luisa Karpouzi

Luisa Karpouzi had been bored in school as a teenager. She remembered being "bad" and "pushing the buttons" in school, and these experiences gave her a greater understanding of why her own students at Sycamore High School might "act out. Why are they acting out? Because they're bored. Or just because they don't want to be there. I know the reasons why I would act out, and that's because I just wasn't engaged." The classes that she taught alone during her practicum semester – that is, lessons she planned herself, without the input of her cooperating teacher – had an edgy quality that clearly catered to this anticipation of students' ennui.

There were also elements of anti-traditionalism and counternarrative-making in Luisa's pedagogy. She had been inspired to become a social studies teacher after taking an eye-opening

U.S. history course at Confluence State called "Race and Sex in America." "Why didn't I learn any of this stuff?" she wondered. "Like, miscegenation laws… we talked a lot about minstrel theatre, the Latino identity, all these interesting topics that I think kids *should* be talking about in school. This is the history I want to teach – not your prescribed, standard narrative." She had initially learned that standard narrative from the mostly white, middle-class teaching staff at the suburban public school she grew up attending. Back then she had not given the racial and class homogeneity of the school too much thought – most of the students had been white and middle-class as well – but looking back now the lack of diversity that had been normalized in her youth was obvious to her.

All this considered, there seemed to be a rebelliousness and a sense of exploration inherent to Luisa's professional aspirations, perhaps evidenced by her decision to apply for a Fulbright scholarship during her final year at CSU. She won the award, and left the U.S. to teach in Europe at an elite private school. "It's interesting to see [how] most of the kids are extremely wealthy…in a country that's extremely poor." Contrary to her expectations, she was installed as the school's librarian rather than as a social studies teacher, and for the next year she watched the school's glaring problems unfold from afar. "It's a shitshow," she said. "The teaching practices are *so* backwards. They yell at the kids, they don't really learn their names. They're just extremely old-school in their approach to interacting with the students." Only a couple months into the school year she had already decided not to extend the Fulbright, and was considering finding a different teaching job elsewhere, or perhaps move onto something altogether new, like working for the U.S. foreign service.

Robin Malone

One of the oldest members of the social studies cohort, Robin Malone had come back to school after taking a few years off – something he was grateful for now, as this time had allowed him to gain some humility and perspective on the world. He came from a wealthy, mostly white, Jewish town where "probably 98% of my class graduated, maybe 90% went on to either a two-year or four-year school. Many of my classmates were kind of told basically from the time they were 10 years old, you're going to college, mom and dad are paying for it, you're going regardless of whether or not you want to." Robin tended to talk about himself with raw honesty and more than a little self-deprecation. "Growing up I thought I was smarter than everybody and that my shit didn't stink, like a lot of rich white kids." Regarding the time he'd taken off, he explained: "I did not want to go to CSU undergrad, came here kind of begrudgingly, didn't do a whole hell of a lot of work my first two years, basically flunked out more or less, to the point [of] academic probation, and my parents said, 'We're not gonna continue to pay for an education if you're not gonna get one.'"

Robin's earnest manner did not always play smoothly when he taught. He eschewed the proverbial warning to never smile until Christmas, and his classroom tended to be raucous and full of student movement that had not necessarily been sanctioned. He wasn't sure what to do in these situations and some of the strategies he ended up trying were regrettable. On one occasion, "I had gotten really frustrated with my class and told them to sit silently and work for the final 30 or so minutes of class. I hated every second of it." Perhaps as a result of experiences like these, Robin's foremost goal after his first semester teaching was to "improve [on] classroom management. Getting kids into a routine of, 'This is what we do every day,' and myself follow through with that routine." Still, he did not want to lose sight of the things that he felt made him

most well-suited as a teacher, namely his capacity for compassion and the way in which he could "provide comfort to others."

Robin liked teaching social studies for intrinsic reasons – because of how it afforded him an opportunity to help people and also because of how it required him to move around. "I do not see myself as someone who could sit behind a desk all day," he explained. "I don't think I could work at an office nine-to-five job." But it was also quite apparent that Robin enjoyed teaching social studies because it was the starting point for conversations about civic participation and national politics that students did not often get to partake in, in school or elsewhere. On a few occasions, Robin indulged his students by allowing their tangential questions to redirect lessons about the Revolutionary War or the Antebellum South to more topical conversations about electoral politics today. He sensed that his students truly cared about these issues, and he valued their interest and their genuine ideas.

Frances Reed

Frances Reed felt that they "betrayed my family's class expectations" by becoming a teacher, even though their mother was also a teacher, their father a pipe fitter. Like their close friend Dale Gibbs, Frances considered the decision to become a teacher to be, in part, a function of their own political and philosophical ideals. "I think as I got older my politics became a little more totalizing in my life […] and I think it changed the way I thought of education, public service, work in general […] how I fit into the world. I think that by the time I really started to think strongly about all these things I was already moving in the direction of becoming a teacher." This was a time when Frances was also active in campus political organizing, like their friend Dale. Frances was also involved in the aforementioned campaign in which their activist organization demanded that the university pay its workers a living wage.

An analysis of power was central to Frances' understanding of the world they lived in; such an analysis also informed their goals for teaching. In general, Frances felt that "middle schoolers [are] reduced to powerlessness… every aspect of their life is pretty rigidly controlled. I just think that that's a reflection of the society that they're being prepared for, I mean education seems like a total reification of everything that is expected of an American worker." And Frances was interested in becoming a teacher to undercut and rework some of students' social conditioning, and disrupt these oppressive societal expectations. "[T]eachers have, in a classroom, sort of an opportunity to cede some power to students and tie the success of the student to the collective," they said. "I think you have the chance to show students that you can live differently, you can think differently, and that it's better, that they'll have more fun [and] they'll be more inquisitive."

Frances was unique in their cohort, not just ideologically but in their propensity for staking confrontation around discussion topics. They constantly found themself verbally at odds not only with their classmates but their professors. "I'll either say I disagree or push further, I guess to try to get a reaction." During one class discussion, for example, a talk about different approaches to the Constitution inspired Frances to ask, "What if I want my students to come away from class and have the understanding that the Constitution should be completely abolished and built up from the ground? Because I would like to destroy the Constitution." They laughed as they told me this anecdote, but when they'd said it in class, it had been a serious comment. And yet, Frances' reliable dissidence became almost comical, something to be parodied by the others rather than taken seriously. As Dale put it, "There's just a love of Frances in that [cohort] that I think has hurt the dynamics of what they're actually saying. So many people will listen to Frances and say 'Oh that's Frances, those are their politics. Crazy Frances.'

And I'm like, 'No, listen to what you just said, and listen to their response!' Even our professors just kind of giggle at it and laugh. But we need to be having these conversations. This isn't a joke."

Patterns and Points of Divergence Among Participants

Motivations for Being a Teacher

Several different themes arose as I gained an understanding of what was motivating each participant to become a teacher. On this question there was great contrast between several of the participants, which is worth considering as the perceptions and experiences of these student teachers are presented in the following chapters. While published research on teachers' motivations suggests that intrinsic, extrinsic and altruistic rationales are separate kinds of motivations, my close interactions with and observations of the seven participants of this study gave way to a belief that the category of "altruistic" teachers is less monolithic than previously theorized, more common than assumed, and also potentially more misleading a characterization than conventionally understood.[13] Though none of the candidates fit perfectly into one category,

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[13] Heinz, Manuela. "Why Choose Teaching? An International Review of Empirical Studies Exploring Student Teachers' Career Motivations and Levels of Commitment to Teaching." Educational Research and Evaluation 21, no. 3 (April 3, 2015): 258–97. https://doi.org/10.1080/13803611.2015.1018278. See also,Younger, M., Brindley, S., Pedder, D., & Hagger, H. (2004). Starting points: Student teachers' reasons for becoming teachers and their preconceptions of what this will mean. European Journal of Teacher Education, 27, 245–264. doi:10.1080/0261976042000290787; Akar, Ebru Ozturk. "Motivations of Turkish Pre-Service Teachers to Choose Teaching as a Career." Australian Journal of Teacher Education 37, no. 10 (October 2012). https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ995264; Flores, Maria Assunção, and Laila Niklasson. "Why Do Student Teachers Enrol for a Teaching Degree? A Study of Teacher Recruitment in Portugal and Sweden." Journal of Education for Teaching 40, no. 4 (August 8, 2014): 328–43. https://doi.org/10.1080/02607476.2014.929883; Heinz, M. "The next generation of teachers: selection, backgrounds and motivations of second-level student teachers in the Republic of Ireland." Unpublished PhD Thesis, Galway: National University of Ireland, Galway (2011); Manuel, Jackie, and John Hughes. "'It Has Always Been My Dream': Exploring Pre- service Teachers' Motivations for Choosing to Teach." Teacher Development 10, no. 1 (March 1, 2006): 5–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/13664530600587311; König, Johannes, and Martin Rothland. "Motivations for Choosing Teaching as a Career: Effects on General Pedagogical Knowledge during Initial Teacher Education." Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education 40, no. 3 (August 1, 2012): 289–315. https://doi.org/10.1080/1359866X.2012.700045

I found that all of the participants could be classified as having "altruistic" tendencies of some kind, but beyond that, showed real differences in why they wanted to teach and what role they believed they had in society.

Table 3.7: STATED OR DEMONSTRATED MOTIVATIONS FOR BECOMING A TEACHERS AMONG PARTICIPANTS					
	...to work with and help kids	...to help disadvantaged kids achieve social mobility	...to change the culture of schools through student empowerment	...to break from how history is traditionally taught	...to incite/join local organizing
Celeste Alfonso-Enrique	Spoke		Demonstrated	Demonstrated	
Xavier Bonnaventura	Spoke		Spoke	Demonstrated	
Sam Devenski	Spoke	Spoke		Spoke	
Dale Gibbs	Spoke		Spoke	Spoke	Spoke
Luisa Karpouzi	Spoke		Spoke	Spoke	
Robin Malone	Spoke	Demonstrated	Demonstrated	Demonstrated	
Frances Reed	Spoke		Spoke	Spoke	Spoke

KEY	Spoke to this motivation directly in interviews	Demonstrated this goal in practice or alluded to it in conversation	Did not articulate or demonstrate this motivation

Working with kids.   All seven of the candidates articulated a desire to work with young people. "I love how so many [kids] are unabashedly themselves, they just do not care what other people think of them." Celeste said. "I love making connections with kids, I love talking with them, hearing about their lives, what they're interested in." Similarly, Luisa Karpouzi shared that "I really love working with kids and helping them develop and learn. […] I genuinely care about every kid who walked in my class and tried to approach every interaction I had with empathy."

Altruism and social mobility. Robin Malone expressed a more basic but equally decisive altruistic motivation: "I like kids…I like helping people. I also think that it's important. No one goes into teaching for the money, I hope. And I think that if you go into it you gotta want to do it, you need to like kids and you need to like the content and you need to like helping people." And as shown above, Sam Devenski was inspired to teach because he wanted to be that "someone who cared." He continued: "I have a couple students who just have a thirst for, like, 'Tell me more, I wanna understand this.' That just…makes it worth it. To find those kids that I saw, or even that I was in high school, and be that person that could make a difference." These two student teachers consistently showed and articulated the kind of advocacy for their students that reflected a basic altruism that involved helping kids succeed, plain and simple. Notably, Sam's altruistic motivations were specifically about helping students attain social mobility, especially those whom he could relate to socioeconomically: "I grew up in a poor household (below the poverty line) in a poor community," he said. "I can relate to students in the same situation who present a strong desire for education as a means to move up both socially and economically."

Empowering students in disempowering schools; changing the culture of schools. Frances' perception that "middle schoolers are reduced to powerlessness" and that "every aspect of their life is controlled" in school revealed the aspiration to "cede some power to students" in the face of the suppression of their voices and their agency. While this was obviously part of a desire to work with young people, it went somewhat beyond an attention to individual students, and reflected a goal of changing the culture found within schools, or perhaps providing a place of refuge, identification and resistance for students. Many but not all of the candidates echoed this motivation. Both Celeste and Luisa alluded to such motivations, the former in her position that

"a lot of the kids [at TDHS] would fare so much better from a little bit of compassion" [from teachers], the latter in her statement that "I think everyone is bored in school at some point in their lives" as a way of prefacing her commitment to offering a better learning environment. Xavier Bonnaventura cited a "drive to…give students a positive force in the school, because it felt like that was something that I never really had. While I was close with my teachers in a casual way, I felt like if I did need something there were…few teachers I could go to. And I want to be somebody like that for the school. I feel like I've had kids come into lunch and sit with me if they need to talk about stuff. So that's something I wanna do." Dale Gibbs spoke about how assuming this kind of supportive role in a school was a highlight of his experience teaching thus far: "The kids are really wonderful… it's been super rewarding being involved in extracurricular stuff [and] that my classroom is maybe a happier place than the rest of the school. Just having kids in my classroom during lunch because they don't wanna go down to the lunch hall. That's sometimes my favorite part of the day. […] It's help solidified the fact that this is the job I wanna do."

Teaching from non-dominant perspectives; teaching critical historical narratives. It was clear to me that at least one of the participants' motivations to teach also had to do with a desire to change the stories through social studies was traditionally taught. It was Luisa who most directly articulated this in our interview about why she wanted to teach. "I just don't think American History is taught correctly," she said, "so part of my desire to go into education was to try to teach it the way I think it should be taught." For example, she "wanted to teach the kids the concept of Eurocentrism… We were talking about 'New World ' and "Old World'… New world to whom?" Other participants also demonstrated a penchant for teaching such counternarratives in social studies, but it was not necessarily their raison d'etre. I saw this, for example, in Dale

Gibbs' choice to center Mexican American, Black/African American and working class

American history in his lessons; Sam Devenski's lesson on racist neighborhood redlining; Xavier

Bonnaventura's attempt to teach about U.S. slavery from the perspective of the abolitionist

movement; in Frances Reed's aim to teach about feudalism through the lens of the social power

structure.

     Teaching in order to incite local sociopolitical action and to join with local social

justice organizing.   Two participants, Dale Gibbs and Frances Reed, made clear to me over the

course of this study that they wanted to teach, in part, because they wanted to play a role in local

communities' struggles for justice, voice and legitimacy. An arguably impossible stance to

realize in four months' worth of student teaching, this inclination remained latent and strong in

their minds as the two graduated from their teacher education program and proceeded toward the

profession. In the body of literature on teachers' professional motivations, such a stance is rarely

mentioned, though scholarship on critical pedagogy and critical teacher education stresses

adamantly this conception of the role of public school teaching.[14] Moreover, scholarship on

educational justice movements shows that especially among non-dominant populations the

motivation to work with students and local communities to challenge unjust conditions certainly

exists, and can account for the way in which change was made.[15]

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[14] Watts, Roderick J., Derek M. Griffith, and Jaleel Abdul-Adil. "Sociopolitical Development as an Antidote for Oppression—Theory and Action." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 27, no. 2 (1999): 255–71. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1022839818873; Ginwright, Shawn, and Taj James. "From Assets to Agents of Change: Social Justice, Organizing, and Youth Development." *New Directions for Youth Development* 2002, no. 96 (2002): 27–46. https://doi.org/10.1002/yd.25; Duncan-Andrade, Jeffrey. "Note to Educators: Hope Required When Growing Roses in Concrete." *Harvard Educational Review* 79, no. 2 (July 2009): 181–94. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.79.2.nu3436017730384w; Scorza, D'Artagnan, Nicole Mirra, and Ernest Morrell. "It Should Just Be Education: Critical Pedagogy Normalized as Academic Excellence." *The International Journal of Critical Pedagogy* 4, no. 2 (February 18, 2013). http://libjournal.uncg.edu/ijcp/article/view/337; Mirra et al., 2013; Yosso, 2006

[15] e.g., Dyrness, Andrea. *Mothers United: An Immigrant Struggle for Socially Just Education*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011; Ewing, Eve L. *Ghosts in the Schoolyard: Racism and School Closings on*

Ideas about Identity and Power in Public School Teaching

The following section discusses the different kinds of understandings about power and identity that the participants harbored. I found it impossible and also perhaps unproductive to categorize the participants based on their approximate levels of understanding, or to place them along a spectrum, say, of individual vs structural understandings of inequality, or colorblindness vs racial consciousness. That said, it is worth showing how the candidates were somewhat distinct from one another in terms of how and to what extent they thought about identity and power. Like the previous section, this can serve to contextualize the accounts and findings in the latter chapters, and also may help deepen the reader's understanding of the study setting (i.e., the TE program) on the whole.

Understanding individual bias; selective resistance against naming identity. Sam Devenski showed an awareness of the existence of prejudice, and an embrace of his own biases when teaching. His lesson on suburbanization, for example, "was a segment in which I explained my racial prejudices growing up in an all-white community and school and how that impacted my viewpoint until I came to Confluence State. This segment was especially important at Obsidian because my classes were made up of a majority of non-white students." Sam was also aware of how his bias as a cis man might have impacted his teaching methods. After one class he taught, when I told him how I'd noticed that it was mostly boys who had spoken in the class, Sam replied that "it's something I'm working on. I get carried away because I do like the male feedback."

At the same time, Sam expressed a wariness about "identity politics," which was, in part, a resistance against essentializing people based on identity labels. He explained that he felt

Chicago's South Side. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018; Buras, 2014; Lipman, 2017; Song-ha Lee, 2016; Rickford, 2016

skeptical about the imperative to "define yourself by your attributes rather than your beliefs or ideas. So like, you're black or you're Hispanic so you vote a specific way; you're straight or you're gay so you talk about these kinds of issues…I think that's detrimental to a society." This critique of naming things like racial and gender identity also perhaps came with a fear that individual identity markers had become more harmful than helpful. For example, "in one class, a student who was black asked me when writing an essay for one of my tests, 'What term do I use to describe people like me?' This student was so afraid to describe herself using the 'wrong' word it affected her education."

Racial silence and invisibility; the need for white sensitivity.   Celeste Alfonso-Enrique often understood race as invisible at Tufted Downs High School, and was able to go along with the culture of silence around racial representation and white normativity/dominance. When I asked Celeste to confirm my read of whiteness as dominant and pervasive in the curriculum, she replied that she felt that "was pretty accurate [although] I don't necessarily think it was something I considered in the moment. Maybe it was in the back of my consciousness but not necessarily something that I was actively considering while I was teaching." Regarding the curriculum, Celeste agreed that it was hegemonic in its privileging of white narratives: "We still have a very baseline chronological US history course. We teach an American government course where we only have one unit where we talk about any form of minority." She knew it was a problem but also was not necessarily equipped or ready to act on it. She also wasn't sure if her students "know any different. I don't necessarily think the kids know that they can push against that. I think I should probably work a little bit harder to push against the kind of white narratives that we're giving. But I don't know."

That said, Celeste was aware of how a predominantly white staff might have translated to a miseducation of non-white students. She pinpointed this in the way that bilingual students at the school were misunderstood. "I think the biggest problem the staff has is not understanding how to meet the needs of the ESL students. A lot of [students] are immigrants and I think not having that experience [of being an immigrant] or of knowing someone in your family who has that experience, it can be kind of hard…to just understand exactly what they're going through... [M]y dad's family emigrated here when he was seven so even just hearing from him the absolute struggle they had to go through for the first ten years of being here, trying to assimilate to American culture and trying to learn the language […] My cooperating teacher doesn't speak any Spanish, I don't think most of the other teachers speak any Spanish so the kids will be talking in Spanish and now because the teachers are all like 'Okay, why are they all talking in Spanish? They're obviously not paying attention," when mind you [the students] are literally talking about what we're doing. They're just confused, one of them is trying to explain and stuff… most of the kids speak Spanish too so they'll help out. I think that's the weirdest thing…with there being so many white teachers."

Xavier Bonnaventura also talked about a dearth of racial sensitivity among the dominant white teaching force at his school, and indicated the need for more consciousness around their prejudices. He told a story about how his school had implemented an African American history curriculum called "the Amistad initiative. My teacher could not care less. They openly mocked it. They would demeaningly call it 'The boat" as opposed to the Amistad initiative. I get that it's hard to incorporate the history of black and brown people into the curriculum but it's not to be mocked."

White self-consciousness and owning one's privilege. Like Sam, Robin was attentive to how it was often important to talk about identity and power in the classroom, though there was a time a place for it. "I don't come in on day one and say, 'Hey guys, I'm a rich white kid and you're poor black kids, let's talk about that. But by the same token it's something you can't ignore. So for instance the other day we were doing an activity about the slave trade, and one of the questions we were discussing was whether or not we're responsible for the actions of our ancestors centuries ago. Most of my students are black and were like, 'I didn't do anything wrong, I'm the victim!' So I'm like, 'Okay, are white people responsible for the actions of people who lived two, three, four hundred years before them?' So we got into a conversation […] I try to use it as a talking point when I think it's necessary, but I don't think it needs to be brought up. I don't know."

Robin also believed that it was important to consider how experiences with systemic injustice shaped students' behaviors and personas in school.

> I was teaching a unit on mass incarceration…discussing the likelihood of black Americans to be incarcerated when compared with white Americans. Several students noted that they had family members who had spent time in prison or who were currently incarcerated. The unit culminated in a Socratic Seminar. During this seminar one student spoke about her mother, who is currently incarcerated, talking about how she had been imprisoned for stealing a doctor's prescription pad and attempting to sell prescriptions to patrons. She spoke quite eloquently about a remarkably difficult subject, noting that she understands why her mother is in prison, but that she also understands why her mother did what she did, noting that 'when you're forced to choose between your kids going hungry and breaking the law, you're going to break the law every time.' […] In this moment I felt I was completely unable to relate. That student is an excellent student and an incredibly impressive young woman. The way she spoke about her situation and her mother was remarkably strong.

Like Robin, other participants maintained the importance of owning one's privilege in the classroom, especially with regard to the systemic nature of white authority and white normativity

in public schools. Xavier Bonnaventura explained how he makes sure to "address the idea that there's racism. Even in those situations I've said, 'Yeah guys I totally understand that I'm a white dude that's benefitted from privilege. […] It's a difficult thing to have a conversation about when I see students staring back at me who've lived through racial injustice. And will continue to live through it their whole lives. I try to incorporate it whenever I can. I'm not gonna be like, 'Okay, we're going to talk about the War of 1812 but let's also talk about racism!' I think I've made a pretty good effort of only talking about it when it's relevant and productive."

Luisa Karpouzi expressed a similar kind of humility when talking about how it was important for her to consider how her students perceived her. She recounted:

> I was the only white person in my classroom, as my kids were all students of color. I think it's been the first time in my life where I've been the only white person in the room. I had one student who called me Ms. White, which I found to be challenging especially when he said it in front of other students. The other kids in the class would roll their eyes when he said it and I spoke to him about it; he explained he doesn't like white people because he's only had bad interactions with them. I understood that. I am part Puerto Rican and a lot of my kids would say things like, 'well, you're not really white' and connected with me on a different level. However, I recognized that a lot of my kids may not have had interactions, especially positive interactions with white people and had perceptions about white people. Since white people don't really ever need to confront their racial identity, it's interesting to be a space where I am the only white person and the one in 'control.'

Constant awareness of how power is structured unequally. While Dale Gibbs took care not to tokenize his Mexican American students by overemphasizing Mexican American history in his teaching – much the way that Xavier spoke about "only talking about [racism] when it's relevant and productive" – he also vocalized an awareness of how he reaped the benefits of privilege in his daily life. Dale wanted to see this not just as a function of his individual experience but as a structural problem. "I think it allows, for someone like myself, a white man, it gives me some sort of unfounded credibility right off the bat. I remember showing

up to the first few days of student teaching and there were teachers from student teachers from

around the rest of the district and there were a few women, actually there were mostly women of

color within this small social studies working group, and basically I just noticed how the teachers

at Sycamore High School who were mostly white men were writing off everything it seemed like

they said, and immediately just turning to me and giving me their full attention. It kind of

manifested in our classrooms within the cohort; it's a very male dominant space and it seems a

lot of times the biggest personalities in the room almost are typically male."

Luisa and Frances also spoke to how inequalities in institutional power based on

gendered, class and racial structures were omnipresent during their student teaching. As Luisa

recounted:

> There was a particularly hard instance during student teaching during parent
> teacher conferences. I had one student who was very checked out, outright
> refused to do work, and often skipped; I was very surprised to see her and
> her family at the conference. During the conference, her father asked if I
> was aware of the trauma she endured at school last year, which I did not. He
> was alluding to this trauma and at one point, she broke down apologizing
> about her behavior saying she couldn't control herself and handle the
> situation. At the end of the meeting, her father told me that a student had
> sexually assaulted her last year in school. That is all I know about the
> situation. I was overcome with emotion and decided to tell my in-class
> support teacher, as this student has an IEP and he often works with her.
> When I told him what had just happened, he did not believe her and told me
> that I was "too emotional" because "women are more emotional than men."

Frances remembered "one time where I was giving a lesson with my resource teacher and

a we were having a conversation about culture and gender. I remember my resource teacher

pointing out that everyone dresses a certain way that says something about their culture, ideas of

beauty and gender. She talked about her own outfit and how she was dressed like a white woman

in America. Then she tried to demonstrate male beauty standards in our culture and asked the

class about Mr. Reed's presentation and then said 'well Mr. Reed isn't a great example' at which

time one of my students came to my aid and said 'he's alternative.'"

In another example of how institutional power was structured unequally, Frances

described how

> my cooperating teacher went on a rant about how the Irish were treated
> worse than African Slaves and that he views everybody as equal. It was
> horrible being implicated in that before students even knew me. I also
> remember one of my students getting in trouble for bringing pot brownies to
> school. He was a black boy and a lot of the other black students were
> furious with the school and especially their white teachers for kicking this
> student out. I remember students being angry with me for being seen as
> complicit. I was horrified that the student was being sent away in the first
> case as my best friend was kicked out of high school for drug possession
> junior year. I wanted to show up for them in a more meaningful way but all
> I could do was honestly convey the information that had been told to me
> back to them.

All these ideological tendencies and attributes considered together, the seven participants

comprised a fairly wide spectrum of beliefs and proclivities as young educators, even as they

tended to fall into similar patterns and often adopted stances typical of white, liberal-minded

folks. Given the differences in these candidates' formative experiences and understandings it was

fascinating to study the ways in which their perceptions of local schools, their discipline, and

their teacher education program converged. The following three chapters expound these

perceptions as the data moves beyond the participants' foundational ideas.

CHAPTER FOUR:

TEACHER CANDIDATES' PERCEPTIONS OF LOCAL SCHOOLS, STUDENTS AND

COMMUNITIES

The Construction of Local Deficit in Field-Based Teacher Education: Introduction

On a late fall morning the principal of Tufted Downs High School, a middle-aged, white

man, stood in the cafeteria in front of a small group of student teachers from Confluence State

University, describing to them what the students at his school were like. "The biggest issue here

is apathy," he said. "The kids aren't motivated to do well." He explained that nearly all the

students at Tufted Downs were "at-risk students. We have a high rate of poverty. Most of the

students are immigrant Hispanic kids with a language barrier." He told of the extra resources that

his Title I district received from the state, as a way of making it even clearer what kind of school

Tufted Downs was. He had even brought in a former NFL football player to come speak to the

student body about motivation. He believed that the talk had gone over well, but that one sports

celebrity talk wasn't enough. He elaborated a theory of his that explained the crisis of

motivation: the students were afraid to leave Tufted Downs, and this was why they did not

bother to excel at school and earn themselves a ticket out of their town – which he believed

would be to their advantage.

The principal went on. Vaping was a "real problem" at Tufted Downs; the students vaped

in the bathrooms or even in a concealed fashion into their sweaters, which was called "bagging."

He explained that this had reached "epidemic" proportions, with dire consequences for the

students incriminated. "Once a teacher says to me that a kid is under the influence I have to send

them home." He said this while broadcasting reluctance and a sense of tragedy – it was as though

his hands were tied. The first offense for this was ten days of out-of-school suspension. The principal connected students' illicit behavior with their "low motivation," venting that it was "hard to understand why kids are even here if they're just settling for a 65. If these kids spent half the time doing what they're supposed to do rather than trying to circumvent our rules and restrictions, we'd be Mount Shade." (Mount Shade was a wealthy white district just a few towns over with a consistently higher school rating.)

As the principal wove this narrative of his students' deficits – low motivation, lack of ambition, delinquency – the candidates listened and took notes, knowing they would soon teach in classrooms full of these supposed problem children. It was not that the principal had bad intentions regarding his students, but that his ahistorical, decontextualized and individualistic analysis of inequality placed the blame on them for the systemic oppression that they faced. Calling for educators to "develop a critical sociopolitical analysis of education," educational scholar Bree Picower points out how this instinct to premise one's teaching upon the victim-blaming of students comes from a number of misunderstandings.[1] Not only do such educators – the majority of them white – fail to appreciate how students' behaviors and attitudes are the byproducts of political processes, at the root of which is an imbalance of power; they also very simply fail to see students and their communities for who they are and what they are capable of. Making a similar argument, the sociologist Eve Ewing begins her account of black-led educational justice organizing in Chicago by ventriloquizing how the educational establishment perceives the schools they seek to close against the neighborhood's will. "Failing schools.

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[1] Picower, 2009

Underprivileged schools. Just plain *bad schools.* The fodder of *tsk-tsk, it's so sad,* and *that's why we send our kids to private school* and *we're so lucky.*"[2]

The data presented in this chapter illuminates some of the ways the participants perceived local deficit being constructed by professional educators with whom they interacted – and how student teachers also sometimes subscribed to these assumptions. But more often than not, the participants of this study questioned, complicated and resisted such reductive ways of seeing students and their communities, and in fact more commonly ascribed deficit to other entities, namely the teachers, the schools, the professional bureaucracy and the US system of opportunity and advantage as a whole. This did not always mesh with dominant modes of teacher preparation at CSU or in district schools. As follows, this chapter offers a window into the discursive and practical tensions that the candidates found themselves caught up in, drawing upon their feelings, understandings and experiences in/of local schools.

Low Motivation, Low Skills

Some of the participants in this study had perceptions of local students and communities comparable to the principal's – as well as similar desires to help students overcome the deficits that poverty and public disinvestment had supposedly produced. For Sam Devenski, the matter of students' low motivation and their valuation of education hit close to home. He compared the rural environment he'd grown up in to "urban" Obsidian, where he was student-teaching now: "I see so many parallels. The thing is, I'm learning so much about how to connect to urban students because that's just something that's completely new to me. […] I remember I took [the required class] 'Urban Schools and Youth' here and the first day I was talking about, 'Oh, what do you see in urban schools, the similarities, and in the forums…I talked about the school I grew up in,

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[2] Ewing, 2018

like I didn't even have a desk, I sat on the heater, we didn't have heating, no AC, like the school was really poor. I'm seeing the same thing."

Sam reflected on the toll these circumstances took on the people he'd grown up with. "I saw so many of my friends in high school who were bright," he continued, "but they had nobody in their life motivating them to do anything with it. If they got pushed a little bit, if they had somebody who cared? Who knows what they could have done." Sam attributed the support he got from his parents to how he was able to overcome these kinds of circumstances. He told me that he was one of only three students in his graduating class who went on to four-year colleges after high school. He hoped "[t]o find those kids that I saw, or even that I *was* in high school, and be that person that could make a difference. Because so many of my kids that I see right now, they don't even have parents. One of my kids has a grandmother, and it's impossible to get a hold of her, and it's like, maybe they have support from her and maybe they don't."

Sam's cohortmate Robin Malone, who was also student teaching at Obsidian High School, perceived that his students could especially use the help of good teachers – he told me that the school's population struggled academically in ways that had never been the case at his own school growing up. Robin knew that his diagnosis of Obsidian students' academic deficiencies might not go over well with some folks, but that in order to truly serve such a population it was necessary to name what they lacked.

"I think the biggest problem is not identifying the problem," he said. "I think at Obsidian the literacy skills are awful, just god awful. And that stuff is really tough to change when they're fifteen. People say these kids need better [high school] teachers, [that] you can't write off a kid when he's 15. I agree, no one's writing him off. But you need better kindergarten teachers, first and second grade teachers, because that's where these skills get hammered in." Later, in a focus

group, Robin doubled down on his assessment, asserting that students at Obsidian High School "had been failed by their teachers for the previous nine years." But he also knew that the problem went beyond school learning – teachers were to a large extent inheriting a structural problem. "Literacy skills also happen at home, and there's a lot of other factors that play into that, students whose parents are working multiple jobs and maybe aren't home at two o'clock, four o'clock, to help them to do their homework."

Robin was articulating an understanding among people who worked in cities like Obsidian that the place itself, as a function of its structural disadvantage, produced deficient educational outcomes. After one particularly long day of teaching, Robin complained that Obsidian was "a bad district" and proved it by showing me a standout essay written by the only student in his ninth grade class who had attended elementary and middle school elsewhere. Robin's explanation for why she was different was simple: "She didn't grow up here."

School Engagement in the Context of "Home Lives"

The participants in this study did not think students' educational behaviors or capacities were necessarily a function of local or home conditions, but they still sometimes read heavily into how "home" and "school" related to one another. Whereas Sam and Robin drew a direct line between the local context and school engagement, Xavier Bonnaventura, a student teacher at Sycamore High School, described a more complex relationship between the two. At first he emphasized how school might not have been engaging to students in its own right:

> It seems like the students more so tolerate school than anything else. Very few actually enjoy it. I would say that for some it is, like I said, tolerance…

But he also noted that outside problems might have informed the kind of capacity students had for school activities:

…but for some it is like the place to get away from home too. It seems as though a lot of these kids struggle with sleeping at their house. I have kids putting their heads down in class, and that's like a normal thing for school, but I feel like the amount of students who do it is so much higher than I've ever experienced. So it seems like there's aspects of escape for the school, not a place of refuge really but somewhere where they can just relax for a bit. Which is both good and bad because they might be taking it too lightly but they are sort of getting away from something that could be potentially dangerous.

Xavier's cohortmate, Luisa Karpouzi, who also taught at SHS, brought up students' home situations as well when asked about their attitudes toward school. In slight contrast with Xavier, Luisa characterized school as simply lower on some students' list of priorities. By way of example she discussed how she perceived students' relationships with the school's afterschool programming:

When the bell rings at 2:35 they are *out.* You know, when I was in high school I was after school every day playing basketball or in student government or talking to my teachers because I was friends with some of them. I *never* left school when school ended. […] It's just strange, I haven't really come across the afterschool culture. They wanna go home. A lot of them have responsibilities at home. Even at the middle school, I was talking to [a student who] was a great artist, she would always be drawing stuff. I would always go over to her and talk to her and I said, 'Oh are you in the art club?' She said 'No.' I said 'Why? You know, you should join, you're really talented." And she said, 'Oh I have to take care of my two year-old niece every day after school.' She's twelve! I'm like, oh okay. That's a lot of pressure to put on a twelve year-old, to take care of a two year-old. [These are] things that in my experience growing up I never had to deal with.

For Luisa, the question of whether or not students were engaged in or motivated at school might have been moot given some of their familial obligations that preceded even the most potentially riveting school programming. Above all, she felt she could not make an informed assessment. "I don't want to say, 'Oh they don't care about school so they're leaving," she clarified. "Who

knows why they have to dash out the door. I don't want to make any assumptions. But there is a large group that just leaves after."

It was interesting that Robin Malone noticed something of the opposite happening at Obsidian High School: "Students take more pride in their school than my experience of my own high school," he said. "I know that a lot of my students stick around late after school because going home is not the best option for them. So I think that that's part of it, they take pride in their school because they don't always take pride in their home." He had the same general picture of students' home lives as Luisa and Xavier did, but described how these circumstances produced a reliance on and dedication to school as a favorable alternative.

<div align="center">Perceptions of Low Expectations and Low Effort</div>

"The Bare Minimum"

While the Tufted Downs High School principal expressed bewilderment over how students "settl[e] for a 65," student teachers in this study also spoke of this happening at their schools, but seemed to react to the phenomenon somewhat differently than the principal did. Xavier, for example, understood that school "is more of a chore for [the students] than anything else […] Very few actually enjoy school [or] genuinely give a shit. For the most part students tolerate it." Frances Reed's perception of their students' relationships with school seemed to match Xavier's. Of the students, Frances felt like "they're not miserable. [But] the learning environment is not good. Kids are not engaged and just not that into it."

As seen above, Luisa Karpouzi didn't want to make assumptions about why students might not have cared about school. She could not deny, however, that for the students there was something about the particulars of school activities that worked to disincentivize their effort. "A

lot of the kids *want. Their. Credits.* [Luisa's tonal emphasis] They're like 'Miss, I gotta get my forty credits this year so I can pass so I can graduate.' Some kids are interested in content and they're the kids who are always talking. And there are some kids who just want to *pass*. They don't care about getting 'A's or 'B's."

She broke down how exactly this played out at her school. "In Sycamore, if you fail, if you have a 20 percent average, it rounds up to a 50. So you still get an F but it's a 50 percent. […] Because that gives them the chance to redeem themselves in the next marking period. So [for example] if you get an F, F, B, A, you're going to get like a C. You passed the year! And they're fine. So a lot of them have figured it out. So they check out, they might do really well the first two semesters, then they check out at the end of the year.

"A lot of teachers are saying, 'That's not right! [If] they fail, they should fail! And I don't really know where I stand on that. I haven't really…thought about the ethics of grading and of passing classes. But, yeah. A lot of them just do the bare minimum."

Luisa recounted an episode when she had assigned students paragraphs on the Middle Passage. "I always read their stuff before they hand it in, because I want them to do well. I don't want them to think I'm an enemy who's out to get them. There are teachers who just write kids up for no reason. This one kid came over and he was like, 'I don't know why I have ISS [in school suspension]. A teacher who he doesn't even have gave him ISS for cutting class. The teacher's not on his schedule! So this kid's like, 'I'm done. This is all I'm doing.' I'm like, 'You didn't cite any evidence!' I'm like, 'Use this quote! This will support your argument.' And he's like, 'Miss, this is all you're gonna get.' I said, Okay. I'm not gonna fight. I can't. I think I need to be realistic with my expectations. I'm not gonna change everyone's mind about school."

I watched these tensions of teacher care and student effort play out one day when Luisa gave a unit test on the U.S. Constitution. A conspicuous number of students were absent – nearly half the class. Before the test was distributed, Luisa announced that the students would have fifteen minutes to study a packet that, apparently, contained all of the things the students needed to know. Luisa told me that she really wanted the students to do well on this test, and demonstrated it by telling the students exactly what to pay attention to in the packet.

"What did the Great Compromise combine?" Luisa quizzed out loud.

No one could say.

"Reread the last paragraph of that handout," she instructed. Then she pointed them to a chart that separated the provisions of the New Jersey Plan from the Virginia Plan. A few minutes later she reminded them, "Make sure you know your amendments, guys!"

Students were trickling in one by one. Some of the students had not brought their crucial study packets. "How could you not have it?" Luisa asked one student, who just shrugged. Others had not been aware that there was a test today. "We have a test today? Oh yeah. Shit." When the fifteen minutes of study time elapsed, Luisa allowed them to have another ten minutes to study. While they crammed some more, Luisa explained to me that the average grade on the test so far (among other sections) was a 54. "Not because it's hard," she added.

"I'm gonna fail," a student worried out loud.

"You're not gonna fail," said Luisa.

"I'm gonna fail," the student reiterated firmly.

Compliance Culture

Perhaps related to the students' perceived quest for "the bare minimum" was a tendency that other teacher candidates like Sam Devenski saw in students to merely comply. Sam

indicated that this potentially stemmed from the students' low expectations for themselves, especially those in the "college prep" tracked class, which was the lowest of three possible levels beneath "honors" and "AP." "I have a couple kids in my college prep who I'm like, 'Why are you here? You can be in an honors class! But some of them [say to me,] 'Are we reading today?'" Sam's eyes grew big to show his disbelief that his students could ask such a question in a high school social studies class.

He gave an anecdote to show what he meant. "Today I went over [the] Shank v US court case, and I gave them a graphic organizer to go along as they're reading the court case. It's a generic graphic organizer, you could put any court case on that graphic organizer and it can apply to it. [One bulletpoint] says, 'Interesting people,' and [four blank lines below that]. A student calls me over and I'm like, 'What's the issue,' and he's like, "I can only find 3 people." I go, 'Yeah, that's fine.' 'But there's four slots!' [the student said]. And it's like, 'I know, but you don't have to fill in all four!"

"I swear," Sam vented, "if I didn't tell them to breathe, they wouldn't breathe."

"The Basics"

Several participants described how students' acts of baseline compliance and minimal self-expectations might have been taken from their teachers' cues. The candidates reported that their cooperating teachers seemed to have low expectations regarding the kind of thinking and learning their students were able to do in their classes. For Celeste Alfonso-Enrique, this had much to do with the obsession with fact memorization at Tufted Downs. "I feel like the scope of things that we have to cover is restrictive. You're forced to get through as much as you physically, possibly can. So you end up doing a very base-level analysis of things. I think the

way we attempt to grade, teach and assess students directly contradicts what education is. It's a process! You're not going to be great at it."

Celeste found herself doing lots of "base-level analysis" when she student-taught, and there didn't seem to be much she could do about it. One day, I observed her lecture students for about an hour on the five causes of World War I: she used the acronym MANIA to help the class memorize what they needed to know for the test (Militarism, Alliances, Nationalism, Imperialism, Assassination). The students took notes without much fuss or input – one student answered nearly all of the text-recall questions Celeste posed to the class, while the rest of the kids tapped on their computers, some using only one finger, slouched in their deskchairs. After class, Celeste said that it had not been her choice to teach about World War I this way, but her cooperating teacher had told her to "make sure they get the basics." Along with Luisa and another cohortmate, Celeste had authored a critical U.S. history curriculum for her "Social Studies Curricula" course at CSU, in which their stated goal of social studies was "to participate, question and analyze their community" and to attend to recurring, complex issues of "immigration, labor, gender inequality, racial and ethnic inequality," among other matters. This was more along the lines of what she would ideally be teaching about. "I want to teach more in depth," Celeste said, "but [in her student teaching] I can't risk going off script."

Luisa Karpouzi and Frances Reed both also received instructions from their mentors to limit the scope of their lessons' inquiry. Every time Luisa asked her cooperating teacher if it could be possible to vary the perspective or deepen the analysis of the lesson – say, for example, teach the French and Indian War from the perspective of indigenous tribes whom the conflict affected in the 18th century, or using race as an analytical lens through which to look at the British colonial movements of the day – her mentor told her, "You're gonna lose them [the

students].” Likewise, when Frances Reed suggested to their mentor, during a unit on feudalism, that they go deeper into the ideas of class structure and class mobility, the cooperating teacher told Frances, “They can't handle it.”

Resisting Essentialism and Individualism

Complicating "bad home lives." At times, the teacher education program at Confluence State University seemed so intent on making educators aware of the fact of inequality that it may have been priming its teacher candidates to perceive the communities they taught, first and foremost, as poor. In situations like the following, TE conversations seemed designed for candidates to reach this conclusion about a place's material conditions and to end their sociohistorical analysis there. In one "barometer" exercise, the professor of a course called "Inclusive Teaching" prompted students to respond in the negative or affirmative to prompts like: "I feel bad that other kids live in poverty." After this specific activity, the class discussed a "Frontline" video that they had watched for homework, which depicted poor families struggling to make ends meet. They were asked to talk about how the video had "made them more aware as teachers":

"It was emotionally hard to watch," one student teacher said, stressing how he had never been in such a situation and thus could not relate to the people shown in the segment.

Other student teachers weighed in, generally trying to validate the comment that came immediately before theirs. The consensus in this discussion was that teaching kids in poverty required teachers to consider many different factors. The students rattled some of these factors off: some kids had to caretake for their younger siblings; gangs existed in poor communities; some kids had "bad home lives."

Study participant Luisa Karpouzi's hand shot into the air. "Let's not assume that urban kids have shitty homelives." The professor nodded vigorously. Another student teacher seconded Luisa's comment by deploring the "savior mentality" that might lend to such stereotyping. No one else responded, and the conversation stopped there.

This dynamic, in which student teachers were unsatisfied with the complexity of discussions around social inequality and schools' roles, was common at CSU. The program's attempts at starting these conversations were so often incomplete and, it seemed, without any goal other than to check off a box and then move on. The candidates consistently expressed their frustration over this, and their fatigue in trying to make the same interventions in their courses over and over again, to little avail. Chapter six highlights and expounds how this incomplete aspect of the program informed simplistic, ambiguous understandings of social justice, and how it produced a shared sense of confusion and resentment among these young educators.

Interrogating the role of the school.   Teacher educators – including practitioners at schools – were not always naming students' disadvantages because they sought to concretize them as an essential part of who those students were, or what their communities were, as Luisa cautioned her classmates against in this example. Some student teachers undercut individualistic diagnoses of deficit by articulating specifically how the schools were ill-equipped to address systemic problems. Frances Reed's student teaching placement, Sycamore Community Middle School, was "in Sycamore but on the outskirts, it's on the other side of the highway in almost like a more suburban setting. I know other teachers in the district refer to it jokingly as the country club of Sycamore. That's not to say though that we don't have a lot of pretty low-income students. We have homeless students. All the problems that you expect to see from a low-income urban district are present in the school." Sycamore Community Middle School was similar in this

way to Tufted Downs High School (and, for that matter, all the other schools featured in this study), but I noticed that Frances did not describe the school with the same pathologies and criticisms of its students, as the principal at TDHS had.

When I asked Frances if and how those problems manifested in the school, Frances emphasized the "tight resources" the students and staff face, in terms of personnel and teachers' capacities for being both educators and social workers. Some examples Frances gave: "We desperately need a math specialist right now, and because we don't have one at Sycamore, the schedule for all the teachers are all messed up, you're missing preps, you're pulling five lunch duties a week." They went on: "The teachers are getting squeezed and it's affecting the kids. So you've got teachers who are being reduced to just scraping by, and they're trying to deal with some kids with serious problems at home that they bring into the classroom and the classes are so big that they have no way to deal with a single kid who's maybe being disruptive or causing a problem. They can't support these kids while still running the class, so what you get is just [teachers] screaming, and then having the kid leave the classroom."

Dale Gibbs focused less on how Sycamore's school district was underresourced, and more so on how its inherent mission was misguided. Acknowledging that he was teaching in a community that was populated by mostly poor, Latinx immigrants, Dale objected to "the way [the schools] value kids' opinions [and] the way the school system claims it wants to form citizens, like in Sycamore they say 'We want to create the best citizens and employees that we can.'" Dale saw this as "just a complete dehumanization of not just students but people in general. […] Seeing this community as just, 'We're gonna create movers of capital, basically, we're gonna create these people who will continue to create money for the university, for

corporations around Sycamore. It's just not even looking at these students as whole people, just seeing them as pieces."

Critical understandings of direct service work. The candidates were apt to push back against the essentialization of poverty and disenfranchisement in poor, immigrant communities, as well as against individual analyses of educational inequality, most especially in hybrid courses in which they were guided into understanding local communities by grassroots organizers and direct service providers. Once, in "Community Advocacy" class, during a discussion about bad conditions in local low-income housing that was led by a social worker who worked in Sycamore, the student teachers took notes as the presenter chronicled the problems that kids and their families contended with. Students lived in homes that were neglected by landlords and ridden with rats, cockroaches, lead paint, asbestos, crumbling fixtures. Kids in the community had health problems like diabetes, asthma and heart conditions. These were struggles that the social worker confronted every day in her work; she knew the issues more intimately than perhaps anyone else in the room, with the possible exception of the one student teacher in this class of twenty who had also grown up in Sycamore. "It is really important that teachers know the reality of the communities they work in," the social worker said. "I'd like you to learn from the community that you're facing; language can be a barrier but we have a lot of tools."

After the candidates split into groups to consider different scenarios in which local families struggled against oppressive conditions, the class reconvened to discuss conclusions they'd arrive at.

"Institutions need to be reformed," one teacher candidate said. "Citizens need to learn about their rights. We need community organizing."

One candidate shared that she had seen "lots of parent-blaming by teachers" in Sycamore. She cited Maslow's hierarchy of needs, contending that Confluence State needed to do more to instill in its student teachers that local kids and parents had priorities that superseded school.

"Confluence State University needs to be doing a lot more," Xavier Bonnaventura said. "We have lots of resources but we don't use them."

Another student teacher gave an example of how such universities were actually part of the problem, not necessarily the solution. A different, elite university had "bought up all the property on my sister's street," she shared. "She had two months to move out."

"Corporations are buying up all the property," someone else said. "How can we get these communities to organize and fight?"

On a different day in the "Community Advocacy" course, a guest speaker who worked locally as a social worker emphasized the importance of seeing social problems not in terms of individual student attributes or "problems at home" but as systemic arrangements whose causes extend far beyond those who are "served." The social worker posed a critical definition of "service" for the teachers to grapple with; she argued that direct service providers such as teachers might "redistribute power" and "understand systemic inequities" while also "develop[ing] authentic relationships with the community." She pushed the student teachers to question the concepts of community "need" and "service" entirely: rhetorically and provocatively, the presenter asked, "Do we really want disenfranchised and disinvested communities to not *need* us?"

The presenter's comments compelled the student teachers to name some of the structural injustices that were generally obscured in their day-to-day work with students. Luisa Karpouzi mentioned the food deserts in Sycamore that inhibited healthy eating among its residents; three

students talked about how racist policing and an outsized, punitive criminal justice system limited opportunities for brown and black youth in the community. Xavier Bonnaventura indicted the SAT for contributing to an elitist structuring of educational opportunity.

"I wish I had taken this course before I started student teaching," one candidate offered as a final thought.

Here was a course in which student teachers were encouraged to understand structural inequality, and their own roles as educators working in disinvested communities, in a complex and critical light. The course challenged potentially inflated perceptions of how much impact public school educators can have on altering deep-seated, oppressive structures, while also managing to inspire these young educators to learn more about the communities they work in, making a case for advocacy and solidarity. Perhaps counterintuitively, courses like these, in which the impulse to educationalize social inequality was checked by a more expansive structural analysis, may have made the candidates more prepared to take on community work in a city like Sycamore. It was interesting to see how such a course -- which offered few solutions and more complications for well-intentioned teachers -- actually alleviated frustrations among participants and, sometimes, lent to revelation and catharsis.

The "Community Advocacy" course broke from what might be a convention of teacher education to purport to simply prepare candidates to change lives. Busting through any romanticized views of social justice teaching, this course resisted the easy saviorism of neoliberal teacher education and offered candidates sobering opportunities to trouble their notions of "service" and their profession's customary intentions. It was a unique place to land in an institution that has generally been imagined to resolve these tensions of practice and position,

and to reassure future educators that they will be ready to drive change as soon as they step into the field.

Perceptions of Cruelty and Criminalization by Teachers

Antagonism, Disdain, Cynicism

Unable to suppress their critical sensibilities, at times the student teachers perceived an eagerness among their professional mentors to censure and criminalize the young people who populated their schools. This surfaced in conversations and interactions that candidates were privy to, or came out in discussions between student teacher and cooperating teacher that were supposedly purposed for mentorship.

This went beyond the tolerance of and impatience with school that participants like Xavier and Frances cited. It was, as Dale Gibbs would put it, tantamount to "criminalization." Celeste Alfonso-Enrique felt that the students at Tufted Downs "have issues with the teachers. They think some of the teachers are very stuck in their ways and hard-nosed and I think, at least from the kids that I have, a lot of the kids would fare so much better from a little bit of compassion instead of just, like, 'You're a bad kid and I know you're a bad kid so I'm not going to put up with your shit.'"

Celeste gave an anecdote to show how her cooperating teacher's antipathy toward a student was unwarranted.

> I have this one girl [who] puts on a face for everybody else, she has a wall of like, 'I'm really tough and you can't bother me and I don't care what you have to say' type of thing. So she'll constantly walk out of class or go missing. My CT is very much like, 'You have to be here, I don't know why you're leaving,' very hard with her […] never asking her 'Why did you leave,' 'Did you go and talk with your parents,' 'Are you okay, did something happen, did someone make you uncomfortable?' None of those. It's always just like, 'Well she was wrong and she needs to be here doing

this.' I'm like, 'Okay well I don't know what to tell you.' So yesterday [the student] comes and sits down at my desk […] We're just chatting and she's telling me how she wants to become a nurse because she loves helping people and we're going over what schools she should go to…The period ends and I say goodbye and I walk over to my CT and she was like, 'So what was [the student] talking about over there? Did she need help? Was she just bothering you, keeping you from your work?' And I was like, 'No we were just talking about college.'

This story about Celeste's cooperating teacher's uncompromising distrust of her students was evident during the classes I observed her teaching. During these sessions, the CT sat attentively at her desk at the far side of the room, maintaining a searching, surveilling presence to ensure that the students were following the rigid classroom behavioral norms. This extended even to activities like the Pledge of Allegiance, when the CT would begin the morning by shouting at any students seated in protest: "Guys, stand up!" Once, as soon as a student finished a worksheet task and relaxed in his deskchair while the other students finished, the CT yelled, "Your notebook should be open right now and you should be working on other classwork!"

Other teachers expressed an open disdain for their students or their jobs. In a discussion on this subject in the TE course "Social Studies Curricula," Frances raised their hand to bring up the "cynicism of other teachers within a toxic school culture" that they did not want to be a part of. Another candidate chimed in: "My cooperating teacher always talked about how much he hated his job. It was tough walking in in the morning and hearing my CT say, 'I fucking hate my life.'" Another candidate commented that his cooperating teacher "ran his classroom like a dictatorship."

Dale Gibbs described a social studies teacher at Sycamore High School who sometimes tried to coach Dale about the professional moves one should make. "Always look for the extra money," he would say to Dale, who tried to ignore him. He bragged to Dale about how, each

year, he applied to jobs outside the district, and wanted to be a vice principal if he couldn't be a police officer. He called himself "the laziest teacher in the school." Dale said that he couldn't understand why this man had decided to become a teacher.

Luisa could identify. Her cooperating teacher was "discouraging" and "makes fun of the kids. […] I honestly don't know why he is a teacher."

These kinds of anecdotes seemed to prompt a piece of advice that I heard constantly during my field work, that the "Social Studies Curricula" professor articulated after everyone was finished laying out their grievances. "Stay out of the faculty room," the professor began. "Don't become part of the culture of negativity." He added that "You need to like these kids. You have to like adolescents. You have to be willing to work with people who are fragile, who have issues. You have to be able to deal with that. If you can't do that, don't do this."

If the message hadn't gotten across during this session, the student teachers heard a guest speaker say something similar a few weeks later. "Always avoid faculty rooms," the speaker said, a first-year teacher who had graduated from CSU the previous year. "This can't be repeated enough. Stay positive, reject the negative energy. Don't let the negativity bring you down."

For these new teachers, the professional solution to veteran teachers' abuse, it seemed, was to simply avoid it. This social more of teacher education and teacher collegiality cautions candidates away from conflict and collectivism in public schools; it perpetuates the isolationism that has long marked the teaching profession.[3] The message such logic sends to young educators is that school faculties are not capable of learning together or coalescing over interests beyond their own personal benefit -- that it is not worth it for teachers of different minds to try to

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[3] Lortie, 1975

organize together, or to work through tension (perhaps by drawing upon knowledge from outside

the profession, like that of students' or parents') to improve institutional culture.

Teacher educators advising young teachers to "stay positive" and dig for individual

resilience against the problematic ideas and actions of their coworkers offers seemingly sunny

insistences that are actually doused in cynicism, and reminiscent of corporate cubicle culture.

Rather than preparing teachers to make change in their profession, this tendency might have the

opposite effect of steepening disillusionment and inhibiting productive conflict-seeking within

rank in the workplace.

Implication by Association

The candidates were sometimes implicated in instances when teachers exhibited this kind

of professional behavior. Dale Gibbs' assessment of Sycamore Heights Middle School, where

he'd initially been placed to student-teach, was heavily influenced by the behavior of the

school's principal. He felt that at SHMS, "They criminalize them off the bat." He continued,

> The principal…would just scream at the kids all the time. One of the last
> days we were there they were watching a movie in the auditorium and he
> just got up and screamed at the kids and sent a few kids home. Then he
> came to the back and he was like, 'You know, I have to do that so that they
> stay in line, that way they'll hate me and not hate their teacher.' I was just
> like, 'What the hell are you talking about.' He just screams at kids all the
> time over the intercom; he was under investigation because he sent kids
> who weren't in dress code to go run on the track in the middle of winter. It
> was pretty unbelievable that this guy still has a job. There were times when
> I would show up in early March and stuff there'd be snow on the ground
> and kids would be locked outside the door because it was after 8AM. If
> there was a fire drill he'd say, 'Stay outside because if you'd wanted to be
> inside you would have shown up on time.'

No participant in this study saw teachers antagonize students as much as Frances Reed.

The following recollection offers a disheartening example of how the particular professional

paradigm of teacher authority at Frances' school placement, Sycamore Community Middle

School, made it difficult for a student teacher like Frances to separate themself from it, in the eyes of students.

> I once had to send a student out of the room because she would not move her seat when I asked her. It was a big misunderstanding…I was not trying to punish the student but, rather, rearranging the seating because one table was too crowded and she was talking to her neighbor. She assumed I was punishing her and singling her out and refused to move on principle. I then asked her to talk to me after I finished [giving] instructions which she took as another affront to her dignity. At this point [my cooperating teacher] stepped in and began screaming at her to move at which point she just folded her arms (pretty badass honestly). I had to ask her as nicely as I could to take a walk with me so we could figure things out and she stormed out of the room and went to the principal's office where she had resigned herself to being written up. I did not intend to write her up and had to have a long talk with her but I felt like she hated me and that I had become the tyrant I never wanted to be.

Observing Frances' classes gave me an even stronger understanding of what was considered a normal authoritative stance in their cooperating teacher's classroom. One day, as Frances led a class activity in which their middle school students took turns pointing out and describing the things they saw in a painting, the resource teacher, a young white woman only a few years older than Frances, rushed to the front of the room and interrupted Frances' facilitation of the activity.

"Listen!" the resource teacher shouted, angry that the students had been chatting softly with each other while the activity had been going on. "I want to remind you that parent-teacher conferences are this week. Parents who don't come will get a phone call." She paused, then added, "This is not a threat." The students were totally quiet now. "It's not fair to the students who care about their future, who care about school."

The students assumed a more docile manner, perhaps trying to appease the teacher. Some smiled sheepishly as though smarting from a blow. One student turned over his shoulder and,

incredibly, gave me a thumb's up. Other students squirmed in their chairs; all of them avoided eye contact with the teacher who was not finished haranguing them. One boy whispered something to his neighbor, which prompted the teacher to bellow, "Why are you constantly talking while I'm talking? You'll never sit at this desk again. Go back to your red table." The boy sauntered to an empty table at the back of the room.

It was remarkable to witness Frances stand aside while their resource teacher threatened the students with bad reports to parents, only to resume the class, as soon as the resource teacher finished her tirade, by declaring: "I know that you all will do a great job to show your parents." Frances was refusing to play into the "toxic culture" of antagonism and suspicion that they felt dominated the school, even if it meant that such a stance alienated Frances from dominant authority and earned the distrust and disapproval of their colleagues there.

"I legit don't know how to defend [the students] in my position," Frances reflected later. Frances felt that the support teacher "just embraced complete authoritarian cruelty…She always screamed at the kids and humiliated them in front of their peers. They all hated her."

But Frances also knew that it was their cooperating teacher, a middle-aged white man, not the support teacher, who was driving the culture of this classroom. During a tirade like the one described above, the cooperating teacher would sit aloof at his desk in the back corner of the room, his silence a form of endorsement of the support teacher's methods. When the support teacher was not around, the cooperating teacher took on bullying duties himself. One day, as Frances facilitated a class discussion about the U.S. Electoral College, I watched the cooperating teacher dash over to the front of the room and take the reins from Frances at a seemingly random moment, not long after the class had begun.

Once an interactive discussion, the lesson became a rant, directed at the students who, in the CT's mind, "have no concept of what I'm talking about, do you?" Without ensuring that the students knew what he was talking about, the teacher ripped into the federal electoral system, calling the process unfair and asserting that it had led to the loathsome rule of the 45th U.S. president. It was as though the teacher was taking his rage out on the students, who sulked silently in their seats, enduring the diatribe. The cooperating teacher paused only to deride the students in scathing, off-handed remarks. "You guys don't pay attention to the news, do you…You guys should really start paying attention."

"If the Electoral College is unfair, then what is the point of voting?" a student asked.

Rather than respond to the question, the teacher passed the run of the class back to Frances to come up with an answer. But after the CT's vitriol, Frances struggled to encourage the students to remain optimistic about the political process, and not to rule out their own civic participation. "I was not super happy about the cynical conclusion," Frances remarked later. "I wanted to go back to the idea of whose voice matters."

All in all, Frances perceived their cooperating teacher as someone who "puts forth no effort and seems mostly in it for his own ego." After their student-teaching semester, Frances themself could only conclude that "teachers are not as progressive, woke or compassionate as I would hope they might be. And some are truly terrible."

Frances' perception of practicing teachers cannot simply be written off as the workings of a bad field placement or a bad mentor -- especially considering how common it is for student teachers to experience such powerlessness in their student teaching, and witness miseducation in occuring in public schools.[4] While CSU's program offered candidates like Frances plenty of

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[4] McNay, Margaret. "Power and Authority in Teacher Education." The Educational Forum, January 30, 2008. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131720308984605; Anderson, Derek. "THE ROLE OF COOPERATING

space to vent and despair about their teaching placements, there was little time in coursework devoted to an analysis of the banality of well-intentioned oppressive teaching, and how what candidates might perceive as toxic might perversely be considered competent or caring in the field. After all, we should remember that Frances' mentor had been teaching for many years, and was respected in his field; in fact the state board of education required Frances' mentor, like all cooperating teachers in partner districts, to have achieved "effective" professional status as evaluated by his school's administration.

Perceptions of School Disorganization

Staffing

One other major pattern of student teachers' school perceptions was of their school placements as sites of disorganization, much of it having to do with administrative mismanagement or teacher irresponsibility. Some such perceptions began in the classroom, as candidates like Luisa Karpouzi were left to teach by themselves and then ignored by the schools' administrations.

Luisa's experience was singular: her cooperating teacher went on paternity leave two-thirds of the way through her student teacher semester, and left Luisa to teach by herself, even though this was illegal. The administration was made aware of the situation but did not put another licensed teacher in the classroom, nor did they pay Luisa for teaching full-time. Luisa reflected on the experience long after she'd finished teaching at Sycamore:

> The vice principal called me and she said, 'I think you're totally capable in taking this on…you're a real godsend for doing it, you're gonna be fine, just send me your lesson plans.' And then she was supposed to observe me and

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TEACHERS'POWER IN STUDENT TEACHING." Education 128, no. 2 (2007); Orland-Barak, Lily. "Lost in Translation: Mentors Learning to Participate in Competing Discourses of Practice." Journal of Teacher Education 56, no. 4 (September 1, 2005): 355–66. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487105279566; Orland- Barak *, Lily. "Cracks in the Iceberg: Surfacing the Tensions of Constructivist Pedagogy in the Context of Mentoring." Teachers and Teaching 11, no. 3 (June 1, 2005): 293–313. https://doi.org/10.1080/13450600500105585

> she cancelled 3 times before she actually did. She never replied to any of my lesson plans. […] I spoke to [the university liaison] about it, asked her 'Is this kosher?' She said 'No, but I don't know where else to place you.' So CSU shot themselves in the foot with these urban partner districts. They don't have enough teachers.
>
> I was happy I was able to help [my CT] in that situation. And he was grateful. On the other hand I do feel like I was taken advantage of in a way. But in the end I think I learned the most being alone… Looking back on it it really gave me the space to grow. [But] it was so illegal. It was incredibly illegal. The fact that CSU just swept it under the rug, that would not have flown in a district where parents were more involved. Because Sycamore parents, most of them didn't have much time to be involved because they were just trying to survive.

This experience seemed to stir a sense of the school's disingenuousness and disregard for its workers, or at least its student teachers. Incidentally, Luisa was not the only candidate whose cooperating teacher left them alone to teach. When another student teacher attested that her CT, too, "wasn't in the room a lot when I was teaching," the "Social Studies Curricula" professor at CSU exclaimed, "He broke the law. If one student slipped, fell and broke their head open you are negligent." Addressing the whole class he added, "If you are ever a cooperating teacher you better be in that room."[5]

In a focus group, Sam Devenski and Robin Malone described their own experience with their cooperating district's negligence, which also came in the form of an irresponsible lack of oversight. Robin began by telling the story of his first day as a student teacher. "We walked into [the school] and I was like, 'Here's my forms, here's my resume, here's my contact sheet.' They

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[5] Of the 21 field site classroom observations I conducted for this study, six (roughly 30 percent) were taught by student teachers without a cooperating teacher present. Only in Luisa's classroom did the school not supply a substitute teacher when the cooperating teacher was absent, but based on all of these observations my sense was that the presence of substitute teachers only made the class more hectic and uncomfortable, for everyone involved. On the other hand, when student teachers got to teach alone (or when the sub made her/himself scarce) the students and student teachers seemed more comfortable and the environment was more relaxed.

were like, 'We don't need those!' I was like, 'Not even the one that proves I don't even have tuberculosis?'"

Sam chimed in. "I just *walked in* to Obsidian. First day [of student teaching], I walked in, and they didn't know I was coming. And I'm like 'Oh, I'm here to student teach.' And they're like, 'Oh, you are?' They called [my CT who] didn't know I was coming. Thankfully he was like, 'Oh yeah, sure, I'll take a student teacher,' and I was like, 'Thank god!'

"Every day," Sam continued, "I would go to sign in [at the attendance office]. I never handed them any paperwork about myself and I remember I was like, 'Man, I'm really tired of signing in.' I was like, 'Can I get any kind of ID?' and they're just like, 'Oh, just go over to the Board of Education and get an ID.' I walked [across the street] to the Board of Education and they gave me an ID. I could have gotten paid every day! Because I was registered as a substitute. I could get in and out of the building myself, they didn't even know who I am."

Robin drove home the point of how much negligence and disorganization the whole situation entailed: "Sam and [another student teacher] came in one day with their badges on and I was like, 'Oh hey those are neat, where'd you get that?' And they were like, 'Just go across the street!' So the next day I just hauled over and I was like, 'Yo, I can have access to children?' And they were like, 'Sure, come on over!' I was like, 'You wanna see some ID? Do you wanna do like a background check?' 'No, it's fine, we trust you. You've got a tie on!' I told my parents, I was like, 'That's fucking scary. Like, all it requires is me to put on this [shirt and tie], walk in and be like, 'Hey I'm a student teacher!'"

Faculty/Administrative Tensions.

A separate but related issue that fed the perception of disorganized schools was the frequent flares of conflict between partner school faculty and administrators. Several participants

reported feelings of resentment and animosity between these two classes of workers that seeped

into the work culture and the quality of teaching. Frances explained in one anecdote:

> The day before the first day of school, the schedule was still undecided. No one knew what they were doing, no one knew how long they were gonna have the kids. My CT wrote up a schedule and handed it off to admin, they were like, 'All right, we're gonna have a meeting at the end of the day and we'll make sure you know what you're doing tomorrow.' Everyone was sitting around in the library, waiting. 3PM rolled by, 3:35 rolled by, no sign of admin. People just literally started going home, like, 'That's the day, see yah.' Next day, first day of school, there's a lot of uncertainty…[A]t one point in my first period class a group of like ten students comes in with a teacher behind them and this teacher's like, 'So these students are just gonna be in here for a while, they have no teacher or classroom.' This was a class of students with special needs, but they're supposed to be a class that meets and have a teacher who wasn't there. So they just dropped this class off. My teacher was annoyed. The kids ended up just sitting in the principal's office all day.

After school that day, Frances' cooperating teacher confronted the administration about the

fiasco. "My teacher ended up blowing up in front of vice principal…yelling and basically just

laying out all of his annoyances over the past few years. Even cursing, like, he was *mad*. He had

not talked to anyone else before, by himself he just started railing on the vice principal. It was

very uncomfortable for everybody."

Similar confrontations occurred in district meetings that Luisa Karpouzi was present for.

"The administration, the school…no one seems to be on the same page." She spoke of a "new

system for attendance and lesson plans [where] you put everything onto the system" that the

faculty took issue with. Apparently this new system was so inadequate that it took nearly a

month of school for the students to get their class schedules. "I went to a PD [professional

development] for [this new system] and the teachers were up in arms. They were yelling, it was a

zoo. This was a PD but it became a battle. And rightfully so. I understand why they were

frustrated."

Of all the Kafkaesque ordeals that Luisa found herself in the middle of at Sycamore, the one that became the most mundane for her was her physical classroom situation: she (and her cooperating teacher) were expected to teach out of the side of a hallway for the entire school year. "We're on the third floor. It's very hot…it's like 77 degrees every day. It's hot. *Hot*." I witnessed how this teaching location produced constant distractions for Luisa and the students, especially the many hall monitors and administrators who marched past with walkie-talkies, often stopping to glare at students in the vicinity or other times for no apparent reason at all other than to stand and wait for something. Students also frequently burst out of nearby doorways and shouted in apparent glee after having been freed from a stuffy environment, indifferent to whom they might be interrupting out in the hall.

Luisa grumbled about this setup plenty of times but the cooperating teacher did not seem nearly as troubled by it. "You gotta play the cards you're dealt," the CT told me when I brought it up, shrugging it off like a passing inconvenience.

In these instances, student teachers were again left with an impression of public schooling mired in contradictions, a social institution riddled with administrative problems, and a culture of teaching that was powerless to and uninterested in driving institutional change. All in all the candidates did not seem all that surprised by what they found, but were still put off by it. Their frustrations potentially did not dissipate at the end of their student teaching semester, and would possibly endure into their professional tenure and muddy any assumptions of social agency and institutional power when they become employed.

Contrary to the way the principal at Tufted Downs characterized his students at the beginning of this chapter, the majority of participants tended to resist easy narratives of student and community deficit. Instead, they faulted the teachers, the schools, the standards, the curricula

and the administrators -- not to mention their TE program, as we will find in chapter six -- when they considered the most pressing problems they saw in the field. While it is heartening to see many of these young educators declining to parrot simplistic individualism and well-intentioned attacks on student motivation and behavior, the fact of their institutional criticism does not necessarily imply a total departure from neoliberal educational ideology. Locating the problems of structural inequality within school mechanisms and personnel is potentially still an over-valorization of the power of school-based education to transform society. This analysis might suggest that teacher education programs are excellent spaces for critical discussions about school institutions, but that these discussions might lead to inquiries about relevant, broader justice movements and their grassroots, facilitative work, rather than the prompting of classroom- or school-based solutions.

Chapter Summary and Implications for Teacher Education

The construction of local deficit and the culture of victim blaming by public school educators who seek to "make a difference" in kids' lives without understanding the political roots of perceived problems is well documented, and certainly pervasive in the school districts of Sycamore, Obsidian and Tufted Downs. That being so, the findings presented in this chapter suggest that student teachers bring a range of skepticism, uncertainty and refusal regarding such assumptions. Rather than simply problematize and pathologize their students via a discourse of school achievement and motivation, the student teachers also questioned and indicted the teachers, administrations, schools as well as the local institutional layout and the entire system of opportunity.

In several instances, the teacher education program at CSU encouraged this broader analysis; conversely, at times it was undermined by the palliatory narrative of "inequality festers, thus teachers adapt." In the examination of the teacher education courses at CSU in chapter six, we will see a few more examples of this and other kinds of preparatory deflection. But even more commonly, a broader analysis of institutional problems and ways of addressing them was stymied by a reluctance by the TE program to cut incisively, historically and with practice-oriented specificity into the neoliberal educational logic of deficit and savior. Indeed, TE's tendency to remain mum on the question of how teachers make change (or how they reproduce the racial and class status quo) -- allowing totalizing assumptions of educational individualism to go untroubled, especially in the clinical setting -- inhibited some candidates from connecting in these "practical" spaces their intuitive nondominant conceptions of activist teachers' roles in an unequal society.

Teacher education could become a more viable site to engage and cultivate the kinds of critical understandings that many of the participants in this study demonstrated, but this would require more connection with local organizers and providers (as the "Community Advocacy" course at CSU attempted) as well as more ideological and strategic cohesion between student teachers, professional educators, and university-based teacher educators. If this happened, the problems of "practice" (i.e., in the field) might be interrogated in a way that implicates normative professional responses in the same way that trite "broken education system" narratives have traditionally and erroneously problematized the community, the parents or the students themselves. While the student teachers often demonstrated no shortage of ability or imagination to interrogate their profession and the system that created it, there seemed to be few opportunities

for them to do this productively and to try on radical pedagogical or organizational strategies for structural or ideological intervention.

The situations depicted above (as well as evidence given in the following two chapters) cast some light upon a number of entrenched norms, structures, and arrangements specifically in the field-based components of TE that abet these missed opportunities:

TE norms dictate a "one student teacher, one classroom, one mentor teacher" protocol. While most candidates at CSU spent a year observing different school settings, their student teaching semester boiled down to four months in one classroom, under the mentorship of one professional teacher. This one-on-one format makes student teaching placement a luck-of-the-draw endeavor that could turn out to be extremely limiting, demoralizing or exploitative for the student teacher. A better setup might allow student teachers to work with a number of mentor teachers in order to get different perspectives on the school, the profession and the purpose of teaching in society.

Current clinical TE stresses student teachers' resilience and prioritizes their pursuit of a job. The individualistic and economic priorities of being a student teacher potentially preclude strategizing for change or disruption in the field experience. If student teachers are so focused on just getting through the field experience, as some anecdotes in this chapter and the following chapter show, or if they are angling to eventually get a job in the district they intern at (as so many do as a result of economic realities, and because their internship creates fortuitous career connections they would be wise to try and leverage), it becomes quite unlikely that they would seek out ways of practicing teaching that cause the slightest ripple in institutional culture. While this is not to suggest that new teachers should be trying to change their schools and their

profession immediately, those who do seek to enact change eventually might benefit from some practice and some encouragement early on.

Ensuring that student teachers will have a job once they graduate from their program might lend to more imaginative practice at the start of one's career, and give student teachers experience and confidence in working toward their own professional ideals rather than simply accommodating conventional wisdom. This would seem to require more public educational funding for more school teaching positions, as well as a more rigorous localistic ethos in TE in which preparation programs work with public school districts to identify full-time, permanent placements for their candidates. One possible route to creating the economic conditions to make guaranteed teaching jobs a reality could be to enact state legislation forcing universities to direct revenue toward local public schools, as well as requiring some portions of universities' state appropriations (which ideally would be increased) to be invested in these positions.

Student teaching placements are often random and insecure. Expanding on the above point, while student teachers are not guaranteed a future job at their placement, they very often do not have any say in where they are placed for their field assignment. While allowing each student teacher to choose their placement school might exacerbate disparities in staffing (i.e., predominantly white, middle-class student teachers might disproportionately choose to just work at schools with similar social profiles), some nuance and structure could be adopted in the selection process to allow candidates to first research a number of available schools, thereby establishing some community historical knowledge and some investment before going to intern there.

Even more basically, teacher education programs are required to place their student teachers in schools only, rather than alternative spaces of education such as community centers,

childcare cooperatives, think tanks, worker and tenant organizing spaces, political advocacy organizations, and so on. Literally expanding work and training options for change-minded educators seems an obvious and practical way of encouraging teachers to reimagine their occupations.

Seniority codes prevail. Invisible rules of seniority at conservative institutions like public schools make it common for older white men to seize opportunities to talk at student teachers about what they perceive as good practice or sound professional logic (see chapter five for a full accounting and discussion of dominant white masculinity in the social studies). Thus, the societal norm of valuing workers' longevity in a position -- so often white and male, in the professional world, and especially reflected in academia and in social studies education -- presents an extra mental hurdle for young educators to surmount when experimenting with untraditional, transformative practices. That is, it is potentially difficult for young novice educators to question the practices or the advice of senior mentors if society and professional socialization are tacitly telling them to revere these points of view by default.

Student teachers are bound to cooperating teachers' practices and structures. Going hand in hand with some of the above points, the fact that student teachers are hardly encouraged or given the wherewithal to develop their own materials and implement their own practices means that they must stick to what their CT does best. In this research, a number of the participants were not able to use their own lessons or forge their own educational norms sometimes out of their CT's presumed/imposed superiority, but also because they just didn't have the time, as they tried to work two jobs (being a teacher and being a student) simultaneously. This basic lack of agency and trust that TE affords student teachers potentially haunts schools' capacities for undergoing institutional transformation, as it perpetuates a

professional logic of traditionalism and discounts the ideas of young educators out of their presumed lack of skill.

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All in all, while the participants did sometimes understand their roles as educators to be that of gap-filler or pathology-remediator, the alternative idea that social justice teaching should primarily contribute to the organized dismantlement of oppressive structures was indeed reflected, to varying degrees, in how the participants understood their jobs.[6] But while these novice teachers identified institutional or structural problems, and may have regretted their complicity or their inability to address them in a concerted way, they received little direction in terms of what to do in the face of these problems. The following chapter adjusts its focus from the schools and their personnel to the discipline of social studies, and considers how participants' preparation to teach this subject matter influenced the kind of professional culture they were learning.

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[6] See, for example, Picower, 2009; Katsarou, Picower & Stovall, 2010

CHAPTER FIVE:

"MASCULINE ENOUGH TO BE A TEACHER"

Teacher Candidates' Perceptions of Social Studies Teachers, Narratives and Customs

Student Teaching in a Gendered Profession: Introduction

It was not lost on the social studies candidates at Confluence State University that their discipline

was a powerhouse of white masculinity, though there were significant differences in how each of

this study's seven participants experienced and understood these dynamics. Considering 58

percent of U.S. social studies teachers are male (86 percent are white) – in fact the only

discipline in which there are more male teachers than female (science, at 41 percent male, is a

distant second) – it did not come as a surprise that about two-thirds of the social studies cohort at

CSU was male, almost all of them white.[1] These numbers reflected racial and gender

representation among the student teachers' superiors as well. The principals of all the public

schools from which data was gathered in this study – Sycamore High School, Sycamore

Community Middle School, Sycamore Heights Middle School, Obsidian High School and Tufted

Downs High School – were cis men (four out of five white). The majority of cooperating

teachers, resource and support teachers, and even substitute teachers who show up in the data of

this study were cis men (again, almost all of these individuals were white). Finally, of the four

core social studies education courses that the candidates were required to take at CSU

("Introduction to Social Studies"; "Social Studies Teaching Methods"; "Social Studies Planning

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[1] Quintero, Michael Hansen, Elizabeth Mann, Jon Valant, and Diana. "2018 Brown Center Report on American Education: Understanding the Social Studies Teacher Workforce." Brookings (blog), June 27, 2018. https://www.brookings.edu/research/2018-brown-center-report-on-american-education-understanding-the-social-studies-teacher-workforce/

and Practice" and "Social Studies Curricula"), all four were taught by white professors, three of them cis men.

Gendered and racial representation in the social studies and in schools as a whole produced professional meanings for the candidates, even if identity does not constitute essential qualities (e.g., the fact that someone is a white man does not automatically mean he acts in oppressive ways)[2]. Rather, the overrepresentation of cis white men in social studies education was indicative of and conducive to an ideology and a way of being -- a teacher, a student -- that the candidates perceived and described with varying specificity. As elucidated in studies of colorblind racial ideology, the white maleness of social studies teaching was palpable without necessarily being enunciated or codified.[3] "I think the dynamic is a lot different, and I think it definitely shows when there are three male teachers in a room," said Xavier Bonnaventura, a cis white male teacher candidate who student-taught classes composed entirely of youth of color with two other cis white men (his cooperating teacher and his support teacher). "It's just, there's a point of view and a perspective that completely dominates the classroom." Dale Gibbs felt the effects of these dynamics personally: "I think it gives me some sort of unfounded credibility right off the bat." Frances Reed offered this reflection: "I feel like school, and then this program as an extension of it, is one of the most explicitly gendered places I've ever been a part of or been in."

For some of the participants of this study, social studies' male-ness (a "bro discipline," as Luisa Karpouzi christened it during one of our first conversations) potentially offered them a way to *not* see teaching in its traditionally gendered light. Sam Devenski recounted how his

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[2] As the writer/activist Sarah Schulman puts it, "no one is inherently problematic because of his/her race." Schulman, 2013

[3] e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2001

father, a math teacher, "had been told to his face 'That's a woman's job!'" when he first became a teacher. As a man in the teaching profession, Sam could not relate to such gendered disparagement. "I don't want to sound cocky when I say I don't think about it, but I don't think about it!" he said during a focus group conversation, in regard to the gender dynamics of teaching that he was walking into. "Maybe it's because I'm young and I don't really notice the stigma, or haven't thought about the stigma, but I just don't notice it."

"I agree," replied Robin Malone, "I've never really thought about it. Maybe because social studies *is* so male dominated."

"Seems normal," Sam said. In this regard, Sam and Robin were in the minority of participants of this study – gender dynamics were just not really on their radar in the everyday dealings of their work. Some of the candidates who did feel the power dynamics of gender more acutely identified the relationship between mentor and student teacher as a focal point. Social studies TE classrooms at CSU were another. When I asked Luisa to explain what she meant by the "bro culture" in her cohort, she gave an example: "[W]hen I assert myself, which I tend to do quite frequently in a group conversation, I definitely think there are some guys who might not take me as seriously, or discredit what I'm saying, or will challenge me, or will mansplain things to me. Which drives me crazy."

During a focus group, Luisa, Xavier and Celeste Alfonso-Enrique unpacked the unequal gender dynamics that marked some mentor-mentee relationships. "I found it very hard to work with men," Luisa began. Her cooperating teacher fit into the mold of "men who were hypermasculine…who thought they were, who attempted to be hypermasculine. [T]he power dynamic in my classroom was very off-kilter. […] I didn't really feel comfortable in it."

"I had a female cooperating teacher," Celeste Alfonso-Enrique replied, and then, offering contrast, referenced another woman in their cohort whose cooperating teacher "really fits into essentially the same stereotypically male social studies teacher. And my experience in the classroom and [her] experience in the classroom were very, very different. Not simply because [her cooperating teacher and mine] are different people, but I think also because I don't necessarily think he wanted to give up that—

Luisa: "Power"

Celeste: "Yeah, power, with [their cohortmate] to make any decision on her own, to write any lesson plans on her own, to grade things on her own. Everything was always predetermined by him. And my time there was very different. [My CT] was essentially just like, yeah, do whatever you want."

These student teachers were attentive to the power relations that gender reinforced in their school placements. Even those who did not always feel it themselves could identify the gendered inequalities inherent to their school's logic playing out elsewhere, for other people – for example in how Robin Malone knew "female students [who] felt that they were being targeted for clothing that was deemed inappropriate by school administrators and staff but felt that men were not being treated in the same way […] I understood their anger and frustration with the system."

Indeed, the ways that the schools and the specific discipline of social studies produced and normalized deeply gendered (and racial) structures were felt in more microscopic and mundane instances in addition to the basic worker divisions and hierarchies described above. All of these structures amounted to a school gender regime that, as theorist Raewyn Connell argues, makes masculinity dominant in its spaces and, indeed, supports a network of masculinizing

practices and norms.[4] Specifically, Connell identifies the power relations, division of labor, patterns of feeling and symbolism within schools as key features of this gendered network. In this chapter I draw heavily on Connell's analysis by organizing student teachers' experiences and perceptions to illuminate how and where these institutional features make an impact on the people there.

Varying a bit from this theoretical formulation, the data I collected from my interactions with and observations of the participants revealed three particular, sometimes overlapping realms of social studies "bro" culture. These include the acutely gendered patterns of feeling that were naturalized in the professional culture of schools as a whole, based on how the candidates perceived or were subjected to them; the deeply gendered and racially hegemonic customs of their specific subject area; and the dominant teacher authority that pervaded the schools as understood and upheld or subtly contested by the participants. In fascinating ways, all three of these realms were sites of dominant white masculinity production, that is, they were all professional tools with which educators reflected and doubled down on white cisheteropatriarchy -- almost always tacitly, without explicit invocation of race or gender. The episodes and interactions described below show how participants of this study were caught in this sheer web, and often grasped outward -- in practice or in their spoken aspirations -- in attempts to defy it.

Patterns of Feeling Among Social Studies Teachers

Expertise and Intellectual Authority

Dale Gibbs' assertion that being a white man "gave me some sort of unfounded credibility" spoke to a larger trend that I observed in both the public schools and the teacher

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[4] Connell, 2000, chapter 7

education courses at CSU in which men – very often white men – came across as outwardly and

disproportionately authoritative when it came to offering knowledge. Dale's experience is

telling:

> I remember showing up to the first few days of student teaching and there
> were student teachers from around the rest of the district[,] actually there
> were mostly women of color within this small social studies working group.
> Basically I just noticed how the teachers at Sycamore High who were
> mostly white men were writing off everything they said, and immediately
> just turning to me and giving me their full attention.

Dale saw this dynamic at CSU as well, in courses like "Introduction to Social Studies" and

"Social Studies Planning and Practice." He said that "it kind of manifested in our classrooms

within the cohort, it's a very male dominant space and it seems a lot of times the biggest

personalities in the room almost are typically male."

While Frances Reed agreed with him, others in the cohort might not have seen gender as

a relevant structure when thinking about who talked the most. In a focus group, Robin Malone

reflected on why some people in their own social studies cohort were more vocal, and shared

more of their opinions, than others during class. He put it very simply: "I think the

outspokenness is a product of having a lot to say…I think that generally, the people who

participate most are the people who have the most insightful things to say." Robin's comments

show how an ideology that eschews race and gender as appropriate lenses of analysis remained

powerful, if not hegemonic, within the TE program. Within such an ideology, if the people being

afforded authority and expertise happen to be white men, it is merely because they have earned

it, their identities incidental.

At Sycamore Community Middle School, Frances Reed experienced a similar

professional culture to what Dale was describing, in which men were customarily granted more

legitimacy. In Frances' perception, the gendered construction of educational expertise was somehow connected to how successfully educators could wield power over others:

> I noticed men in the classroom would sort of have access to this power and respect [versus] what they were actually doing…My cooperating teacher could get away with doing nothing and still feel entitled to speak as an expert or as someone with something to say. And then the resource teacher in my room, who's a woman…she did so much more work than him but also just embraced complete authoritarian cruelty almost in a way that, I don't know if she felt she needed to in order to access that same kind of dominance, but the way that students would treat her was clearly so much different than the way they would treat him.

For Frances, male educator power at SCMS did not always need to channel such "authoritarian cruelty" but could alternatively perform "kind of an aloof dominance." Xavier Bonnaventura thought of his own gender performance when discussing how he perceived male teachers acting in schools. It was not just when he taught but, in general, "I more so put on a mask when I'm talking to dudes than when I'm talking to women." The particular masculinity these participants were describing seemed to be affectless, stoic, strong, silent. I was reminded of the male administrators and teachers I often saw in these schools' halls, watching students sternly with their arms crossed; avoiding eye contact or, in turn, shamelessly grilling me as I walked past; the cooperating teacher in Frances' room inconspicuously seated at his desk, quietly endorsing the resource teacher's caustic words and punishments of students who dared to smirk or whisper.

Xavier speculated during a focus group that these gendered professional norms not only adhered to specific disciplines but also borrowed from other nexuses of dominant masculinity in schools. "Social studies teachers tend to be football coaches, they tend to be former athletes…that's literally just how it is. Men don't really want to be language arts teachers, men don't really want to be science teachers as much." To accentuate the point, Xavier reflected on the teachers at the school he grew up attending. "[T]he language arts teachers were really artsy

and they all played guitar and stuff. My male language arts teachers recorded with my brother at the studio, another one performed at the town... I could never see any of my social studies teachers doing that, they had such…male, military complexes."

Luisa built on her friend's anecdote: "Social studies is, weirdly, masculine enough to be a teacher. Like you have masculine men going to education, going to social studies, but you don't really see these bros in other disciplines, and I don't know why."

Expanding on this point, Luisa named empathy, specifically, as a trait that male social studies teachers were less likely to have:

> I think that social studies bro [culture] doesn't bring empathy to the discipline, and I think you need to be empathetic, it doesn't matter who you are, to be a social studies teacher because you are teaching about people. And you need to approach it with kindness, you need to be very conscious in that because you don't know where your kids are coming from. You don't know totally know their background and you don't know what they've been through… but if you're not an empathetic person you are not gonna do that.

Celeste Alfonso-Enrique could attest to this in her own experience as a student teacher working with a mentor who was a woman. "The experience that I had emotionally, student teaching was very emotionally taxing."

Luisa nodded. "We called each other every day."

"Every day," said Celeste. "I cried multiple times. Whether it was because of things students told me about their lives that just hurt my heart, or I felt like I wasn't doing a good job, [my CT] was such a good emotional support base that I feel like Mike was not, that Kyle across the hall was not, that Richard was not... But I think that's, like you said, empathy, that's the mark of a good teacher, that they can help you or anyone else process."

One anecdote from Luisa's experience illustrated how the masculine claim to expertise could be deployed to render issues of sexual assault or gender injustice irrelevant to school

performance. "There was a particularly hard instance during student teaching during parent teacher conferences," she wrote. "I had one student who was very checked out, outright refused to do work, and often skipped; I was very surprised to see her and her family at the conference. During the conference, her father asked if I was aware of the trauma she endured at school last year, which I did not. He was alluding to this trauma and at one point, she broke down apologizing about her behavior saying she couldn't control herself and handle the situation. At the end of the meeting, her father told me that a student had sexually assaulted her last year in school. I was overcome with emotion and decided to tell my in-class support teacher, as this student has an IEP and he often works with her. When I told him what had just happened, he did not believe her and told me that I was 'too emotional' because 'women are more emotional than men.'"

Separately, Luisa was sure to note that "there were plenty of female teachers who were not empathetic. I'm not assigning empathy to femininity, but I'm just saying that is a trait that teachers should have, and I think a lot of our cooperating teachers didn't have." A different story from her student teacher experience exemplified how her cooperating teacher struggled to overcome harmful gender norms in his position at the school, as he prepared for paternity.

> [He] had a mental breakdown right before his baby was born. And he said that he was getting anxiety attacks all semester while I was there. He opened up to me! And I was like, Listen, you are about to enter fatherhood which is serious and slightly stressful, which essentially is a new position, you have a lot going on, anyone would be feeling anxious. You're not crazy that you're having anxiety attacks. Like, I've had anxiety attacks, I got help to at least get it under control when I felt like I couldn't. It's not shameful, it's no big deal. But you need to take care of it because it's not gonna go away, it's just gonna get worse. And he's like, 'Am I gonna be on anxiety medication?' I'm like, 'No, you might not have to be, you're having anxiety attacks, you're not crazy, you're just anxious because you have a lot going on!' And he actually went, I convinced him to go talk to someone about it…I hope that that showed him that it's okay that you need help, and that you don't need to be in control of your emotions all the time.

Even as stoicism and affectless strength might have been dominant expressions of masculinity, men were also typically – perhaps ironically – more verbose and more unabashed in volunteering responses in social studies classrooms, based on my observations of student participation in public schools and in the teacher education courses. At Confluence State, this may have been in part an outcome of how women were outnumbered in the social studies cohort – more men in the room meant, logically, that more men would speak. On the other hand, in the public school classes I observed, boys hardly held any classroom majorities; the gender breakdown in these middle school and high school classes was usually around fifty-fifty, yet boys were far more outspoken in general. On one occasion, I observed a class that Sam Devenski taught in which almost all public comments had been made by the members of a group of white boys sitting in the back of the room. Afterwards, I asked Sam why he thought the voicing in the class had been so heavily gendered; Sam replied that he felt "boys are more conditioned to like and engage with social studies" but also acknowledged that the teacher plays a large role in structuring who talks and who doesn't. The imbalance of voices was "something I'm working on," he said, knowing he had some control of how gender dynamics were produced in his classroom.

I wondered if Sam was right -- that it was the discipline of social studies that was authorizing these boys to be more vocal -- or if I would have seen the same skewed dynamics in English class, in science, and so on. While this study was not set up to answer that question, the data here suggests that the consolidation of white masculinity in social studies education certainly does not do anything to alleviate the dominant white masculine norms in schools in general. It seems that forms of emotional expression were one site of de facto white masculine

authority -- a way that cis male power was confirmed in these public schools. Gender was a crucial vehicle for the empowerment of certain types of emotion, and as everyone could attempt to perform those empowered, coded-masculine dispositions, it yielded a school culture that encouraged (because it privileged) some ways of being while rendering others diminutive. These oppressive dynamics seemed to call for some serious interrogation and discussion in teacher education programming.

Masculinity, Transphobia and Mandatory Heterosexuality

"Archaic masculinity." For Frances Reed, a transgender teacher, the culture of dominant masculinity at SCMS "broke down in some very strange ways." For example, Frances recounted how "students would come up and sort of like quiz me on my masculinity and, like, heterosexuality basically… [Y]oung teenage boys always would come up and would say, 'You got a girlfriend mister?' 'You fuck girls?' Stuff like that. It was gendered in an overwhelming way, just constantly."

While Dale Gibbs, who was cisgender, "also had students ask, 'Oh do you have a girlfriend?'" he noted that "most of the questions that were gendered had to do with archaic forms of masculinity…They would be like, 'Have you been in a fight,' like, 'Are you tough,' basically…It seemed like they were just asking, 'Are you a man,' basically, 'Are you a man's man?'"

Both Dale and Frances stressed how deceptively difficult it was to respond appropriately to these sorts of gendered pressures. Dale found himself in the difficult position of trying to make sure he did not validate the students' masculinity test, but not wanting to fail it, either -- maybe not for fear of what it would mean for his own image, but because failing it would just be another kind of condonement. "I didn't really necessarily know how to [respond]," he said; "I

feel like I unfortunately would kind of just make a joke and then just sort of…get back to whatever we were doing. I was constantly thinking of ways to handle those sorts of situations in a valuable way that allowed me to be vulnerable with my kids and…get the point across that I'm here to be honest with you, vulnerable in the space just like you are, but also not play into stuff that I shouldn't really be playing into as an educator. I'm kind of still figuring that out as an educator."

Frances concurred. "I also realized…how much I'm not invulnerable to almost the same social dynamics and pressures that middle schoolers are going through in dealing with middle schoolers. I'm an adult so I'm obviously not [their] peer or anything, but I would feel my initial reaction be like, 'Oh, I don't want these middle schoolers to reject me!'" The gendered dynamics of power that we imagine to be strictly juvenile and evanescent in our society in fact loom large in professional spaces, too. We just don't talk about them -- or at least no one did in any of the 24 teacher education class meetings that I witnessed.

Teaching while trans. Aside from the pressure from students to embody such an archaically masculine and cisheteronormative identity, Frances perceived similar cultural expectations among the staff. For example, Frances recalled one day at SCMS when "all of the male teachers in the middle school brought all of the middle school boys together to give them a lecture about sexual assault and harassment because one of them had made offensive comments and possibly threats of rape to a new student. The teachers took turns screaming at everyone and talking about how real men protect women and what not." Of their student teaching experience in general, Frances said, "I felt like I was isolated in a very heteronormative culture of petty authoritarianism and had no one to talk to and no way to relate to my male peers as they talked

about football and assertions of 'common sense.' The female teachers were a bit better but largely kept me at arms' length as some bizarre son or younger brother who they did not get."

It is crucial to understand that Frances was disrupting the social order at SCMS every day simply by showing up to teach. For one thing, the students did not know what to call Frances. Frances preferred that the students just call them by their first name, but this made students uneasy, and they ended up calling Frances "Mister" or "Mister Reed." Frances' experience is a sharp and basic reminder that U.S. schools and their customary professional language are inherently transphobic in how they lack an institutionally acceptable nonbinary term for young people to use when addressing their teachers. As schools' professional culture presents only one viable option for teachers -- being cisgender -- this lends to feelings of marginalization for trans and/or nonbinary teachers (Frances had a "crisis of teaching" and did not try to get a teaching job the following year, as she transitioned to femme/woman identity and she pronouns -- "I would have had a nervous breakdown). Such a professional culture also makes it impossible for students to see gender fluidity as anything but perverse and less-than. This specific aspect of how schools reproduce inequality has not been dealt with in any teacher education program that I know of, let alone gets addressed among professional educators in public schools so bound to their own rigid institutional norms and hierarchies.

Yet, students in Frances' class had the nerve to broach the issue. Frances saw the students' inquisitions into their gender and sexual identity, though certainly heteronormative and homophobic, as relatively innocuous: they believed it came from a sense of genuine curiosity, perhaps a byproduct of the culture of repression within the school. Sometimes the students asked if Frances "was a boy or a girl;" one girl "would always give me grief for wearing earrings."

Frances felt that "they were almost testing me… it was never like them try[ing] to bully me or anything like that…it always seemed like they were trying to get some kind of information."

With Frances in the room, masculinity discourse could in fact be an occasion for students to align themselves with gender-queerness in resistance to dominant teacher authority. For example, Frances related a class discussion about gender and culture, in which the resource teacher was talking about "standards of beauty. She talked about her own outfit and how she was dressed like a white woman in America. Then she tried to demonstrate male beauty standards in our culture and asked the class about Mr. Reed's presentation and then said, 'Well Mr. Reed isn't a great example,' at which time one of my students came to my aid and said 'he's alternative.'"

Cautious straight cis teacher masculinity.   The culture of institutionally sanctioned, aggressive heterosexuality that C.J. Pascoe expounds in her ethnography of a U.S. public school did not elude the women in this study.[5] For example, Luisa Karpouzi's classroom placement woes did not end with her "hypermasculine" cooperating teacher but extended to her in-class support teacher, a man, who "was usually more concerned with asking me out than helping me." But the code of mandatory heterosexuality had compromising effects on cis men teachers, too.

Sam Devenski experienced this quite a bit differently, it seemed, than some of the other participants. Sam described how after "my cooperating teacher, [my] social studies supervisor at Obsidian, and the Confluence State liaison informed me that I have to be careful with helping young female students[,] I realized that my gender could be a distracting point in the classroom for young girls… I was informed that some girls in the class may be asking for my help with work in the classroom or asking to come for help during my prep/lunch solely because I am a young male." Sam was learning that he had to be vigilantly aware of how his demeanor would be

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[5] Pascoe, 2006

perceived in the classroom. As a result, he made sure that "[m]y interactions with my students were always kept professional and never acted in an inappropriate manner towards my students."

This issue came up during the post-lesson conversation described in the previous section, in which I asked Sam why he thought so many more boys than girls had spoken out loud. After explaining to me that eliciting more female responses was "something I'm working on," Sam noted that part of the reason he was "more comfortable calling on guys" was because "some girls have commented on my attractiveness." He did not want it to seem like he was encouraging these girls' apparent interest in him by calling on them -- an example of how the "best practices" of professional teachers might unwittingly serve to perpetuate institutionalized sexism. Sam then gave another example of how his attention toward girls might have been misconstrued and thus was problematic: A girl in one of his classes had been complaining about how she had gotten in-school suspension, and Sam asked her what she had done to warrant such a punishment. She replied that her school uniform had fallen short of the dress code standards. "I shouldn't have even asked her," Sam reflected back – apparently this was an inappropriate conversation for a male teacher to be having with a female student. His cooperating teacher, who was sitting beside us as we talked, immediately voiced his agreement. "You shouldn't have."

The school's culture was making Sam's presumed heterosexuality a perpetual, active concern. It was interesting that the advice Sam got about dispelling this assumption caused him to shy away from communication with or even acknowledgment of the girls in his class. Sam's experience struck me as another illustration of how gender norms were used, in these pedagogical and professional spaces, to reinforce the production of dominant masculinity in Sam's classroom through the marginalization of girls' voices. Even the well-intentioned advisement Sam received that might help him avoid getting himself into compromising situations

precluded opportunities for engagement with and reflection upon these gendered norms and impositions. Professional culture of schools was operating in a way that shut down necessary conversations about gender, race and power. By failing to prompt these kinds of explorations explicitly and critically, teacher education complies with the culture of silence and the perpetuation of institutionalized oppression.

The above anecdote is also an example of a dominant practice in which emotionality, in particular vulnerability, is policed in schools; as a cis white man, Sam is expected to restrain himself from connecting with his female student about a gendered issue and, also, signals for the student to take her grievances somewhere where it is more appropriate to engage in feeling talk. Heteronormative gender rules dictate that maybe a woman teacher would be more receptive to the conversation; there is no space here for Sam to talk responsibly about this situation with his student (certainly no space to validate her frustration) and still be a heterosexual man. Again, this kind of teacher education seems desperately needed in public schools, especially in departments like social studies where men tend to dominate.

Gendered and Racial Customs of Social Studies Education

White Male Narratives and Overrepresentation

It became clear in this research that one of social studies' definitive customs was to relentlessly if unwittingly depict and lionize white male protagonists, and to reproduce colorblind white ideology. This was true for how the subject was taught in public schools but also in the teacher education program at CSU (see Tables 5.1, and 5.2, below). As Luisa Karpouzi explained, "even the content is very gendered. In the textbook, the masculine hero is, especially in U.S. history, usually the white male hero. And women and people of color are not

really included in this narrative." I found that most of the time, if teachers or students were aware of the white male monopoly on historical actors, they didn't say as much. The way the dominance of these specific identities went unspoken – as though it were perfectly natural – was part of what made this social studies custom especially hegemonic.

The naturalization of white male narratives -- and the stripping of power analyses of these narratives or lessons -- might be thought of as an integral part of social studies teacher candidates' teacher education. Take, for example, a model lesson presented one day by the professor of the "Social Studies Methods" course in which the central focus – "understanding multiple sides of a historical event" – elided the fact that all perspectives in this case were elite, white and male. In the lesson, a colonist's newspaper portrayal of the Boston Massacre was contrasted with a British military account of the same event. The professor led the student teachers to the revelation that these accounts varied drastically (and that their students would learn much about how different perspectives yield differed accounts), meanwhile the fact that both authors – the colonist Paul Revere and the British Captain Thomas Preston – were socially elevated white men, and that both their accounts only portrayed other white men as part of this political episode, was never reflected upon. The closest the class came to any such consideration was when the professor asked the student teachers to describe what they saw in Revere's picture of the massacre: a student raised his hand and said, "White people." Rather than contemplate the significance of race in Revere's famous piece of propaganda (or in the professor's meta-lesson), the professor just moved on to the next respondent. Race never came up again in this conversation; gender never came up at all.

Table 5.1: RACIAL/GENDER IDEOLOGY IN SCHOOL LESSONS OBSERVED

Topic of Lesson	Racial or gender analysis?	Notes on Perspective and Representation
White social movements during 1920s	Yes/Yes	Critical discussion of white racism and white feminism's exclusions
Family life during Great Depression	No/Yes	Discussion of the "male breadwinner" cultural norm
Cultural movements during Great Depression	Yes/No	Analysis of Billie Holiday sang "Strange Fruit"
Should we still celebrate Thanksgiving?	Yes/No	Lesson on genocide and historical erasure
U.S. Election of 1932 (Roosevelt vs Hoover)	No/No	
Samuel Adams: Patriot or Terrorist?	Yes/No	Lesson from white perspective, began as colorblind. Critical white racial analysis pushed by one (black) student when she asserted that white colonists were "barbaric" toward indigenous people
US internment of Japanese Americans	Yes/No	Lesson from (white) US gov't perspective rather than from those interned; lesson posed question of whether or not internment was racist
US immigration policy, WWII vs present	Yes/No	Lesson from white perspective in debate over whether or not immigrants should be detained/banned
Battle of Lexington and Concord	No/No	
The Great Compromise (1787)	No/No	
Causes of Civil War, Compromise of 1860	No/No	Mention of slavery as political issue -- white US govt perspective
Causes of WWI	No/No	
Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points"	No/No	
Creating a colony flag	No/No	Groups of students created their own colony flag using word art and images w/ Google docs

Enlightenment thinkers	No/No	Thinkers discussed: Louis Pasteur, John Locke, Voltaire, Mary Wollstonecraft, Adam Smith
French & Indian War	No/No	Plight of indigenous peoples discussed by their experience narrated through a textbook passage written from perspective of British and French colonial conflict
Unit test on US Constitution	No/No	
Town Life	No/No	
Social hierarchy in Egypt	No/No	Discussions of power (social class)
Electoral college	No/No	
How to be a community leader	No/No	
Ancient Egyptian "Book of the Dead"	No/No	
Analyzing rhetorical language	No/No	
Martin Luther's 95 Theses	No/No	

Table 5.2: RACIAL AND GENDER IDEOLOGY IN TEACHER EDUCATION LESSONS OBSERVED			
Topic of Lesson	**Racial analysis?**	**Gender analysis?**	**Notes**
Critical service learning	Yes, critical and explicit	No	Discussion of how "service" in education contains racial assumptions and leaves entrenched social hierarchy unaltered
Local tenant/health issues	Yes, critical and explicit	No	Presentation about vulnerable local residents and effects of social problems
Reflection on "Community Advocacy" class	Yes, critical and explicit	No	Confessional and reflective discussion about race, class, power among student teachers
Identity and teaching	Yes,	Yes,	Candidates asked to consider how

	implicitly (but race was not named)	implicitly (but gender was not named)	their identities influenced their classrooms. No specific examples given.
Forming "essential questions" in social studies	No, not explicitly	No, not explicitly	Issues of power implied in many of the examples supplied by student teachers
Necessary topics in SS	No	No	Candidates asked which topics they felt were important to cover in SS class
Multiple perspectives in primary sources	No	No	Candidates compared perspective of British colonist with British military captain
Teaching about Martin Luther and Catholic Church	No	No	
Reflecting on facilitating groupwork	No	No	
Discussion of what kinds of sources are useful to study	Yes, implicit in topic but with explicit examples surfacing	No (though implicit in topic)	Debate over whether white perspectives differed from black perspectives in oral histories of US slavery
Should LGBTQ+ history be taught in public schools?	No	No	Debate invoked questions of power/inequality
How would you teach about current events?	No	No	School shootings, impeachment of Donald Trump discussed
Reflection on teaching about the Book of the Dead (Ancient Egyptian history)	No	No	
How would you teach about WWII?	No	No	
Reflection on how to teach analyzing rhetorical language	No	No	

Reflection on how to teach about "being a leader in the community"	No	No	
How to write a good resume and cover letter	No	No	
Taking risks in the teaching profession	No	No	
Panel about what it's like to be a SS teacher	No	No	Seven white panelists (five cis male) from mostly middle-income districts speak to mostly white/middle class student teachers
Classroom management techniques	No	No	
How to talk about politics in the classroom	Yes, implicit in topic but with explicit examples surfacing	No	Confrontational discussion about how to talk about injustice among students of different political persuasions, racial and gender identities
Being aware of bias	No	No	White assumptions, racial identity was not named
Differentiation and backward design	No	No	Vague allusions to social difference; race and power not named or discussed
How to do "multicultural teaching"	No	No	Race and power not named or discussed
How to use internet apps like Dotstorming, Edpuzzle and Video gif maker	No	No	
How social studies should be taught	No, not explicitly	No, not explicitly	Theoretical conversation about philosophy of history education
Civic education gap	Yes	No	Overview of Levinson's thesis about racial/class inequalities in civic ed[6]

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[6] Levinson, Meira. No Citizen Left Behind. Harvard University Press, 2012

EdTPA preparation	No	No	
Teach nondominant narratives in SS class	Yes	No, though implicit in topic	Discussion of why it's important to teach lessons on things like the Civil Rights Movement
What is the role of school in society?	No, not explicitly	No, not explicitly	Rapid-fire survey of philosophers of education and their views about social role of school (racial analyses of the theorists in question, such as Freire and Anyon, were glossed over)

This kind of professional practice implied that predominantly white male stories should not be interrogated or even reflected upon, and that white maleness was a universal condition. It was disconcerting, for example, to sit in Xavier Bonnaventura's classroom of entirely black and Latinx students at Sycamore High School who were supposed to write essays about four white Enlightenment intellectuals without any mention of race.

> Instructions for Document-Based Question (DBQ):
> *What was the main idea of these philosophers?*
>
> -John Locke
> -Voltaire
> -Mary Wollstonecraft
> -Adam Smith
>
> 1) Listen to the background essay narrated by Mr. --------- [Xavier's CT]
> 2) Open the PDF file of the DBQ in your Chromebooks
> 3) Finish writing your essay by the end of class

The CT had recorded himself reading the background information about these four thinkers while opera music played in the background; as the reading came to an end, the opera music rose in volume to a grand finale. "Wooooahhhh!" one student shouted, impressed. "My boy can read!" another exclaimed. I wondered if maybe these interjections were the students' way of covertly poking fun at their teacher's whiteness as though trying to reclaim the space as theirs.

Xavier, incidentally, had not planned this lesson and stood by while the CT gave the instructions and then played the audio recording of his own narration. Xavier felt like he had no control over what happened in the class, or even what he was expected to do on a day-to-day basis. Sometimes the CT gave Xavier the lesson and expected him to teach it by himself. In these moments, Xavier experienced a paradox of "feeling powerless but having to lead."

Deprioritizing white male narratives seemed to be low on Xavier's CT's list of priorities. As Xavier described, "the teachers… tended to not care about that sort of thing. Like we had the Amistad Initiative…My teachers could not care less. They were like, Fuck that, I'm not even gonna worry about it…They openly mocked it in their classroom. They would demeaningly call it 'the boat" as opposed to the Amistad Initiative. They would say how it's pointless. I get that it's hard to incorporate the history of black and brown people into the curriculum but it's not to be mocked."

In one focus group exchange, Luisa and Xavier made it clear how tokenistic they found the depiction of nondominant stories to be among their social studies mentors at Sycamore High School:

> Luisa: In the textbook, the masculine hero is, especially in US history, is usually the white male hero. And women and people of color are not really included in this narrative of American hero.
> Xavier: But what about Rosa Parks?
> Celeste: [laughs]
> Luisa: Right, and there are always small exceptions to the rule. It's like, black women didn't really do much except for Harriet Tubman and Rosa Parks. It's just totally not true, and you're reducing people…

Though hegemonic narrative-making was a practice Luisa wanted to change when she became a teacher, I noticed that she also taught white, Euro-centric, male histories in her student teaching placement, especially on days when she was told by other people what to teach. The

first day I observed her, Luisa's cooperating teacher prepared her lesson for her – a Youtube video on the French & Indian War from the perspective of the British colonists:

> Luisa: Why did the British want to control the Ohio Valley?
> Students [in chorus]: Fur.
> Luisa: The British didn't want them to. Who won the war?
> Students: British.
> Luisa: What other country did they get?
> Students: Canada.

Later, the students had to read an excerpt from the textbook about the War. Sensing that they were not excited to do this task, Luisa mentioned that "someone you will recognize" would make a cameo appearance at the end of the reading. But then she decided to give it away, revealing that the mystery celebrity was George Washington. "The French and Indian War was where George Washington first got his start," she said.

After that, the students were told to respond in writing to the question of which side they would fight on – the French or the British – if they had been a member of an indigenous tribe of North America. They were expected to write five to seven sentences, and two "sentence starters" had been written on the dry-erase board to give a boost to anyone who needed it:

I would fight for the _____ because…"

"It's better to fight with _____ because…"

The gesture to approach U.S. history from the indigenous perspective may have rung hollow and tokenistic, since the assignment only seemed to ask students to summon their knowledge of French or British colonial activity. "I knew it was a bad lesson before I taught it," Luisa said afterwards. "Oh god, Jerald is going to have to see this," she told me she had said to herself before I arrived. But now, most if not all of the students seemed reluctant to do this assignment; after fifteen minutes, as I moved around the room to get a sense of how the students

were handling the question, I saw that more than half of the students had not put pen to paper. Of those who had, most had simply written, "British." In one instance, Luisa traveled to a table where three students sat quietly. "Who are you fighting for?" she asked casually, as though trying to strike up a friendly conversation. The two girls at the table immediately looked down at their papers, as though hoping to find an escape portal somewhere between the lines. The boy beside them had eluded Luisa's view, and got to look away and ignore Luisa's question.

"French," admitted one of the girls finally.

"Why?"

The student didn't respond. Luisa waited three seconds and asked a couple more questions about the girl's choice, none of which the student answered. "Are you tired?" Luisa tried.

The student nodded.

"It's Monday," Luisa said, in commiseration, trying to forge a connection somewhere. The girl gave a murmur of agreement. Luisa moved away from the group.

Luisa had not had any choice in teaching the French and Indian War lesson; when she had asked her cooperating teacher if she could have incorporated analyses of race or gender into the lesson, he had responded, "You're gonna lose them." So Luisa went along with the original plan, resigned. "What's the point of causing a huge shitstorm?" she reasoned. "I'm not getting paid for this."

Like Luisa, Celeste Alfonso-Enrique also felt restrained in the kinds of narratives she taught. After I observed Celeste teach a lesson on the causes of World War I, and then a second lesson on President Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points," I asked Celeste if she had any misgivings about teaching historical narratives that were so Eurocentric and so focused on white

male actors (no women and no people of color had been mentioned in either lesson). Celeste replied that she did have misgivings, but her cooperating teacher had instructed her to "just make sure they [the students] get the basics." She felt that she couldn't risk going off script and disappointing her mentor teacher. In addition to this, Celeste said that she wanted to avoid teaching about things that were "too political or controversial." If Celeste went "more in depth," she would be "worried that students would tell their parents." By keeping these lessons on significant World War I actors/actions devoid of any discussion of race or gender, Celeste and her CT were ensuring that the white male monopoly on school's version of world history remained invisible, natural. Additionally, it was interesting that Celeste cited parents' traditionalism as reason for justifying the lesson, especially in a predominantly Latinx school district. This was potentially revealing of which parents were (or were imagined to be) most vocal in a town like Tufted Downs.

Of the twenty times I observed student teachers in their district placements, there were arguably four classes in which teachers encouraged their students to analyze narratives using a racial or gender lens. (In a few instances, teachers may have left the lesson open for a potential racial, class or gender analysis, but did not invite it themselves, and sometimes even pushed back on students who commenced to do this.) This does not include the various mock lessons I observed candidates teach in courses at CSU, in which their cohortmates pretended to be middle or high school students; there was no analysis of social power through racial, gender or class lenses in any of these (see Table 6.1 in the following chapter). This data paints a depressing picture of the ideology and the priorities of narrative representation that dominate social studies classrooms in schools: when stories about white men were not overtly front and center, the

relative absence of any racial or gender inquiry reveals a thick colorblindness and an unspoken white hegemony at the core of these spaces.

Classroom Symbolism

But it was not just the perspectives of social studies stories that perpetuated this disciplinary hegemony. In my observations, examples abounded of white male protagonism and uninterrogated white male iconography. This ranged from curricular narratives, as described above, to petty, off-the-cuff associations and to physical fixtures in the classrooms. The aesthetic tone of Sam Devenski's classroom, for example, was austere and unironic, with the exception of one conspicuous detail: Sam's cooperating teacher's desk was lined with eleven bobblehead figurines of famous men. There were ten U.S. presidents and one Boston Red Sox baseball player, their oversized faces guffawing at the students who were seated individually in a squared off, U-shaped grid. Nixon stared straight ahead, smiling smugly, his widow's peak drastic and prominent. FDR reclined in an armchair, biting a filtered cigarette beside his dog, while Trump looked out at the class stiffly, his arms crossed in indignation. In Robin Malone's classroom, a poster of all the U.S. presidents had been hung from the back of his cooperating teacher's desk for all to see. And in this space, white male representation contained a deviant twist. Five identical portraits of Andrew Jackson wearing iridescent sunglasses ("Jackson Five") lined the top of the dry-erase board; meanwhile, nearby, an obtrusive picture of "Babe Lincoln" depicted the sixteenth U.S. president wearing lipstick and a flower in his hair. I couldn't tell what purpose this playful distortion of presidents' images served except, maybe, to make the study of famous white men seem more fun for students.

No physical classroom environment was more hegemonically white and male than where Celeste Alfonso-Enrique taught, at Tufted Downs HS. The first day I observed Celeste teaching,

a student came on the public address system for the day's morning announcements. "Good morning," the student said, "please stand for the Pledge of Allegiance." I noticed then that the room was replete with flags. Near the pull-down maps of the United States, Benjamin Franklin's severed snake flag, "Join or Die," hung next to the Gadsden flag, whose Revolutionary War motto, "Don't Tread on Me," became the unofficial insignia of the largely rural, white, ultraconservative U.S. Tea Party movement in the first decade of the 2000s. In the northwest corner behind the teacher's desk, the "Thin Blue Line" flag, popularized recently as a "Blue (Police) Lives Matter" rebuttal to the black liberation movement #BlackLivesMatter, was draped beside a similar greyscale American flag with a red line through it, paying tribute to firefighters. Across the room, the U.S. Navy, U.S. Army, U.S. Marine Corps and U.S. Coast Guard flags served to blind the light from the windows along the south wall. Each of these flags was full-sized – the kind that might ripple languorously over a lawn or down the side of a building. All in all, the room was styled in this way, ostensibly, in order to fit its role as a conduit of "history," though in its flamboyant referencing of white and male power and conquest the décor made clear whose history would be represented.

Last but not least, of course, a standard American flag adorned the front of the room. As was customary here, most of the 21 students seated in a grid rose automatically from their chairs and pointed themselves at this flag to perform the Pledge, but a few restrained themselves, refusing to stand. When the cooperating teacher commanded that these dissidents stand up, they rose reluctantly. It did not seem to matter to the teacher that requiring students to stand for the Pledge was a breach of the U.S. Constitution.[7] As the announcer began her declamation over the loudspeaker only a few of the students touched their hands to their hearts. Most chose to keep

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[7] Dane, Perry. "West Virginia State Board of Education V. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624 (1943)." SSRN Scholarly Paper. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, November 15, 2008. https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=1302238

limbs listless at their sides. No one in the room so much as mumbled the words with the announcer – not even the teacher.

Famous Men as Pedagogical Capital

One distinct phenomenon I became aware of while observing social studies education courses as well as social studies classes in public schools was an obsession with individual men in teachers' stories about government and civic participation, especially in U.S.-centric discussions. That is, it was not just that social studies educators' historical materials were rife with exclusively male actors and hegemonically masculine assumptions, but that the teachers tended to deify famous men in leadership positions as a byproduct of the discipline's mandate to engage government people, processes and institutions. Much like the tone of the bobblehead presidential figurines and the parodies of dead presidents on display in Robin's and Sam's classrooms at Obsidian High School, these glorifications were very often doused in levity and carried an assumption of apoliticality.

For instance, in "Introduction to Social Studies" one day, the professor began his class by raving about his family trip to the White House. "*He* [U.S. President Donald Trump] was there when we were there!" the professor beamed. "He was tweeting on the floor above me!" He reported to the class that this was in fact the second time he had been to the White House, the first having been when he took fifty of his students to the inauguration of Barack Obama in 2009. They had gone to the inaugural ball dressed up in fine formalwear, some of the students hoisting a cardboard cutout of the new president. "We had a great time," he said. "It was out of control."

Now he showed a slideshow full of photos to show for his visit. There was a photo of Baron Trump's soccer net on one of the back lawns. There was the famous carpet where (the professor reminded the class) Joe Biden had famously stood when he'd said that Obamacare was

"a big fucking deal." There was the Truman Balcony, the Blue Room, the Dining Room. There was a White House theater, where the president watched movies. "What was Trump's first screening?" he quizzed the class. No one knew. "'Finding Dory'!" he exclaimed, then performed an impression of Donald Trump introducing the film.

"Is it true that Woodrow Wilson showed "Birth of a Nation" at the White House?" a student teacher asked.

The professor shrugged and continued with the slideshow. This question was less important than the rendition of miscellany and trivia he was busy presenting. There was a random harpsichord, a full-sized Batmobile (no one could say why it was in the White House), and then, climactically, a shot of an American flag flying picturesquely atop the monument. "Students *love* this stuff," the professor crooned, trying to show the student teachers that this sort of thing was always a successful activity in social studies classes. He had, of course, presented the slideshow to his high school class as well (like many of the social studies education professors at CSU, he taught at a public school during the day). "They thought it was cool that I was in the same house at the same time as the president." He ended the presentation with a few final photos: the gift shop, where, he told the class, he'd bought a Christmas ornament; a photo of Abraham Lincoln's hat on the night he was assassinated; and, last but not least, a picture of Rosa Parks' statue.

"Do you think the 1989 'Batman' is better than the Chris Nolan series?" a student teacher asked. The professor swiftly shut off Parks and weighed in on this matter.

"Civics education" was, in this light, a mere matter of proximity to power. It mattered not what these famous (white, male) politicians had done or what consequences their actions yielded,

but simply that students (not just secondary school students but, in this scene, teacher candidates) had been allowed to bask in their aura.

Another time, for example, in the same class, the professor began a group discussion on how the candidates had been exposed to civic education in their past schooling, and how they might envision teaching it themselves. The student teachers began to name local bigwigs that they had met, back when they had been in middle and high school. When someone mentioned that a current democratic presidential candidate had come to their school three times, her classmates gasped.

"I know [the candidate's] brother," someone said.

"I'm tweeting at [the candidate] now to invite him to *our* class," another student teacher said. (Two weeks later this candidate's staff would formally decline the invitation; the student teacher would report this news glumly to the class.)

"[An ex-governor] is in my high school's hall of fame."

"Our superintendent came to our classroom."

The professor now gave some examples from his own teaching experience. "I bring in everyone possible. I bring in the chief of police. The Town Manager. I've brought in state senators." He pulled up a website with an obscure local politician's face at the center. No one in his high school class had ever heard of him, but they'd wanted to invite him into the class anyway because of his official title. "It was a great visit," the professor went on, "because the kids all wanted to be him!" I thought that "Civics Education" was starting to sound like Career Day.

But the professor had saved the best for last. "One time," he said, "We brought in Bill Clinton."

A student teacher blurted, "Did he bring Monica?"

There was a roar of laughter. "No," the professor said, then hazarded an impression of Clinton, unable to resist: "I did not have sexual relations with that woman!" The class only laughed louder.

The professor's stories and jokes were lesson content, whether or not he was aware of it -- and they were racialized, classed and gendered whether or not he named it. These examples demonstrate how the overrepresentation of white male teachers, combined with the centrality of human imagery and storytelling in social studies education, contributes to the discipline's status as a vector of white heteropatriarchy. As the following section suggests, building on earlier examples of teacher emotionality, social studies content and classroom iconography were not the only ways these dynamics presented themselves to student teachers attentive to issues of institutional power.

Teacher Power and Control

Fear of Losing Authority

"I'm still afraid," Sam Devenski said, several months after having finished his student teaching semester. "Well I guess afraid's not the right word. Worried [about] what it'll be like." He told a story about how when his father had first started teaching "he wouldn't stand near the windows because he was terrified the kids would push him out of it." Sam used this anecdote to get to his main concern: "How do you go from *that* to a classroom that's gonna respect you?"

Sam's worries resonated with Robin Malone. Particularly, Robin knew that the punitive disciplinary tactics that his cooperating teacher used to address bad behavior would not earn him any respect in the classroom. "[My CT] has told me time and again [that] on day one you lay

down the law, you hit 'em hard, you let 'em know who's boss. And I just vehemently disagree with that approach." He told an anecdote about a student he'd had who frequently disrupted class and, once, asked Robin if he could step outside into the hall to make a phone call. As soon as Robin let him leave, the student promptly disappeared. "I take my eye off him and I look outside and he's gone." While Robin's CT resorted to "giving him a zero and failing him," Robin knew that "this kid did not care about his grades…it didn't matter, he didn't give a shit. So he didn't respect me, he didn't really respect [my CT]." If penalizing a student through grades or ostracization wouldn't work, as Robin feared, then was there anything that would?

Respect was something that Luisa Karpouzi's "hypermasculine" cooperating teacher seemed intent on demanding out of his students toward Luisa; he did this by standing in the back of the room while Luisa taught and repeating her instructions, affirming their responses or shouting orders at students to keep them in line and on task:

> Luisa: "Who are the three North American powers at this time?"
> One student gave the answer.
> CT: "Keep it going!"
> Luisa: "You should write this down."
> CT: "Write the answer below the Do-Now."
> Luisa: "What was the dispute over?"
> "Land."
> CT: "Right."

Discussions that the cooperating teacher moderated authoritatively were, much like this exchange, generally dealt in textual recall and verbal reinforcement. Correct answers or silence were seen as good behavior; any time a student was not paying attention or whispered something to a neighbor, the cooperating teacher called their name out loud:

"Terrance!"

"Angie! That's three times!"

"Jody!"

After these outbursts, the students would stop talking momentarily, but once someone zipped up, a different student started. The CT was playing a game of whack-a-mole that was clearly for Luisa's benefit, even if it was not effective at getting the students interested in the lesson. The way her CT controlled the dynamics of authority in the classroom gave Luisa real cause for concern. As soon as her cooperating teacher left for paternity leave, Luisa was "worried about kids not respecting authority." She felt they might try to stage "an attempted coup."

Once the cooperating teacher went on leave, I noticed that Luisa was more direct, more firm and more aggressive in how she ran the class. She was reluctant to let the students work in groups, and when she did, she was careful to structure the tasks extensively. One morning, after the students spent five minutes answering a flash card quiz in simultaneous groups, Luisa asked the students to share out their answers with the whole class. When several students tried to talk at the same time, she looked around nervously. "Wait wait wait wait!" she shouted. "When someone from our class is speaking, our eyes and ears on them." A cold silence passed over the group; none of the students who had tried to speak attempted to finish their thought, and Luisa had to move on now that verbal participation had been wrung dry.

This was a different persona than I had previously seen Luisa exhibit when leading the class; she was perhaps feeling some pressure to reproduce her CT's dominant practices of behavioral control in the same way that Robin Malone had tried on zero-tolerance discipline and found himself recoiling at what had ensued. After watching one lesson in which students spent most of the time completing charts and writing paragraphs by themselves, I asked Luisa why she preferred to isolate them rather than allow them to work together. She told me that she had previously received feedback from her cooperating teacher that "they need more independent

work," and that her lesson design was an attempt to prevent behavioral problems from arising. The students would get too easily get "distracted" if they got to talk about it in groups, and then, Luisa reasoned, "they get yelled at." She explained, "They have a hard time sitting and listening." Dividing students up and incentivizing their individual productivity was one way to ensure that they would do this, especially when her CT was not around to demand that they comply.

I was amazed at how the specter of student misbehavior influenced Luisa's pedagogical choices in the void of power left by her CT's absence, especially given how I knew that Luisa's motivations for entering this profession did not really have anything to do with inculcating students' propensity for complying with instructions. She had stated that her goals as a social studies teacher were "to help kids empathize with people, with humanity, and to help them think for themselves." Above all, I knew Luisa wanted to make school exciting and connective for young people. As she had said in her initial interview for this study, she sympathized with students who were bored in school and disrupted or refused to comply because she herself had had this experience growing up. "I think I was bad sometimes because I was bored. Now as a student teacher when I see kids acting out, I think, 'Why are they acting out?' They're acting out because they're bored […] for whatever reason, if they don't like the content, if they don't like the teacher, if they don't want to be there in general, they don't see the purpose of school." It is revealing how Luisa's priorities have been altered now that, as a teacher, her relationship to authority has changed. Once a rebel herself in school, now that she has arrived at the base of the professional hierarchy and must uphold the white patriarchal structure of education at SHS (arguably, her viability as a teacher candidate depends on it) her focus has shifted significantly to maintaining control. (It is especially ironic that she has attempted to critically teach a lesson on

the history of U.S. domination of indigenous people/perspectives simultaneously, and shows how invisible rules of gender and power wield just as much influence as the literal curriculum.) As an arbiter of power, gender plays a role in commandeering Luisa's most immediate teaching goals as long as her cooperating teacher's influence endures (even in absentia) and the institutional authoritative norm of subduing and fragmenting student power persists.

Rejecting Oppressive Teacher Authority

Generally, the candidates saw themselves entering a profession in which the dominant paradigm of "classroom management" was, as Robin Malone put it, to "lay down the law" and "let 'em know who's boss" – an ethos of behavioral control that they were reluctant to enact themselves. Robin shared one story of how his mentor's style of discipline did not sit well with him:

> This past semester during one of my classes I had gotten really frustrated with my class and told them to sit silently and work for the final 30 or so minutes of class. I hated every second of it. I told them that too. I told them that it's a waste of all our time for class to resort to that; that anybody could stand up at the front of the room and give a handout, and that I want to teach and for them to learn, and that we needed to work towards a solution where we could achieve that end. Giving them busy work was a product of mounting frustration with that class. I know that everyday can't and won't be a great day, but sitting there and watching them work silently (without any greater intention behind it) ate me up. It was silly. Perhaps I should've tried something else, but I was frustrated with them and felt that, in the moment, that was my last resort.

Dale Gibbs, during his student teaching, was fortunate to work with a cooperating teacher who did not utilize any such methods of behavioral control. But when he graduated and moved on to his first full-time teaching job, he immediately ran into professional expectations that clashed with his values. A few months into the new school year, Dale felt "overwhelmed…there's an expectation and a pretty obvious annoyance that a lot of [the

teachers] wear on their faces." His colleagues' disapproval was rooted in how they perceived his teacher authority to be "too light," in Dale's words. "One of the things they say is that I smile too much with the kids, that my demeanor is not authoritative enough with the kids. They say 'You try to be friends with the kids rather than being a teacher'…I feel like most other teachers just scream at the kids, and that's just not something I really do."

Adopting the faculty's code of behavioral control, Dale said, "would make me hate my job and make students feel shitty." More than that, this professional culture was at odds with the best practices of social studies teaching that Dale learned during his training. "I feel like [during] my time at CSU, the thing that informed me most was that putting the time in, forming those relationships… the degree of comfort [the students] feel in my class." Dale believed that making kids comfortable and building a classroom community "goes hand in hand in terms of engaging with content in a meaningful way, teaching history, the ramifications of the subject." It is a testament to the TE program at CSU, at least based on what Dale took away from it, that the philosophy of assuming authority he had developed clashed with the zero-tolerance culture of maintaining supremacy and hierarchy at his new school.

Xavier Bonnaventura indicated that he conceived of teacher authority in a different way than what he had been exposed to during his student teaching. After finishing the program, Xavier contrasted his style with that of his CT, who was "the type of guy who will…not get in a student's face but speak with them very sternly. And that's not with any sort of "Hey, I need you to stop doing what you're doing." Like, he was the no-nonsense kind of guy, and when I say no-nonsense I mean no fooling around. Whereas in general I was the person who was like, 'Okay, try to not do what you're doing,' and then I would take them out in the hallway, he would immediately address the situation in the room which wasn't how I vibed really." This was

another example of normative professional practice in schools that candidates, drawing upon their critical lenses, could unmask as problematic. In both these cases -- just like in Luisa's practicum experience -- the school, by way of their superiors' professional authority, pressured the candidates into adopting standard practice rather than sticking to their own critically informed methods.

Frances Reed, who routinely watched their mentor teachers resort to "authoritarian cruelty" to control the students – who "d[idn't] know how to defend them [the students] in my position" – gave an example of how the professional disciplinary practices they witnessed in their teaching placement implicated them in an unjust system:

> I remember one of my students getting in trouble for bringing pot brownies to school. He was a black boy and a lot of the other black students were furious with the school and especially their white teachers for kicking this student out. I remember students being angry with me for being seen as complicit. I was horrified that the student was being sent away in the first case as my best friend was kicked out of high school for drug possession junior year. I wanted to show up for them in a more meaningful way but all I could do was honestly convey the information that had been told to me back to them.

As Frances had put it during our first interview, they wanted to be part of a profession in which "teachers have…an opportunity to cede some power to students and tie the success of the student to the collective." Frances recognized that such a paradigm subverted dominant ideas about good disciplinary practices and "classroom management," just as Dale Gibbs had formed his goals for teaching out of the knowledge of what oppressive practices typically went on in schools. From what Dale had seen, "kids aren't allowed to take any sort of autonomy or power within their education. That's why a lot of kids see no point in going to school, because teachers don't give them any sort of, 'Here, take this knowledge and do something with it,' or 'What do you think about it.' That's what I want to do."

Importantly, ceding power and instilling agency and solidarity among students does not necessarily entail the dismantlement of teacher authority. In fact, Frances described ideal conditions for their kind of teaching as part of a "controlled environment where you can allow genuine inquiry"; In Frances' view, good practice required the teacher to "give [students] something that they're not constantly being having forced upon them, show them something else and give them a little bit of shelter to explore that something else." If Frances attempted to structure shelter in their lessons, Frances' cooperating teachers enclosed and encaged that shelter by frequently forbidding the students from talking together or moving around.

It would have been good to have engaged in teacher education programming that addressed "maintaining order without domination," Frances commented during one debrief session. The other participants shared Frances' contention that more teacher education around the issues of authority and power in the classroom were sorely needed, even though not everyone agreed on best practices and likely never would. Some thought that their teacher educational coursework on authority was "patronizing," as Xavier put it, or out of touch. "Your kids aren't a bunch of desensitized fifteen, sixteen and seventeen year olds!" Luisa vented, referring to the professor of the "Classroom Management" online course who taught in a wealthy white district over an hour away. Others simply knew that they had not learned what they needed. "Did we even have a course on classroom management?" Sam Devenski asked in earnest, right around the time of the cohort's graduation.

What all these experiences bring together is the reality that gender and race make up much of the raw substance through which inequality is transmitted in the practice of teaching. With the participants of this study I was able to observe and hear about gendered power at work in particular, perhaps due to the more diverse range of gender identities of this group of

candidates and their unique experiences in service to (or in opposition to) the dominant environment. So often, discreet ways of reproducing oppression in schools through gendered/racial discourses are written off as the normal behavior of professionals, and never examined or doubted. But the examples enumerated above show us that student teachers grapple with these issues all the time in their positions as proteges and nascent classroom leaders, even if they are not ever talked about. The tensions and snags the candidates happen upon when momentarily immersed in professional life could be fodder for discussions on the nature of and strategy for institutional change.

Chapter Summary and Implications for Teacher Education

As this chapter enumerates, the marks of "bro-ness," oppressive white masculinity and cisheteropatriarchy loom large in the social studies and in public schools; in nearly all the situations and perceptions described in this chapter, the issues of gender and power that undergirded unequal dynamics were not addressed in sites of teacher education, let alone hashed out in professional circles. Without unpacking how the narratives and symbolism traditionally integral to the discipline prioritize cis white male agency, the predominance of men in social studies teaching positions may continue to go unquestioned and presumed natural, while the elision and erasure of nondominant histories – as well as the production of masculine agency and voice – will most certainly remain a stubborn feature of the subject.

Furthermore, without interrogating how people who work in schools are conditioned by the gendering culture of the institution to embody and conduct specific roles, manners and sentiments – and without challenging and disrupting such embodiments – cisheteropatriarchy and heteronormativity will likely persist in these spaces, and to some extent continue to inform

the implicit social rules of the broader society. While the experiences of student teachers like Luisa Karpouzi and Frances Reed might indicate a link between patriarchal power arrangements and the professional culture of authority in public schools (not merely social studies classrooms), the pattern of teachers maintaining educational control through the silencing, isolation and punishing of students is concerning even without the aid of a gender analysis. There has been an abundance of research devoted to unpacking the social and political implications of these professional disciplinary norms; while the student teachers in this study expressed varying degrees of awareness about those implications, their experiences and reflections demonstrate that the path to dismantling such oppressive educational practices remained not only a mystery to them but, for some, something to avoid thinking about entirely in order to protect their status and their burgeoning professionality.

A first step to fostering this critical work of public institutional change would seem to be to introduce more conversations about gender, race and power into teacher education spaces – especially with regard to social studies curricula and teacher authority – but as much of the data in this chapter suggests (and as the previous chapter showed as well), the pedagogical ideals that student teachers bring to public schools are not necessarily compatible with the professional logic there. Why would young educators stick out their unemployed necks and hazard disruptive professional ideas (ideally nurtured in TE) in interactions with or in front of their potential future colleagues and supervisors? And yet, some tried. These few nascent attempts at resistant professional practice were in my observations well received by students, who even spoke up for the student teachers in their bold ambitions.

But professionals in mentorship roles tended to push back. In mentorship spaces, an alternative, "practical" teacher education sometimes commenced in reaction to how student

teachers tried to enact cultural change (for example, in CTs' instructions to dumb down content, to coerce behavioral control or to model "appropriate" gender expression) and threatened to make candidates' aspirations for altering the status quo seem naïve and inapplicable. In this light, it seemed that teacher education was setting up change-minded teachers to be rebuffed, rather than paving new, deviant paths for these teachers to walk. The next chapter focuses on how student teachers experienced and interpreted these practical disconnects at their preparation program, and also shows some of the limits of discussions about identity and power in teacher education, all in all further complicating the call for more socially just or critically conscious teacher education.

CHAPTER SIX:

"WE NEVER GOT A CLASS ON HOW TO TEACH SOCIAL STUDIES"

Teacher Candidates' Perceptions of Social Justice Teacher Education

Introduction

It was late March, and graduation was within sight as the candidates sat in their Social Studies

Curricula class, early evening on a Thursday. Their professor, a tall, soft-spoken white man in

his fifties or early sixties, perhaps thought he was throwing the cohort a curveball when, toward

the end of the session, he invited them to share some of their criticisms of the program they had

all but finished. "How could the program here be better for you?" he asked.

It wasn't the first time someone at CSU had asked the candidates to describe the

problems they had experienced at their teacher education program. In fact, they had been doing

this all year long. "The university always asks for our feedback but no one ever follows up,"

Robin Malone replied, garnering nods and grunts of agreement from his cohortmates.

"We've had loud discussions," said Frances, "venting to whatever professor we've had."

"But I will make it meaningful," their professor insisted. "I will type up your comments

and give it to them myself."

Another student teacher chimed in, repeating what Robin had said. The candidates'

aversion to airing out their grievances rang of a learned resignation – as if it was no use even

wasting their energy anymore. It felt like what they were trying to say to their professor, in so

many words, was something that more than one participant had told me in private: "They don't

give a shit about us." The previous fall, participants had described to me plans to "nail our

complaints to the door" in the method of church dissident Martin Luther; some wanted to start a

teacher education podcast "and pass it to the other cohorts" to disseminate essential wisdom about becoming a teacher that Confluence State had not bothered to share. And now, the Social Studies Curricula professor had activated the anger, disillusionment and burgeoning apathy that I had caught full blasts of in my interviews with these soon-to-be professionals.

This chapter puts on full display the participants' claims of miseducation against their credentialing program, but approaches the matter from several different angles, all of which emerged as prominent themes in survey, interview, observational and focus group data. It is crucial to note -- and worth considering why -- these themes did not merit equal outcry or attention from all the participants, and that there were uneven and, at times, discordant understandings of what exactly was wrong. But rather than emphasizing the ways in which the participants did not see eye to eye with one another, I attempt in this chapter to show how a number of different perceptions and analyses among the student teachers in question might indicate some common issues plaguing teacher education.

The different themes of this chapter – how participants felt treated by the program on the whole; how useful and effective they felt their teacher education coursework was; and how they interpreted the discourse of "social justice" at CSU – potentially hold different implications for teacher education in the broader context of U.S. public educational inequality when considered separately. And although the participants were much more vocal about the first and second of these themes (in that order), I begin the chapter by examining the third – what "social justice" means at this program – and proceed in reverse order so as to situate the entire discussion within questions of ideology and power in the teaching profession. Due to this course of inquiry in this chapter, the data presented in the beginning of the analysis is based more heavily on observations and field conversations, while the latter sections are more interview- and survey-oriented.

"Social Justice" Discourse at Confluence State University

The Need to Examine Whiteness

In a windowless basement room one morning toward the end of the candidates' final semester at CSU, the professor of a course called "Community Advocacy" convened a reflective discussion about how the course had gone for them. First, the professor, a black woman who also served as an emissary between the Sycamore Public School district and the TE program at Confluence State University, would pose a question; then students would respond and discuss while the professor stayed quiet. Finally, the professor would get to give her two cents on the matter if the class requested it.

The professor began by asking what the candidates thought had gone well in the course. "I liked how we went into Sycamore," someone began, referring to how some of the classes had indeed been held outside CSU, at community-based organizations or in public schools, and how the major assignments for the class were all done with local organizations, in the interests of local families and institutions.[1] Several students added that they appreciated the course's critical perspectives on white saviorism. One white student shared that, after taking this course, they weren't sure they wanted to teach in a community of color that they didn't belong to because "I don't want to be disserving them as an outsider." Another student chimed in that the course had helped her understand how insidious white saviorism was. Cynically the student teacher quipped, "Saviorism has its dividends." She added, mockingly, "Like, 'You're such a good person!'"

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[1] The three major projects in "Community Advocacy" included (1) working with a CBO to compose instructional materials for local residents facing landlord abuse, (2) advising the Sycamore Public Schools' administration on how to restructure their gifted and talented program so that it was not so disproportionately white ("Most gifted and talented students there live outside of Sycamore!" the professor told me), and (3) working with CBOs to establish and assist an early childhood literacy program at a community center.

These would have been fringe views and perhaps considered overly critical takes in other classes I sat in, in which white student teachers frequently shared how excited they were to teach in black and brown communities for the sake of "social justice" or because they were supposedly more needed there. In one session of "Social Studies Teaching Methods," for example, a white student from a small, rural town shared that she was not pleased with her student teaching placement at Obsidian High School because it was "not urban enough." While it was unclear why wanted to teach somewhere more "urban," the fact that she was excited to say this out loud without qualifying the statement seemed to play to the crowd. The comment went over well, as many of her cohortmates nodded in recognition, and no one, including the professor, asked her to explain why.

In "Community Advocacy," the reflective conversation continued. Now a student praised the class for the many "cross-racial conversations" they had had about racial identity. This was in fact the most racially diverse course I had observed in the TE program at Confluence State University – I counted ten white students and nine students of color, and I had noticed in past class meetings that the white students were unusually reticent compared to in courses that were almost entirely white and led by white professors. Although no one addressed it specifically, the fact that their professor was black surely had a facilitating effect on these "cross-racial conversations" as well. Though it was still a far cry from a truly diverse spread of racial demographics (there were no black students and only a few Latinx), "Community Advocacy" was at least approaching a racial composition more like that of Sycamore than the far-flung, middle-class white suburbs elsewhere. It was the only such teacher education course I observed at CSU, by a long shot.

The matter of CSU's racial and class incongruities as compared to the local districts was an important one that study participants all acknowledged, even if they understood these dynamics differently. In our debriefing conversations at Tufted Downs HS, Celeste Alfonso-Enrique was honest about how difficult it had been for her to broach the structural inequalities at play in her student teaching placement, and she was humble about how much more she had to learn that had been glossed over in the TE program. "I don't think CSU has prepared us to address these racial dynamics," she said. "Teaching is mostly white. Maybe we talked in [one professor's] class about how we need more black teachers. That was really like the only time we ever talked about it."

Superficial and Self-Congratulatory Power Discourse

Dale Gibbs and Frances Reed, who had not been able to take the "Community Advocacy" elective due to a scheduling conflict, conveyed similar sentiments in a focus group I conducted with them. I had asked them to comment on how they felt CSU had prepared them, as white teachers, to teach in the predominantly black and brown spaces that were all of their field placements.

Dale responded first. "I feel like it was kind of an inconsistent or, to be honest, a half-willed attempt at having a conversation. I think we literally would have the conversation in depth like three times throughout this program, and this is described as an urban education program."

"I feel similarly," Frances said, "but a lot of it, too, is the racial dynamic of the program itself. You have pretty much white professors talking to white student teachers about how they're going to be white in a school that's not white. And to some extent there's a lot of, I think it's a popular thing to…talk about racial dynamics as being almost outside of ourselves, even thinking

like, sure, we're going to be going into a classroom as a white teacher in probably a black or Latinx school…It just seems like a lot of times there's a lot of patting on the back."

Frances elaborated, describing how in such classes they were encouraged to make comments "like, 'We are professionals, we're gonna go in, you don't do this, you don't do that.' 'View this difference as an asset rather than a liability.' I always think about, especially [when] learning about things like race and gender which we're all so viscerally a part of, there's a serious discomfort where you have to sit with something that is ugly about your existence and roll in the world. And that's a painful thing and also something that you have to be continuously aware of, and I just feel like there isn't that kind of engagement, and I think it's mostly because of the whiteness of the program, I don't know. I don't even know how you would go about changing that."

The ritual of cosmetic liberal discourse that Frances was describing existed in many of their classes. One course that the participants of this study took, called "Inclusive Teaching," made that discourse central to its course of study. At the beginning of "Inclusive Teaching" one spring evening the professor put a "Do-now" on the board:

Think of a time you felt excluded, then think of a time you felt included.

The student teachers did not appear to give the question much serious consideration. A few student teachers around me quickly jotted down some words in their notebooks or on their devices, but then promptly began chatting about other matters. Three social studies candidates discussed pestering emails they received from CSU administrative assistants; two candidates in the science cohort talked about a physics lesson they were about to lead for a different class; there was a loud conversation about the latest developments on the television show "Queer Eye."

As the professor began to elicit responses to the "Do now," the student teacher next to me watched a muted cooking video from her Facebook page.

Perhaps sensing that the student teachers did not have much to share, the professor segued to the next part of the lesson. "Today we're going to talk about becoming aware of your bias."

She passed out a worksheet with a series of statements printed on it, below which they would circle either "agree" or "disagree." The statements were as follows:

-Immigrant students are a burden and a pain.

-I have thought about my own biases.

-I feel badly that other kids live in poverty.

-Immigrants should give up their culture and language and assimilate.

-I don't have time to look into sexual harassment and homophobia incidents.

-I have thought about inclusivity in textbooks.

-Migrant students should be included.

-It's my duty to look into bullying.

-I feel bad about poverty.

The independent work of completing the questionnaire rapidly dissolved into clusters of small group conversations about anything but the worksheet's themes. It was clear to me that the student teachers really did not want to take these insultingly simplistic prompts seriously. The student teacher sitting in front of me proceeded to purchase a bicycle online; the candidate next to him carried on a Facebook direct message conversation. In the front row, a student teacher painted a dinosaur skeleton on his computer's "Paint" program.

"I feel like we've been talking about this shit for the last two years," Luisa said.

"This is the liberal teacher industrial complex," a candidate sitting next to her said. I asked him to explain what he meant. He gave the example of the concept of "equity," which he

felt that they talked about all the time but never in any meaningful depth. "Ask anyone in this

program what equity is," he fulminated, "they'll tell you it's standing on a cardboard box!" He

was referring to the popular internet meme in which three people of different heights are trying

to watch a baseball game, and differently-elevated platforms are devised to provide the three

spectators an equitable viewing experience. His pithy critique illustrated how the program

utilized this kind of jargon to convey general philosophies of teaching but hardly pushed

candidates beyond the abstract and hypothetical meanings of these precepts. It also succinctly

characterized how, in the "liberal teacher industrial complex," teachers might be led to believe

they can magically even out a playing field that had been steeply contorted over generations of

structural inequality.

White Teachers Roll their Eyes at Hypocrisy and Tokenism

Robin Malone saw this superficial aspect of the program as a function of its insincerity.

He believed CSU's discourse of "social justice" teacher education was "like putting lipstick on a

pig. [They] wanna say [they] do things without actually doing them." He elaborated:

> The whole "urban education" aspect of this, the whole placing us in
> Obsidian or Tufted Downs or wherever, feels very like saving face to some
> degree, it's all a kind of theater. What is the thing that we were supposed to
> get out of this? We understand that students are all of different privilege
> levels. And it feels a lot like CSU did this thing where they were like, 'Hey,
> we put our student teachers in a classroom with a bunch of black kids' and
> then were like 'Hey, whatever happens from this point forward is out of our
> hands!'

The program's discourse around power and justice was interpreted as even more simplistic and

ineffectual by Sam Devenski. When I asked Sam to describe how he understood CSU's "social

justice" mission, he replied that being a "social justice teacher" meant developing "an

understanding of diversity, knowledge of diversity, pushing for a huge amount of diversity in the classroom."

"Do you identify as a social justice teacher?" I asked.

"No," he said, and explained:

> [I'm] not saying I don't have diverse classrooms or I don't want diverse classrooms, because I absolutely do. I think the role of diversity is somewhat overhyped in terms of what it actually does for a classroom…[I]f you go from that social justice approach you can get too lost in, 'Oh this class isn't diverse, we need to throw in all this diversity constantly'…Not every single lesson is gonna be about minority groups in whatever area of history we're showing.

Fascinatingly, it seemed as though Sam saw "social justice teaching" as a tokenistic project that fetishized "diverse" students and historical narratives, nothing more. His reductive understanding was reflective of how discussions of inequality and power in teaching were extraordinarily limited at the program, and did more to push him away rather than entice or challenge him. I gathered that this was what the "Community Advocacy" professor meant when she asserted that CSU students lacked "foundational knowledge." Additionally, it was interesting how the tokenistic and shallow "culture" discourse of this program actually worked to repel not just Sam, a self-described political conservative, but likewise tapped feelings of resentment and exasperation from the various colleagues of his who identified as liberal, or who held political positions further to the left.[2]

One of this latter group, Dale Gibbs, pointed out that the superficial nature of this discourse discouraged his cohortmates from taking it seriously. "There's a lot of students that I always noticed when we were having these conversations would just roll their eyes basically. I

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[2] On "shallow" definitions of culture in public schooling, see Pollock, Mica. "From Shallow to Deep: Toward a Thorough Cultural Analysis of School Achievement Patterns." Anthropology & Education Quarterly 39, no. 4 (2008): 369–80. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1492.2008.00028.x

don't know…it just seems like if it's gonna be called an urban education program there needs to be a lot more, in my opinion, in terms of centering these issues at the forefront rather than just being a typical teacher certification program and having us teach in urban schools and not really have these conversations."

Frances built on their friend's point: "I almost feel like there's a degree to which talking about these dynamics in the abstract makes it almost like this metaphysical thing rather than visceral moments of power inequality or like…"

"Confronting it," said Dale.

"Yeah, just, discomfort or material disparity. [There's] a separation between reality and this abstraction of your racialized presence. People are in it [in schools] and they don't know what to do. They know how to talk about it, but they don't know 'What am I supposed to do right now,' or 'How am I supposed to think about this right now.'"

The Inescapability of Whiteness in Predominantly White Teacher Education

Back in "Community Advocacy" class, the professor asked the next discussion prompt: "What were some of the problems with the course?" Xavier Bonnaventura was first to the punch and stressed that the "white normativity" of the class "has handicapped our conversations and our productiveness." Several students agreed with him; one Arab student said that she appreciated how the professor had started so many conversations about whiteness, privilege and white saviorism but that she still had wished it hadn't been so "white-centric" (the focus on critical whiteness studies, for example, drove one week's reading of "White Fragility" by Robin DiAngelo). In the student's mind, this had in effect rendered peripheral the experiences of students who were not white, even as whiteness was rigorously interrogated.

The professor was ready to talk when the class offered her the mic back. She began by explaining that critical understandings about identity and power were sorely needed by members of this class (she called this "our self-work") before they could be ready to work out in the community. "Our student teachers [at CSU] don't have the foundational knowledge to do community-based projects like [what is expected in this course] alone or in small groups," the professor contended. "Methods is paramount, but I don't care what methods you use if don't know yourself and the community." I perceived this as a rebuttal to how the candidates so frequently called for a more "practical" teacher education in her class. In the professor's view, the predominantly white, middle-class students at CSU had not proven that they were knowledgeable enough about their own cultural assumptions to be trained in methods for working in classrooms of black and brown students from disinvested communities. This made some sense to me: Why would you entrust someone with working tools if they haven't yet come to a full understanding of what they are doing working there in the first place?

Next, the professor addressed the issue of white-centricity. At a basic level, she agreed with what the commentators had said, and built on their points to demonstrate the urgency of the matter. It was not only that conversations and programming at CSU catered to white teachers, but that in its frequent reversions to a mode of colorblindness it presumed whiteness was a universal cultural condition. So few conversations that I observed in CSU courses explored issues of power and inequality using social identity constructs like race and class that when in these spaces it was easy to imagine oneself living in an alternate universe in which these markers did not exist (see Table 6.1, below). For example, when the professor of "Social Studies Curricula" convened a panel of professional social studies educators to talk about their field on the final day of class, the seven white teachers on the panel were able to get away with not

mentioning race (or class, or gender, for that matter) for the entire two hour session; the mostly-white class of teacher candidates and the white professor did not intervene, and their inevitably white perspectives were presumed universal by this omission.

Table 6.1: RACIAL IDEOLOGY IN TEACHER EDUCATION LESSONS OBSERVED		
Topic of Lesson	**Racial analysis?**	**Notes**
Critical service learning	Yes, critical and explicit	Discussion of how "service" in education contains racial assumptions and leaves entrenched social hierarchy unaltered
Local tenant/health issues	Yes, critical and explicit	Presentation about vulnerable local residents and effects of social problems
Reflection on "Community Advocacy" class	Yes, critical and explicit	Confessional and reflective discussion about race, class, power among student teachers
Identity and teaching	Yes, implicitly (but race was not named)	Candidates asked to consider how their identities influenced their classrooms. No specific examples given.
Forming "essential questions" in social studies	No, not explicitly	Issues of power implied in many of the examples supplied by student teachers
Necessary topics in SS	No	Candidates asked which topics they felt were important to cover in SS class
Multiple perspectives in primary sources	No	Candidates compared perspective of British colonist with British military captain
Teaching about Martin Luther and Catholic Church	No	
Reflecting on facilitating	No	

groupwork		
Discussion of what kinds of sources are useful to study	Yes, implicit in topic but with explicit examples surfacing	Debate over whether white perspectives differed from black perspectives in oral histories of US slavery
Should LGBTQ+ history be taught in public schools?	No	Debate invoked questions of power/inequality
How would you teach about current events?	No	School shootings, impeachment of Donald Trump discussed
Reflection on teaching about the Book of the Dead (Ancient Egyptian history)	No	
How would you teach about WWII?	No	
Reflection on how to teach analyzing rhetorical language	No	
Reflection on how to teach about "being a leader in the community"	No	
How to write a good resume and cover letter	No	
Taking risks in the teaching profession	No	
Panel about what it's like to be a SS teacher	No	Seven white panelists from mostly middle-income districts speak to mostly white/middle class student teachers
Classroom management techniques	No	
How to talk about politics in the classroom	Yes, implicit in topic but with explicit examples surfacing	Confrontational discussion about how to talk about injustice among students of different political persuasions, racial and gender identities

Being aware of bias	No	White assumptions, racial identity was not named
Differentiation and backward design	No	Vague allusions to social difference; race and power not named or discussed
How to do "multicultural teaching"	No	Race and power not named or discussed
How to use internet apps like Dotstorming, Edpuzzle and Video gif maker	No	
How social studies should be taught	No, not explicitly	Theoretical conversation about philosophy of history education
Civic education gap	Yes	Overview of Levinson's thesis about racial/class inequalities in civic ed[3]
EdTPA preparation	No	
Teach nondominant narratives in SS class	Yes	Discussion of why it's important to teach lessons on things like the Civil Rights Movement
What is the role of school in society?	No, not explicitly	Rapid-fire survey of philosophers of education and their views about social role of school (racial analyses of the theorists in question, such as Freire and Anyon, were glossed over)

"We have never really done education about black and brown kids," the "Community Advocacy" professor asserted, the frustration in her voice clear. "All our education is about white kids." She made sure to state that this was not necessarily the fault of the people in the

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[3] Levinson, 2012

room, but the fault of the program she worked at and the professors who conceived and taught the courses. She owned that she was part of this professoriate, part of the problem: "We will go and do our research in Sycamore, in Tufted Downs, in Obsidian, but we won't send our own kids there!" In some cases, she added, the professors at CSU actively discouraged their student teachers from looking for jobs in these places.

But then the professor took up the other side of the argument, complicating the points the student teachers had made – and that she herself had just made – about decentering whiteness. She felt strongly that the student teachers were not actually ready to take this step, and that the program itself was not set up to do this. "When we talk about people of color they become a spectacle," she lamented. "They become the spokespersons in the room. We gotta talk about whiteness because people of color leave this program saying that they are not comfortable in their bodies." She let this statement reverberate for a few seconds. Nobody spoke. "There are no black people in this class," she reminded everyone. "*Two* faculty members in my department are people of color. Faculty don't ask their students to unpack their identities because they are too scared of the backlash."

She was painting a picture of a teacher education program that, in its silent, dominant whiteness, did not have the capacity to look deeply at itself in the mirror, but did not know how to look away, either. This was the paradox of rectifying hegemonic whiteness at CSU: courses and other programming sorely needed a racial analysis (and a power analysis in general), but every time such interventions were made, they catered especially to white student teachers who had never engaged in this kind of critical reflexivity. It was privileging their experience even as it dissected it. To attempt to erode hegemony discursively was to potentially reify it through repetition – even critical discussion – while perhaps also letting student teachers off the hook of

having to walk the walk. Not only did the program educate white teachers in ways that were too "metaphysical" and not "visceral" enough, as Frances Reed put it, to force questions about what transformative action would look like. It also had to privilege white growth by necessity, for the sake of harm reduction. I saw no evidence that it was working.

<div align="center">**Feeling Unprepared by Coursework**</div>

Impracticality, Inapplicability

"Social justice" was not the only thing that participants experienced as merely discursive, passive and divorced from reality. In fact, the idea that teacher education lacked opportunities for action or application was a major theme in conversations with the candidates about their perceptions of the program.

It was striking how a number of participants described a program in which they had just not been taught how to teach. "I wish Confluence State had prepared us more," Celeste Alfonso-Enrique said to me one day during her free period at Tufted Downs HS. "We never got a class on how to teach social studies." This remarkable critique of a social studies teacher training program came even after Celeste and her cohortmates had taken courses like "Social Studies Teaching Methods," "Social Studies Planning and Practice" and "Classroom Management," not to mention a full year of field immersion supposedly supported by university liaisons and connective course readings, activities and assignments. "I don't think CSU taught us how to be effective educators in general," she concluded.

Luisa Karpouzi elaborated on this point during a focus group. "I wasn't prepared to teach content," she said. She listed some examples of the kinds of teacher education lessons she could have benefitted from: "a good way to teach the Constitution," or "a way to make the French and

Indian War more exciting." Agreeing with her, Xavier Bonnaventura added that he wanted

coursework on things like "how to teach a boring subject," for example, "how to teach the

FDIC."

Or, he said, "how to lead a discussion." As referenced in chapter five, most of the

participants felt especially unprepared to take positions of leadership and authority in

classrooms, and cited examples of how they felt unconfident and unmoored in this regard. Luisa

felt like she had limited authority in the classroom and did not know how to avert a potential

crisis of power when her cooperating teacher took paternity leave; similarly, Robin wanted to

know what kinds of disciplinary practices would be effective to not simply punish students but to

earn their respect. Frances Reed wished these issues of power had been addressed more in

teacher education courses too – while they had no interest in wielding control over students in

the manner of their mentor teachers, Frances did want more guidance on "maintaining order

without domination."

Sam Devenski perceived his own lack of preparation around dealing with difficult

students as a byproduct of being denied essential academic training by his program:

> [I]f a kid stands up and tells me to go fuck myself…where's my
> scholarship? In that moment, I'm gonna mess it up, that's fine. [I want to] at
> least know the scholarship about that issue. Where can I go back and look at
> that so the next time a kid stands up and tells me to go fuck myself I can at
> least have some kind of methodology to respond to it? We got tons and tons
> of pedagogy and scholarship on…your views toward content and skills, but
> what about behavioral science? I understand everyone's been young once,
> but I don't understand why this kid's standing up and telling me to go fuck
> myself!...There needs to be support… give us something, whether it's a
> professional development or an actual class…

These calls for more training in the supposed nuts and bolts of teaching -- "content";

"behavior"; "order" -- fit in with how nearly all of the participants spoke highly of one of their

required courses: Social Studies Teaching Methods. In all our conversations about their

experience of the program, "Methods" was the only course that the majority of the group had deemed worthwhile. Frances wrote that "I wish I had taken 'Methods' another semester as I feel like there is so much I could learn about the nitty gritty of teaching." In an interview, Luisa extolled the professor of this course: "[S]he was incredible. Everything she modeled she uses in the classroom, and she just has a plethora of resources for us."

Celeste averred in an interview that she "wish[ed] we had taken more methods classes or maybe a longer, more in-depth 'Methods' class." She explained: "I'm good at the big ideas, like the projects or the worksheets or the presentations or whatever [my students] are doing. But having them learn the very foundational basics, like, 'What things do you *need to know* so we can build off of that'…I wish I had something fun for them to do about that that wasn't just like, 'Okay, do these definitions."

"So," I clarified, "more ideas for planning lessons, more activities for the classroom?"

Celeste: "Yeah, or even more practice with planning lessons. I think we only did like three before we actually started teaching."

The participants' collective calls for more "Methods" and the feeling of unpreparedness across the board demands consideration, especially given how the way they spoke about being unprepared was quite different from how the "Community Advocacy" professor spoke about this phenomenon. The candidates were voluble and agitated in their expressions of methodological unpreparedness, but they did not go so far as to assert -- as the professor had -- that they were unprepared to assume positions of leadership in nondominant communities, or that they still had much self-reflection to do before they were ready to work with nondominant students. To put it another way, Sam Devenski was eager to admit that he felt unprepared to manage students' behavior in schools, but did not link this with lacking what the "Community Advocacy"

professor called the "foundational knowledge" about "yourself and the community." Luisa Karpouzi and Xavier Bonnaventura could proclaim their underpreparedness for teaching basic social studies concepts, but in chapter four both prudently would not hazard a definitive idea about why their students did not seem to like school -- and did not include this specific uncertainty in their accounting of what they did not know.

Their suspicions about what they were not prepared for, in this light, appear somewhat narrow -- even as they might paradoxically assert something as broad as not having had "a class on how to teach social studies." Celeste Alfonso-Enrique's quote, in concordance with many of her cohortmates, suggests that the candidates were constructing a dichotomy about what was involved in the methods of "teaching" versus the work of arriving at those methods, as though one was practical and one was not. Professional "teaching methods" were skills that they felt they did not yet have -- and should have had -- while knowledge about social position, the relationship between structural layout and individual psychology, and the role of school in society, which would inform teaching mission and strategy, were much less so seen as professional skills that might be related to methods. As described below, the latter was sometimes tantamount to "theory" in the candidates' minds, while the former was "real."

Theory Drowning Out Practice

The participants' desire for more practice teaching in their coursework coincided with their perceived oversaturation in "theory." Indeed, in interviews many of the participants used the age-old "theory versus practice" binary to suggest that they had been heavily schooled in the former at the expense of the latter. "I think the GSE focuses a lot on theory," Sam said. "I mean, you have to come up with your teaching philosophy and I think that's extremely important, and how you wanna reach kids, and how you want to present content, I think that's crucial. But

there's a certain amount of time you should spend in a classroom [as a student], and I think

there's a line that you get to where you have to be in front of the classroom, not sitting down."

Sam's impatience came in reaction to how the program seemed to be front-loaded with

"sitting down" courses. In the first three semesters of the program, student teachers took ten

traditional university courses, some of which were online, counterbalanced only with required

field observation hours; this entire phase of the program was "a waste of time," as Robin Malone

put it, agreeing with Sam that they should be "in the classroom"[4] (i.e., teaching) more quickly.

Considering those field hours consisted of two full days of school observations, participants

seemed to be impatient and potentially felt idle simply observing in classrooms. After two

required summer courses at CSU (one online), the penultimate semester was dominated by

student teaching. The final semester before graduation returned the candidates to university

classrooms for four more courses, some of which, like "Community Advocacy," sometimes took

place off-campus.

Xavier expressed similar misgivings when explaining why the cohort's "Introduction to

Social Studies" class had been ineffective. With derision in his voice, he said, "That class didn't

do anything for me except it helped me figure out my philosophy." Intro was a required course

that they had taken a year before their student teaching semesters; perhaps its emphasis on paper

writing and reading responses (rather than teaching and planning) was the source of Xavier's

chilly reception. Sam opined that courses like "Intro" and the semester of student teaching "feel a

little disconnected…I feel like application should have come sooner than it did."

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[4] This is not Robin's wording but my own referencing of the idiomatic expression many teachers use to describe the act of teaching. The irony should be noted: when teachers are "in the classroom" they are at work, active, doing. The opposite might be the "sitting down" in other teachers' classrooms that Sam is describing in this exchange. If a professional educator is only "in the classroom" if they are "teaching," it begs the question of how the perceived passivity of not-teaching is magnified in students' psyches.

Consider Robin Malone's explanation of why "theory is great until you have to put it into practice":

> The [CSU professors] that have been really good are the high school teachers who are currently teaching real high school students and understand what it's like, as opposed to academics who maybe have theories about things or have read up on things but haven't taught in a long time, haven't taught in these types of environments. I also think that sometimes some of the professors we have, like one of my professors taught in [the wealthy school district] Mellenport. They're super progressive and they're super liberal [at Mellenport] and they have these really interactive activities you can do with them. [Meanwhile] I've got to look up middle school level, fifth grade level lessons with my students [in Obsidian High School] because that's what they can handle. And so, being able to do a lot of what we preach here would be great, but it's not always practical.

Indeed, this desire for more things "practical" and "applicable" – and more mentors who did the same work that the candidates were gearing up to do – was a familiar refrain among these student teachers. It was also interesting to behold how, for Robin, lessons for kids who were "behind" was "practical" teacher education, while lessons buoyed by higher expectations were inapplicable in their "progressive"-ness. The educational ideas of "academics who...have theories" would not be of any use in Obsidian.

Dale Gibbs struck a different tone when he talked about what worked for him in courses that dealt with historical and philosophical foundations of social studies education. But a dichotomy between "practical" versus overly theoretical was on his mind, too:

"Admittedly there's a lot of readings that I would just skim through or skip over, like if I had a lot of other coursework. There were just a lot of readings on the history of social studies education[,] talking about stuff that's important like the development of textbooks in the early 20th century which is fascinating and interesting, but it would always be dry and apolitical…which was disappointing."

"That surprises me," I replied, "because that's super political."

"Yeah, they were talking about, like, Harold Rugg. I guess there's subtle political tones where [Rugg] is talking about whether there's bias in textbooks but…the readings I feel a lot of the time have been lacking."

I asked: "What were some of your favorite readings; what kind of readings would you like to see more of?"

Dale: "[There was] one reading on teaching in the time of Trump… I guess I'd like to see more readings in that vein that took a more community-centric look at teaching in the current political climate. Not so much as like analyzing the president, but I like the fact that [the author] was talking about rises in bullying and outright blatant forms of racism within the classroom. I'd like to see more readings dealing with, 'This is something that happens within the classroom, here are some ways to deal with it,' then we discuss. And we share our own experiences and best strategies."

While courses and activities that gave the candidates a chance to simulate or practice classroom teaching were usually popular, there were other courses that may have tried to do these things but, from the participants' perspective, missed the mark. Or as Luisa put it, "Some of the classes we had to take were total bullshit."

In one encounter during a lunch break at Sycamore High School, Luisa and Xavier talked about the "Classroom Management" course that they had loathed. They explained that they had had to pay $75 for a book on "elementary ed classroom management that we didn't use" in a class in which they were asked to do "patronizing" things, in Xavier's words. "We learned about how to put kids in timeout." Xavier elaborated another time, in an individual interview: "I have a

kid who's six-foot-six in my class, I'm not gonna put him in time out. I'm five-eight. It just feels as though we're being disregarded…It's offensive."

"I had to write a *rap*," Luisa recounted, "about the importance of classroom norms. If I ever had to do this to a bunch of sixteen year-olds in Sycamore they would eat me alive. They would never respect me… I would never do that!"

Another course that the candidates had nothing positive to say about was a required class called "Teaching English Language Learners." Whether they were "burned out by the time I went to that class" (Frances) or felt they "didn't learn anything productive" (Luisa), the course appeared to be unmemorable for the participants. "That course was not helpful," Xavier said. "I have all ELL and IEP kids in my class. How do I modify curricula?"

Again, the issue seemed to at least partly stem from the course's "practicality," as the participants found no venue to use what they were learning. Luisa explained: "'Teaching ELLs' did not help any of us with any practical ways to help bilingual students in a social studies class, with the exception of Google Translate and writing down the definitions of some words that were challenging. They gave us nothing to say, you know, 'This is a really good tool for you to use for students who are developing in fluency.' [Or] like, 'This is a good tool for students who just arrived in the US speaking no English.' Like if a student comes into my class speaking no English, I have no idea what to do."

During one of these teacher ed classes, the professor lectured about ELL students in general, describing how they were "the fastest growing group in the country" and how it was the wrong attitude to think that "ELL students don't belong in 'gen ed'" classes. Responding to these sentiments, one student teacher contended that "ELL students want to learn English, they just don't have the resources." Sam Devenski aired a question that may have been on everybody's

minds: "My ELL students get it, but how do I differentiate assessment to verify that they know it?" These were the kinds of solutions the candidates wanted presented to them in their TE courses, that they felt were omitted.

From their teacher preparation program, the candidates wanted concrete, proven practices to draw upon when they worked in the field, so they could feel like and be seen as competent professionals. Instead, they felt they were getting a confusing litany of inapplicable ideas and superficial, unspecific discursive cues. It was interesting to hear that the candidates' final year in the program gave way to a feeling of "alienation," as Dale and Frances put it in a focus group. Frances explained this to me by stressing how much more influential a few months of student teaching were than several years of coursework. "I think student teaching made [that alienation] worse. In student teaching, some of the cohort seems to have reached this point of thinking, like, 'Oh, now I know what it's *really* like. When we talk about these concepts and theories and stuff, they're a lot of nonsense when you actually get into the real world, classroom.' They sort of embrace that cynicism that I see a lot of older teachers having, and I think that now, having had that experience, everybody forms their own experiential reality of teaching and then views what we're learning now from that lens."

They felt ill-equipped to teach and, at the same time, increasingly steadily more detached from the academic "concepts and theories," which begot an eagerness to get out and do it, to be spared any more preparatory confusion. The following section adds this element of disillusionment and impatience to what already might seem like a barrage of gripes about the program at CSU.

"They Don't Give a Shit About Us": Feelings of Programmatic Disregard

What was most clear about how the social studies candidates perceived their teacher education was the way in which they felt neglected and discarded by the program. Tones of outrage and resentment pulsed consistently through so many of our conversations. "They don't give a shit about us," more than one candidate said to me, using those exact words, as though they had been rehearsed. Part of the candidates' anger stemmed from the perceived lack of utility and specificity described in the previous section. But, separately, I found that much of the candidates' frustration could be attributed to financial strain, heavy bureaucratic demands, and the experience of subordination as unfunded graduate students in an elite research institution.

Disorganization and Abandonment.   While the participants were paying for coursework and certification, they were also inundated with demands to satisfy the bureaucratic requirements as part of the credentialing process. Those demands were routinely seen by the candidates as capricious, pointless, and above all, disorganized. "The meetings are one hundred percent useless," Sam Devenski explained in our first interview. "I've never been in a CSU meeting that I've learned anything from. If you are a competent person, you've gone through college, you've gotten accepted to graduate school and you're currently in grad school…if you can do all that, I don't need you to hold my hand anymore. And I don't need to be at these meetings. So I think a lot of people get burned out from that."

It was "frustrating" to Xavier Bonnaventura, for example, to sometimes learn after the fact that the time he had sacrificed to attend such meetings was arbitrary and unnecessary. "They change things up on us. They tell us meetings are mandatory and keep us there for six hours and then [other times] they're like, 'Oh, we made it up, it's two hours and you can do it whenever…' It feels like we're being disregarded." Dale Gibbs agreed that "CSU seems pretty disorganized right now." For example, "they'll just kind of send us an email the night before and be like, we

need this information by tomorrow…and that's been the biggest struggle, the bureaucracy, the logistics behind completing the program." Celeste Alfonso-Enrique felt this as well. "All of the…forgetting about certain things, the last-minute stuff." These "kinks in the chain" made it "stressful."

Without having interviewed administrators for this study, I cannot confidently describe what happened during these instances of time being wasted, or why. That said, it might be helpful to elaborate the extent and the source of the bureaucratic mire that the candidates were caught up in from the very beginning of their enrollment in the program. With over 200 student teachers in the program, the departmental administrative team at CSU was tasked with ensuring that all candidates fulfilled the many requirements of their specific certification program (there were over thirty possible endorsements that teacher candidates in their state could receive, and many hoped to achieve more than one). Perhaps the most considerable task these administrators faced was to coordinate with the eight local school districts (some thirty or forty individual schools and their administrators) to solidify observational and teaching placements for each student teacher, and communicate plans and procedures to the candidates for group and individual visits into the schools. Another daunting task was to communicate to each candidate the protocol for the materials they had to submit to the state government in order to attain certification, including records of their observational hours and their performance assessments.

The regulations to which CSU's program was bound were arcane and manifold. For example, there were a certain amount of hours for which the candidates had to observe and teach in the local schools, but the required amount of hours was different than the number hours the program had assigned the student teachers under its own discretion. There were also different types of clinical experiences that were deemed acceptable by the state regulatory body -- for

instance, in some cases a candidate could use past or current employment in educational

capacities for their required hours, but not always -- and in cases like these the departmental

administrators at CSU were left to negotiate between official certifier and ceritifyee. The state

also had requirements for the district schools and mentor teachers that partnered with CSU in

order for the candidates to get credit for their intern work there -- which, again, the department at

CSU oversaw. All of this is to say that the candidates' experience of redundancy, disorganization

and circularity -- as well as other, related frustrations with their program, its staff and its faculty -

- were in part a function of structural imposition over which CSU had less control than it might

have seemed.

At times, the participants expressed a great deal of empathy, in fact, for the workers who

presided over the annoying meetings and penned the excessive, contradictory communications.

They spoke of showing administrative assistants their gratitude for all the help they had given

them in this process -- "we're going to get [one administrator] a gift when this is all over," Luisa

gushed to me -- acknowledging in interviews the labor certain administrators had done for the

candidates' sake. It seemed to me that the participants saw these program mainstays as merely

messengers and paper pushers who had to do the unfortunate work of running an unwieldy

program.

Financial strain and lack of accommodation. Frances Reed emphasized how this

program's administrative disregard was also financial in nature. They gave some examples of

how the program was set up to privilege candidates who were not strapped for an income. "The

way that the summer classes were scheduled, mid-afternoon and evening classes. What shift is

available? People work in the summer, people need to make money, especially if you're paying

for $4,000 summer classes. You don't see how you're making it impossible to get a job for the

months of June and July the way these classes are scheduled? [There's] no way that it's intentionally like, 'Hey let's weed out the poor kids.' But in practice, several of my cohort have dropped out because they couldn't afford it."

Frances continued, "I think that it's an unforgiving pace and a lot of money and there's so many other costs that come with it that they don't tell you about until you're in it. You get in and, it's like, you need a car. You absolutely need a car if you want to be in this program. You get in and it's like, 'Oh, by the way, you need to get fingerprinted, that'll be a hundred dollars. You have to take this test, it's $300.'"

While all of the participants agreed with Frances that the various costs of programming and certification requirements were burdensome, few of them spoken to how this strain resulted in systematic discrimination, since it pushed financially strapped candidates out of the program. That Frances was the lone participant who felt this discrimination shows in yet another way how CSU's program catered to a certain demographic, and nurtured a specific racial and class perspective in its halls.

Of course, CSU is not alone in creating discriminatory conditions for its student teachers. Every teacher preparation institution in Frances' state, and in general across the U.S., must provide the volume of programming necessary for candidates to fulfill a certain quantity of hours observed and taught, while also fitting in a specific amount of coursework, all over a period of time brief enough to attract prospective teachers who want to be able to gain employment quickly and begin paying off their debt. While perhaps some of the impositions Frances describes could be mitigable at CSU -- say, by program leaders figuring out how to provide or fund transportation to specific district schools, or professors pressuring the university to provide more scholarships for M.A. students planning to enter the public sector -- on the whole, the

system of class discrimination they characterize is a byproduct of the long-term bureaucratization of the public teaching profession as lain out in the literature review of this dissertation, as well as the neoliberalization of public higher education discussed in the same chapter. Still, the question of how universities like CSU, driven by their intellectual workers, could play a role in guarding against such exclusions and inequalities is worth mulling. More so than any other actors with influence in teacher education, professors and department leaders are well positioned to fight for better policy since so much of its implementation rests on their labor.

EdTPA. In particular, participants routinely grumbled about the dual financial/mental toll exacted by their EdTPA requirement – a standardized megaportfolio that they would submit to their state department of education in order to get their teaching license. EdTPA was at the apex of the long trend of standardization and the obsession with teacher accountability that has defined educator preparation in the U.S. for half a century; while it has replaced more trivialized multiple choice-dominated teacher certification tests and boasts more qualitative and comprehensive ways of measuring teacher preparedness, it also represents an unthinkable increase of effort and materials in what was already an arduous assessment process.

It also was not seen by participants as any more credible than past iterations of teacher performance assessments. "It gets away from the actual teaching," said Dale Gibbs. "It's a sea of paperwork and bullshit." Luisa called it "the bane of my existence. I told a lot of my friends what I have to do for EdTPA and they were like, 'Uhh, what the heck are you doing?'" Specifically, EdTPA consisted of a section on lesson and unit planning, a section on instruction (videos and commentary), and assessment (samples and commentary). While there was an understanding among the cohort that this might be a more comprehensive and practical way to ensure teacher competency than the old standardized tests (many of the participants took and paid for the Praxis

exam anyway, on top of EdTPA, as it had not yet been phased out and replaced by this new form of assessment), they knew it was still a contrived measurement. One member of the social studies cohort put it aptly when he asserted during class that "EdTPA doesn't measure how good of a teacher you are, it measures how good of a teacher you say you are."

"I don't know if I've ever been a part of something that dehumanizes education as much as EdTPA," Dale added. "I feel no connection to the lessons I created and enjoy teaching." Completing the EdTPA entailed "just looking up online what sort of buzzwords they want me to use to get a good score. There's youtube videos of people two years older than us talking about, like, 'How I got a 68 on EdTPA. Follow these quick, easy steps.' I'm just like, Why the fuck are we doing this? But I'm doing it! I'm doing it."

"It's just the icing on the cake of the utter alienation of this program," said Frances.

Tactfully, the candidates' professors scorned this test in an attempt at solidarity with the cohort. "It's a hoop that you have to jump through and pass, and you'll pass," the Intro to Social Studies professor told the cohort. "It's a windfall for [the multinational corporation] Pearson; it's a money grab…" He explained, "Most teachers in my school did not have to do this. If I had to do this [when I got certified] I would be kicking and screaming." This gesture of empathy seemed to backfire, as it made the courses sometimes seem like more of a waste of time, while the professors' support was perceived by some as empty and impotent. Luisa recounted how her Social Studies Planning and Practice professor spent one class enumerating all the different parts of EdTPA. "He was like, 'Yeah, I feel bad for you guys. It's a lot.' I said, '*Yeah*, it's a lot. When do you expect us to do all this work?' At some points I just feel like I'm free-falling. Because CSU hasn't really been there."

Frances elucidated the hypocrisy lying beneath the program's tepid reassurances. "I felt like time and time again, the answer from CSU was just like, 'You know, you gotta prepare for it, teaching's a rough business.' It seems like the prevailing attitude despite the progressive and social justice aspect that they claim to adopt, and which they do teach...the way they view teachers as people and workers is pretty regressive. They're just not treating their own students the way they want their student teachers to treat students. There are times that I've thought about dropping out mostly due to the pure cost and general [administrative] demands of the program."

Dale Gibbs articulated another impact of the precedence of these administrative, certification-oriented demands at CSU: the acculturation of cynicism. Moreover, he linked these "dehumanizing" demands with the kind of professionalism he learned while student teaching in the public schools. "The alienation skyrocketed during student teaching, and now [in the final semester] while kids are doing interviews, just becoming these careerist shells of themselves that they weren't, two years ago. Just complaining about everything all the time, becoming basically the people they interacted with during student teaching. It's just kind of like, damn."

Abandoned by the professoriate. It was not merely in the instructors' empty gestures or the administration's disorganization that the candidates felt disregarded, but also in how the tenured professoriate at CSU seemed to have abandoned the cohort. This was one final grudge the participants held of their graduate school that many professors at CSU likely never knew about, since they did not seem to interact with the candidates. Most of the candidates' ire was directed at two tenured CSU professors, Audrey Vine and Peter Buckingham, both well-regarded educational researchers in U.S. academic circles who were supposedly the faces of the social studies teacher education program at CSU, who had been slated to teach some teacher ed courses but never showed.

"We've never met Peter Buckingham, we've never met Audrey Vine, who are both our advisers," Celeste complained.

"Have you ever conversed with them?" I asked.

"I did once, before I decided to come to this school. And that's because I had gotten in and Audrey was trying to convince me to come here. But that was it. She stopped into our class once for two minutes, she didn't even say hi to us – she brought a group of other people in, sat them down…and then left."

"She is my adviser and I've never met her," said Luisa, exasperatedly.

"It's ridiculous that she's not teaching [us]," Xavier added.

Luisa: "What's the point of having an adviser if she's not around?"

I was struck by how the student teachers seemed to take real offense at these professors' absences; their hurt seemed to reflect their perceived second-class status within the education department at CSU. These dynamics illustrated how the candidates easily internalized the way in which public school teacher preparation is often marginalized by elite research universities. The sad irony of a powerful public educational institution underfunding, deprioritizing and outcasting the cultivation of public educators was not lost by the candidates, and they harbored deep resentment for it.

Chapter Summary, Discussion and Implications for Teacher Education

It was interesting to watch the social studies candidates lay the brunt of the blame for an underwhelming, frustrating teacher education experience on their higher educational institution. As the findings presented in this chapter show, they were confused and disenchanted by the conceptualization of "social justice," dissatisfied by the level and extent of their professional

preparation, and, in general, felt snubbed by the people who appeared to be controlling their education. Most especially, they blamed those responsible for planning and structuring the program, as well as those who taught their courses and ran their meetings. Perhaps this was the easiest group to criticize. They could have instead blamed the schools and the professional mentors who worked there for their intransigence (as seen in chapter four, they did indeed indict schools and their personnel for irresponsible practices, though not usually for the lapses in their own training). Of course, they also could have railed against the political and historical structures that had created difficult conditions for socially just public education in the first place, instead empathizing with a program that may have been doing what it could against that behemoth. Or, they could have lashed out against a century's worth of administrative dominance in education -- the placing of emphasis on order maintained and documented by non-teaching officials and bureaucrats, rather than on order problematized and reworked, capped most recently by trends of privatization, austerity and standardization that have placed public educators in the crosshairs of U.S.-Americans' most strenuous anxieties.

The Role of Systemic Administrative Bureaucracy

Rather than reaching for the aforementioned structural explanations, the participants expressed resentment for the architects of their own training, the closest and most convenient people to get angry at. It could easily be argued that the program and its leaders were just as strapped for agency under the thumb of state certification mandates as the candidates were constrained by their supervisors, professors and administrators. The program had little choice, for example, in what topics, issues and skills it would prioritize in its coursework. It had to offer classes that would cater to standards developed by the Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP) as well as those designated by the state department of education. The

program's courses and assessments had to meet the standards of other bureaucratically and politically developed professional rubrics as well, like the "Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium" (InTASC), the National Board for Professional Teacher Standards (NBPTS) and the National Curriculum Standards in Social Studies (NCSS). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the program also was forced not only to adopt but, in effect, champion contrived and potentially discriminatory structures like EdTPA, GPA requirements for admission, criteria for enlisting cooperating teachers and timelines for supervisory observations. Moreover, CSU had no choice but to abide by university policies for tuition, course scheduling, diploma applications and so on. All of these things would limit and impede TE leaders at CSU to craft a philosophically cohesive, disruptive, satisfying and navigable course of study for their teacher candidates.[5]

The byzantine state certification process and the neoliberal policies imposed by the central administration at Confluence State University created an educational ecosystem that produced stress, enabled neglect and drove the perception of hypocrisy for many of those enrolled in the TE program, including all the participants of this study, in one way or another. The preponderance of standards, assessments and evaluative bodies erected over time in the administrative state of the public education system have not necessarily given way to more equality of opportunity in US society. I recall one memorable conversation in an Introduction to Social Studies class, when a student teacher demanded to know if the EdTPA had been proven to produce a more effective teaching force; the professor was humbled by the question and immediately confessed that he knew of no such study. Indeed, one could certainly argue that

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[5] "Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation." Accessed May 29, 2020. http://caepnet.org/; "InTASC Model Core Teaching Standards and Learning Progressions for Teachers 1.0 | CCSSO." Accessed May 29, 2020. https://ccsso.org/resource-library/intasc-model-core-teaching-standards-and-learning-progressions-teachers-10; State certification references withheld to protect the anonymity of participants

these structures have not lent to the development of a teaching force that is any more apt to enact

justice in schools, and from the data presented in this chapter it seems likely that these

developments, in trying to ensure that there is more accountability and more competency in

teaching, may have had something of the opposite effect, infuriating the candidates and

fragmenting the ranks of education departments into varying degrees of disillusionment with and

detachment from the project of training public school teachers. Probably they have served to

perpetuate the class and racial homogeneity of the teaching profession as they create cost-

prohibitive hurdles and biased, arbitrary evaluation schemes for teacher candidates to deal with.

All that said, this is not the whole story in this study of the professional culture learned by

student teachers. It was not just the certification process and the way the program was structured

that addled the participants of this study as they prepared to enter the field, but a more basic

incongruence between how the program conceptualized the practice of teaching, and the way the

candidates were imagining it. Candidates' tribulations through the morass of the administrative

state were only an added burden that many of them hoped to get off their backs in order to

proceed to a workplace where they could finally "practice" without any more interruption and

confusion.

Conflicting Narratives of Social Studies Teaching Practice

Because of this array of hoops to jump through, many of the participants continually

expressed impatience to get out of this simulation mode, and into the field. And yet,

resoundingly, they asserted in this study that they weren't methodologically ready. This was

perhaps the greatest enigma of their teacher education experience and suggests that there is a

controversy in teacher education over what is "practical" teacher education and is not – not

simply that they were sick of the program in all of its perceived inadequacy. The fact that many

of the participants felt so unprepared to teach -- described by their superficial engagement with the notion of social justice, and through a perceived lack of methodological training -- points to an ideological rift that would not easily have been rectified by less controlling overarching policies nor by more nurturing professors or more administrative transparency. Student teachers at a place like Confluence State University believe they are entering a profession to do a job they have no trouble imagining, in no small part because they have already seen it practiced upon them for their entire youth (for the most part in middle class, white, suburban enclaves). For their part, many of the participants hoped to improve upon that image, or right some of the wrongs they once experienced. Sifting through the maelstrom of media and public rhetoric offering grandiose narratives of what teachers do, they develop various stances and philosophies about how they will do this job. Meanwhile, preparatory institutions that instill a combination of liberal political sensibilities, blunt misreads and well-intentioned distortions of schooled communities, erasure-by-omission of historical and political economic context, and an aversion to social conflict and political confrontation, present a disjointed mashup of possible strategies for being a teacher. At CSU, none of these paradigms seemed to present a clear methodological direction for the candidates to pursue.

For example, while in one class student teachers learned to understand educational inequality as a function of local neoliberal development and scarcity in housing and basic public services, a class on a different night asked candidates to simply "feel bad" about other people's poverty as a way of becoming "more aware" of it. While one professor assigned social studies education readings to warn candidates about a stubborn Eurocentric perspective in their discipline, a different professor neither offered nor provoked a racial analysis in convening a panel of seven white professional social studies teachers to talk about their experience. Both

courses were cherished by participants. In the field placement, one student teacher was encouraged by his cooperating teacher to undermine institutional disciplinary codes by shutting the door from outside authorities and, in class, allowing the students to hang out with each other, express their feelings about other teachers' bad practices and unpack white supremacy through textual analysis of accessible cultural media. Meanwhile, in the same district, another student teacher was encouraged to denounce and isolate talkative students, lecture them into submission, and banish the most unruly from the room.

The messaging within the various models of social studies teaching candidates were exposed to was conflicting and seen as contradictory, hypocritical, at times vacuous and burdensome. These conditions created frustration, confusion, and avoidance among the candidates. Generally, it might mean that student teachers tire of their preparatory phase quickly, and, when they become professionals, could preclude further inquiry and reflexivity into their teaching practice. On an institutional level, the fragmentation of knowledge is indicative of how large academic departments like Education sustain themselves in misalignment. The outcome of this fragmentation, perhaps, is that such departments actively sequester themselves off from coalescence due to a perceived conflict of academic agendas. In a organizational space with more communication and cohesion, the diversity of disciplinary approaches in such departments could present opportunities for these intellectual workers to hash out important ideological and epistemic tensions with real political consequences, not to mention unite against neoliberal university policies to breathe life into public education at their own institution.

Simply tearing down the administrative bureaucracy that moderates teacher education would not solve this problem of TE institutions' confused, politically incoherent strategy. Flatly denouncing and emptying the cocktail of contrived performance assessments that the candidates

were required to complete, for example, would not likely make them feel any more prepared, their education any more nuanced. Striking some of the standardized verbiage that programs like CSU must use to shape their coursework would not likely change what department leaders believed or disagreed about what was most important for their student teachers' training, especially since the existing state and nationally standardized language is vague (though admittedly voluminous) and allows for TE programs to design their own courses.

In some instances, this study's data suggests that there is even room for more specific regulatory standards, such as in the case of CAEP Standard 3.1:

> The provider presents plans and goals to recruit and support completion of high-quality candidates from a broad range of backgrounds and diverse populations to accomplish their mission. The admitted pool of candidates reflects the diversity of America's P-12 students.

Based on the wording of this standard, it seems that a school like CSU has used vague terms like "the diversity of America's...students" to justify its own maintenance of the status quo by indulging in racial and class tokenism rather than striving to enroll cohorts that reflect the demographics of the local city or the schools its program staffs. I am not arguing that sharpening professional bureaucracies' regulations and oversight contains the key to improving teacher education, only that such structures do less to enchain teacher education than to enable its ideological mushiness and its political impotence. In teacher education, the answer is not to strengthen regulations and sharpen standards but to mount organized resistance and subversion. That is, teacher education for social justice needs local organization and coalescence, not increased governmental or administrative rigor. The inexact, misguided demands of these liberal bodies could be used to prompt outrage and collective action for institutional change as much as they already enable academic atomization and endless bureaucracy.

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Changing teacher educational policy or practice would perhaps be a significant way to contribute to the necessary mass transformation of the system of public education and social opportunity in the United States. Of course, these are not the only ways we might alter what schools do in society, and it is important to remember that, like other sites of professional culture production, TE programs only can do so much to interrupt or rework the deeper root problem of inequality. To be sure, in conducting this study I did *not* necessarily find that teacher education is a promising endeavor in the larger project of enacting justice in society. Teacher educators hoping to change their institutions should maintain this kind of humility when thinking about what their programs could be capable of under more ideal circumstances.

That said, it is worth considering how this study might yet offer transformative ideas or unconventional approaches for social studies teacher educators, and for teacher education practitioners/leaders in general, to build on movements and ideas already in the works. The final chapter synthesizes this study's findings and analysis, and offers a few conclusions that might inform such ambitions.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

CONCLUSION

Summary and Synthesis of Findings

This study has attempted to cast light on the question of what and how professional teacher

culture is produced at a university-based, U.S. teacher education (TE) program. While it would

be premature to use the data to say whether or not a program like Confluence State University's

is graduating teachers who will go on to significantly alter dominant teaching practices in public

schools, it is possible to highlight a number of concerning structures the program abets and

sustains. Chapter five especially showed how student teachers were ill-equipped to confront

unjust gendered practices or consider how gender drove uncomfortable power dynamics in

educational institutions. At the same time, racial dynamics of schools and the social studies

discipline went underexamined and oversimplified at the TE program, allowing unequal power

arrangements to persist unquestioned. While the data shows that there were many institutional

culprits, some of the most glaring issues include the program's tendency to maintain silence

about these problems, its relative inability to connect with local knowledge, and the confused,

contradictory ideologies that inform its programming. For the sake of concision, the overarching

problems at CSU, as highlighted in this dissertation, might be summed up as follows:

- surface-level analyses of power
- tacit assumption that schools are lone local spaces of education and community
- obscurance and marginalization of local community
- lack of cohesive political agenda
- preoccupation with white, middle-class perspectives

In chapter four, for example, we saw student teachers expressing a considerable range of perceptions and assumptions (or lack thereof) about the students they worked with in their school placements. Since the program provided scant opportunities for the candidates to learn about local neighborhoods, their histories, the political economies that continue to shape them, and the social movements that exist within and are driven by local residents, their assumptions about these people and places remained a patchwork of tenuous, unsubstantiated understandings. Moreover, with very few exceptions, those assumptions relied on the context of schooling. As a result, in the participants' imaginations the definitive attributes of schooled students were very often informed by school-centric definitions of educational achievement and human worth. Perhaps inevitably, this gave way to racialized, classed and gendered tropes like student/family laziness, low motivation, lack of effort, apathy, carelessness, lack of independence and cognitive or behavioral deficit, even when the candidates themselves were reluctant to say it. Other times the participants were clear about their lack of knowledge about kids and communities, and, in rejection of dominant school-based ways of characterizing transgressive student behavior, sensed only that their students did not seem invested in their schools. Thoughtfully, these participants were declining to pass judgment about people who seemed to eschew the very institution that was supposed to be defining them.

Full of criticism and astonishment at some of the routine practices of schools, and at the dismal compromises educators made in order to accommodate a lackluster system, the participants did not benefit from a decisive strategy for making change as educators other than to protect themselves from these bad practices and avoid repeating them. The data in chapters four and five demonstrates that such avoidance -- a desire to achieve individualistic purity within a messy profession -- is not always possible within a professional culture that is more formative

than any individual classroom or any one teacher's pedagogical stance. And to be sure, sometimes the candidates felt implicated in and forced to uphold the professional culture they objected to, even, most alarmingly, if they tried to do otherwise. The observational, interview and survey data anchoring this claim does not necessarily portend more of the same lack of agency for teachers later on in their careers; still it contains a troubling suggestion for what might not be possible in change-minded TE programs that are bound to the working norms of traditional professional outlets.

Conspicuous silences and a lack of ideological connectedness seemed to carry especially strong consequences for student teachers based on the data presented in chapter six. An assessment of what was meant by "social justice teaching" at Confluence State revealed a superficial, white-catering discourse in which racial and class consciousness were perceived by candidates to be most often about verbal gesturing and posturing about matters of privilege. Even white student teachers were dissatisfied by this state of affairs, detecting in their teacher education some combination of hypocrisy, uncriticality, low expectations and a self-serving agenda. Meanwhile, of course, the ideological and institutional hazards lain by middle-class white normativity were never fully unpacked. Some also acknowledged that whiteness was still central to and empowered by this discourse, even as its practitioners may have intended to teach toward racial equity or to dismantle white ideological supremacy. So, not only was "social justice" teacher education limited in its analysis and its potential reach, but it also prioritized the understandings of white teachers at the expense of those racially minoritized within/by the program.

One especially intriguing finding of this study was that, after enduring a program so focused on methodological teacher education and field immersion, the teacher candidates felt

decidedly unprepared to teach in schools. This may have been because the ambiguous politics of

the program set the candidates up to fail to appreciate the forceful ideologies -- racial, gendered,

economic, moral -- constantly at work in schools that academic lessons potentially run against.

Disabused of much of their idealism during their student teaching semester, they blamed teacher

ed for not steeping them in a sense of realism, or equipping them with a concrete strategy and a

tangible arsenal of tools for realizing their visions of equity, inclusion or justice. It may also have

been that some of the candidates did appreciate the enormity of the structural issues that make

public education a stubbornly conservative social institution, and after finishing a teacher

education program that failed to reconcile those issues (and did not clearly offer candidates a

reason why teachers could not alleviate those structures through masterful individual practice),

began to strain with self-doubt.

Whatever the reason for their cognitive dissonance, bereft of a coherent agenda for

institutional or social change, the student teachers were stuck in limbo between two radically

different paradigms of professionalism. This fact alone begs more attention and inquiry, not just

from teacher educators but from public school workers and leaders. Having nurtured a robust

critique of traditional practices, the participants were not prepared to simply accommodate the

schools' educational status quo, yet they were not prepared to join or contribute to resistance

movements, or confidently (and safely) execute nondominant practices, either.

Such undirectedness cannot be totally pinned on any teacher education program, which,

as discussed in chapter six, is deeply compromised by neoliberal policy mandates and its own

institutional (i.e., the university's) economic and hierarchical impositions. If the responsible

thing for teacher education programs is to educate its candidates about the roots and

manifestations of structural problems in schools, how then could such a program also responsibly

present future schoolteachers with a way of solving those problems if the structures are supposedly so blanketing and so formative? Clearly this suggests severe limitations to how productive teacher education can be in disrupting an unjust educational system.

To put this a different way, it might be naive to think that teacher education can change public schooling, and is perhaps more strategic to think of it the other way around. After all, as discussed in chapter one, the most salient purpose for teacher education programs historically in the United States was to justify the rising cultural eminence of public schools and its worthiness as a public institution. Since teacher education was authoritative and "scientific," schooling could be seen as a legitimate endeavor. As schools use teacher education programs for credibility, there is incentive for TE to be designed to validate dominant school practices, not change them. This means that any teacher education program with deviating aspirations must take itself more seriously as an organizer of resistance -- and be prepared for the blowback. As TE program leaders connect with schools to (putatively) incite social change, they might also consider what other local institutions besides schools are worth partnering with -- or the ways schools have *not* historically participated in the entrenchment of social structure, and how teaching alone is not an adequate remedy for injustice. As long as TE exists and has some institutional power, it might draw upon such humility and expansivity in establishing its educational program.

At this point, it cannot be denied that teacher educators at higher educational institutions as well as their partners at district schools do have some agency to make change in public schools. The most relevant question might be where, exactly, can critically-minded TE programs have a transformative impact; what should their target institutions be? Moreover -- perhaps more urgently -- the problems of professional practice and ideology unearthed in this study implicate

and demand accountability from the most powerful actors absent from this ethnographic account. What do these findings imply should be done at the higher/central administrative level at TE programs like CSU, as well as at the state or federal policymaking level? While the following section does not go so far as to make direct recommendations for these decision-making bodies, its ideas might serve to spur changes in the dynamics of local teacher education institutional partnerships that are certainly structured but not necessarily overseen by government bureaucracy.

Ideas for Realizing Teacher Educational Agency and Accountability

Local Political Education and Organizational Coalescence

Chapter three presented a brief overview of public disinvestment and racial/class displacement that, over the past several decades, has unfolded in the city of Sycamore and has resulted in stark inequalities. In college towns like Sycamore, universities are often not merely the beneficiaries of neoliberal development but wield political influence in ensuring that these unequal, invasive transformations occur. And indeed, in Sycamore, Confluence State University has played a major role in spurring such uneven local economic development. The resulting social inequalities that manifest powerfully in the local schools might go unnoticed or unheeded by the top brass at Confluence State, but student teachers who are placed in these schools inevitably come face to face with these disparities as soon as they begin their field work.

The data from this study suggest that a core irony of teacher education programs run by corporatized universities has gone largely unacknowledged at CSU. That irony is that the university itself has had a hand in creating local educational inequalities over time (and continues to drive those inequalities) and yet university workers – that is, teacher educators and their

students as well – are positioned as outside helpers, carers and fixers toward Sycamore students and families. With one hand the university gentrifies and displaces; the other hand tries to smooth over the damage, not realizing what its counterpart is doing. It appears that teacher education at CSU is bound to carry on this case of mistaken identity as long as it comprehends structural problems through psychological and behavioral measures of school achievement, conduct and participation, or by focusing merely on the ways teachers are overburdened and disrespected by an unfair labor hierarchy. Revealingly, in our final interviews, when asked what goals they had for their future work, most of the participants shared an eagerness to help their students improve in some way. Xavier Bonnaventura wanted to "give [students] skills to evaluate media, evaluate bias and be able to find information in an efficient way;" this was "just something I want to help them out with." Celeste Alfonso-Enrique stressed individual student preparedness: "I would love for them to feel prepared for...college or getting a job." Sam Devenski: "My goal is to take those students who don't really care about education and...show them the role that education should play in their life. Show how helpful and beneficial it can be for them." Robin Malone wanted to focus on "classroom management. Getting kids into a routine of, this is what we do every day."

Whether or not these are worthy goals for public educators, it is notable that they are all focused on getting students to do something, giving them something or showing them a certain way to be successful. I am proposing that teacher education programs that have institutional relationships with local public schools struggle to rework this dominant teacher identity, from that of helper to connector, facilitator, inquirer, or organizer. Developing coursework that situates the teacher-training university not as social benefactor but, much more accurately, as a power player in the local political economy would be a start. Young educators with an analysis

of structural inequality -- which all the participants of this study demonstrated -- and who are

interested in using their work to effect social change would be better positioned to take on such a

role between local students/families and the wealth of local influence that universities represent.

This is not to say that student teachers should be responsible for addressing or solving the

problems that uneven neoliberal development and community disinvestment have wrought upon

populations like that of Sycamore, only that they might shift their focus from student uplift to

community understanding and structural fluency. This would be a way for teachers to practically

and actively dismantle the coloniality historically implicit in the relationship between teacher and

student (and between school and community); it would also be a way to infuse public

educational logic with a structural rather than an individual strategy of change.

Teacher education programs might begin to undertake this shift of professional vision and

identity by imbuing required course- and field-work with narratives of local history, examples of

social movement coalescence and strategy, analyses of public policy's effects on local families

and institutions, and methodologies of community organizing, group listening, sharing and

communication, and restorative and transformative justice enactment, in the context of

intransigent schools but also beyond the school context entirely. None of these topics exist

beyond the purview of teachers and schools, in fact some already constitute the theoretical core

of social justice teaching as imagined and practiced by radical activists, organizers, teachers and

scholars.

Distinguish School from "Community"; Invest in Both

The assumption that schools are tantamount to "the community" pervaded the teacher

education program at Confluence State, even as it was debunked by the participants' sharp

criticisms of their school placements as spaces of isolation, top-down hierarchy and non-local

administrative knowledge. The history of educational justice movements in the United States shows us that schools were often fought for by nondominant groups to be viable spaces of community empowerment; but these models of schooling were never taken for granted by those who pushed for social change, and always risked cooptation or sabotage by oppressive bodies of educational authority.[1] Moreover, the history of social justice movements centered around educational issues is dominated by stories of nondominant communities pushing against local public school practices, school authorities' knowledge and systemic school outcomes.[2] The fact that people who live in local neighborhoods do occupy school spaces does not necessarily mean that schools are designed to work in these people's best interests, or that they are trusted by these people.

Conflating the public schools with "the community," CSU's program promoted a model of social justice that relied almost entirely on classroom teaching or other school-based activities like parent-teacher conferencing, extracurricular clubs and student mentorship or tutoring. On the other hand, the program offered little to no opportunities for the candidates to form relationships with people in disinvested, exploited and preyed-upon communities outside of a school context. As a result, student teachers were well-versed in a school-oriented "social justice" rhetoric but unsure how or where to do it considering how they found some of these schools to be impervious to those ideas in practice. Furthermore, they were knowledgeable about the structural, historical, systemic nature of social inequality but were, for the most part, empty of experiences or ideas about how they might act upon those structures from their positions as teachers (two participants who had experience organizing students at CSU against the exploitation of campus workers,

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[1] E.g., McCarty, 2002; Buras, 2014; Walker, 2001; Rickford, 2016

[2] E.g., Dyrness, 2011; Danns, 2003; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; see also, Fabricant, Michael. Organizing for Educational Justice: The Campaign for Public School Reform in the South Bronx. U of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Frances Reed and Dale Gibbs, were the exception, which I found uniquely reflected in their ideas about how and why to teach).

This all points to how CSU's teacher education program failed to conceptualize education as anything but a school process, educational social justice action as anything but part of a pedagogical mindset. All in all, the program failed to cultivate a professional educator identity beyond that associated with classroom teacher, when in reality public education for social justice has come in a multitude of forms and exists in many kinds of spaces beyond school institutions, including parent activist groups, worker and tenant unions, student protest campaigns, artistic and cultural affinity organizations, religious groups, political action and advocacy groups, and so on.

There was no required course or field work at CSU, for example, that asked candidates to learn about local parent organizing efforts for better schools, or seek out and potentially join current campaigns that sought to redistribute local power. There was no coursework devoted to the study of teacher unionism past and present, which left the candidates to potentially learn about the dynamics of labor organizing from their glimpses of union activity at their school placements – activity they were shut out of since they were not district employees. Such coursework could provide a necessary push for future educators to connect with community-based organizations and local grassroots activists, and could potentially open up partnering local schools to the influence of these kinds of groups that are often ostracized by schools' administrative processes and other-ized by official school knowledge.[3]

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[3] Nygreen, Kysa. "Competing Paradigms of Educational Justice: Parent Organizing for Educational Equity in a Neoliberal Reform Context." Equity & Excellence in Education 49, no. 2 (April 2, 2016): 202–14. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2016.1144832; Dyrness, 2011

Consider the potential of hypothetical "courses" like the following to bring community-based realities and agency into schools:

"Housing and Community Action."   Student teachers who live in Sycamore attend general meetings of local tenants unions and participate in supplemental sessions facilitated by a CSU instructor who also pays rent in Sycamore. These supplemental sessions might be held at a local community-based organization and co-led by community organizers or housing advocates, or at a public school and co-led by Sycamore-based school workers. Course activities include participating in these community meetings, reflecting on issues/events in discussion or writing, strategizing with fellow tenants and instructors on possible avenues of presentation or action at Confluence State or in local government.

"Local School Politics."   Student teachers attend a series of public meetings of local governance in the school district in which they are placed. As a comprehensive project, student teachers are expected to choose an issue discussed in these meetings that they are interested in, that has some bearing on local public schooling, and develop some experiential knowledge around it (e.g., a student teacher who chooses to study the question of whether or not the city should permit the opening of a charter school might also attend parent activist meetings or teachers union caucus meetings). Off-site class meetings occur periodically for student teacher sharing or presentation of information and experiences.

"Students Educate."   Local secondary school students lead a course for student teachers on an issue that they feel is important that future teachers understand about their city, their school or their group. While this would take some structure and facilitation by teacher educators and public school teachers working together, it would push student teachers to understand local milieu from the perspectives of young people who live there, while it would

also raise expectations and expand possibilities for schooled students. Moreover, such a course would likely model the way in which teachers (in this case, students) can dismantle classroom hierarchies while still providing ample structure. The TE institution would compensate local students for their work.

Community-based language education. Student teachers learn a commonly spoken non-English language at a local community institution, potentially at a community center, a local school or at the office of a CBO. The instructor(s) of this class would live in the same city in which student teachers intern and understand public school dynamics from a local perspective. The instructor(s) would potentially be employed or recruited by a local organization that partnered with the TE program to administer the class; the TE institution would provide compensation to the instructor and to the organization hosting the class.

Discontinue Institutional Dominant Whiteness

As described in chapter six, even when the TE program offered a critical language and prompts for the candidates to use to unpack the inherent racial assumptions of their guiding texts and pedagogical models, whiteness remained a central preoccupation. That is, even when white supremacy and white normativity were critiqued, it was still all about whiteness, and it was mostly white student teachers doing the talking. Of course, these sorts of discussions were a rarity at CSU. All other times, it was either a reductive, self-congratulatory strain of cultural inquiry prevailed at the program ("white professors talking to white student teachers about how they're going to be white in a school that's not white," as Frances Reed put it), or there was no racial analysis whatsoever in courses about school curricula, teaching practices, student realities and public educational policies.

In such spaces it will not be enough to merely change the thrust of these conversations from colorblind to race- or whiteness-oriented. This is because large, elite U.S. universities like Confluence State and their teacher education programs are still mostly populated by white students and white professors. There is certainly something to be said for spaces of critical whiteness, in which white people (and perhaps people of color, too) talk about issues of race and power and, together, educate themselves toward deeper understandings of justice and inequality in society. I have benefited greatly over the years from being part of participatory and discussion-based spaces in which my own white perspectives were catered to and interrogated, and then I was given the opportunity to express my feelings about what I was hearing so that I might grow as a more critically conscious individual. These experiences were humbling, disruptive, and necessary. In so many of these spaces, it was black or brown facilitators, colleagues, friends and students whom I relied upon to force my own vulnerability and reflection. It is nice that mostly white teacher candidates at CSU are afforded this opportunity – and that some of their cohortmates and professors, white or not, take responsibility for initiating this critical whiteness education.

But whiteness will remain dominant even in self-critique, unless it is actively marginalized by a true diversification of milieu (as discussed above) and, moreover, of personnel. The demographics of professors and students at CSU should reflect the demographics of the place they live – if not the public schools the program feeds then at the very least the city in which it is situated. The fact that something of the opposite occurred at CSU seems a reification of race-class segregation and an embodiment of the way in which U.S. public educators have historically engaged in self-delusion about who they are and what they do.

Programs like CSU would be well-served to not simply employ more teacher educators of color, but also more people who live in the cities they place their candidates, especially the city in which the campus is situated. I did not collect data on the amount of professors at CSU who lived in Sycamore but, based on my conversations with the "Community Advocacy" professor, it seemed like very few if any resided there. In TE programs that are situated in larger cities, perhaps the program should employ teacher educators who live in the same neighborhoods in which partner schools are located. Teacher educators should also bring a diversity of local institutional experiences to the instructional side of the program -- these should not all be teachers, ex-teachers and administrators mixed in with university academics, but also community organizers, social workers, local artists, parents, students -- all individuals who are educators themselves, but might not work in a school.

Finally, it should go without saying that the students accepted into teacher education programs like CSU should also reflect the diversity of the districts in which they will be placed. And furthermore, student teachers should be expected to live in the districts they are working in, so that they themselves can assert some ownership of community issues and participate in local activities from a position of belonging and investment, rather than as an outsider. The institution of teacher education can only begin to dismantle oppressive structures like white supremacy or local ivory tower elitism if TE programs themselves are not organized by such logic.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Semi-Structured Interview #1 (Initial Interview)

1. Where are you from? What was it like to grow up there?

    a. Key experiences

    b. People you were around

    c. Kids' attitudes toward school

    d. Sociohistorical texture

2. Why did you decide to be a teacher? What influenced your decision? Where and what do you hope to teach after you finish?

    a. Family background? Role of parents and social class in choosing a profession

    b. Goals as a teacher - what are you trying to do

3. What are some of the biggest problems in public education right now?

    a. How will these problems affect your approach to teaching?

4. How has this program been for you so far?

    a. Struggles/tensions/problems

    b. Ethos of the program? ("social justice")

    c. Favorite aspects/courses

    d. Personal challenges or personal successes

5. Where are you teaching this semester?

    a. What are your initial thoughts about your placement?

    b. What are you most looking forward to as you begin your student teaching semester?

c. How do students feel about their school

Appendix B: Semi-Structured Interview #2 (Concluding Interview)

1. Questions about future/current teaching plans and rationale for decisions made

    a. Are you teaching this year?

        i. What appealed to you about the school?

        ii. Did you entertain other options for work?

    b. Has your understanding of public schooling changed since last year around this time?

        i. Shifts in goals

        ii. Shifts in approach to the profession

        iii. Experiences that you had over the past year that were powerful in shaping your current understandings of the profession

    c. What struggles do you anticipate having this year? (if teaching)

2. Reflections on events, experiences and issues I was privy to as a researcher

3. (if not teaching) What kind of work do you hope to take on in the future?

Possible follow-up or additional questions will be determined based on data collection and coding from the previous year.

Appendix C: Participant focus group protocol

1. Describe your experience student teaching thus far.

   a. Challenges; problems

   b. Highlights

   c. Moments of revelation

   d. Missed opportunities; lacuna

2. What obstacles have you encountered at your placement school?

   a. Institutional culture

   b. Policies

   c. Conflicts between spaces (field vs university courses)

   d. Problems experienced by students and families

3. What kind of teacher do you feel the school you student-taught at is looking for?

   a. Do you fit into that mold? Are there differences between your teacher identity and their desired worker?

      i. Examples of the disconnect

   b. Differences between the kind of teacher this TE program is trying to produce vs the kind of teacher the schools want?

      i. Examples of the disconnect

4. What were your goals for teaching as you began in the classroom this semester?

   a. Have they changed at all?

   b. What made you adjust ideals, purpose or teacher identity?

   c. Examples of how you've changed since last year at this time?

Possible follow-up questions or additional questions to be determined after the participants of each focus group are established.

Appendix D: Reflective Questionnaire

Reflective Questionnaire for Teachers in Training

When I wrote these questions I did it hoping that they would be helpful for you in self-reflection, not just for me in my research. Please take your time answering them. Be as expressive as you'd like. Also, please feel free to leave any questions blank if you cannot answer them.

1. *Name and identity*

My name is:
Last semester my students called me:
Last semester other teachers called me:
When I teach I prefer to be called:
My friends call me:
My teachers call me:
I would describe my racial identity as:
I would describe my gender identity as:

2. *Reflecting on identity and student teaching*

Describe an aspect of your identity that you feel is especially well suited for being a teacher:

Describe a moment in your student teaching when you were especially aware of your racial identity:

Describe a moment in your student teaching when you were especially aware of your gender identity:

Describe something you love about yourself that you hope can shine through when you teach.

Describe something you did when you were teaching that made you feel unlike yourself, or something you aren't sure you want to do again.

3. *Reflecting on student teaching and Confluence State University*

Describe a person in your cohort who you look up to. Why do you admire them?

Name an undergrad/master's course that
        -you wish you had been more engaged in:
        -you regret having taken:
        -you wish you had been able to take for another semester:
        -you didn't take that you wish you had:
        -that doesn't exist, but should:

List the three important lessons you've learned over the past year:
a)
b)
c)

Recall something a student said to you this past year that haunts you:

4. *Reflecting on the teaching profession*

What is a "best practice" of teaching that you disagree with? Why?

Describe an educator you know who fits the following description, and give one reason why you think they fit it:
        -someone who commands respect:

        -someone kids dislike:

        -someone who really cares:

        -someone who is in it for the wrong reasons:

        -someone who does the responsible thing:

        -someone who goes too far:

Describe a past teacher you feel a lot differently about now than when you were their student:

Name a person you model yourself after when you teach, and say why:

You can see yourself teaching for _____ years.

If/When you leave teaching it will likely be due to: (please circle or highlight)
        -burnout

-philosophical differences
-boredom
-anger
-other work you're more excited about
-failure
-retirement
-something else: _____

Aside from teaching, what (if any) other work could you see yourself doing?

5. *Miscellaneous philosophical questions*

The top 3 biggest problems in our society today are:
a.
b.
c.

If school were abolished in our society, what's something that you'd be concerned about:

…what's something you would be optimistic about:

If you could change the way schools looked, what's one change you would make?

What's one thing that all schools should do differently?

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