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Journal of Urban Learning, Teaching, and Research

Table of Contents

Abstracts **...........** ***iii***

Conflicts and Challenges of Educators', Students' and Families' Education Goals **...........** ***1***
Susan Ghiaciuc, Ellen McIntyre, Diane Kyle, and Melissa Sutherland

White Girls Constructing Abstract and Embodied Racial Identities in an Urban Elementary School **...........** ***21***
Jessica Zacher

Why's Everyone White? Moving Toward Critical Pedagogy in an Elementary Classroom **...........** ***35***
Jodene M. Kersten

The Role of Money, Race, and Politics in the Accountability Challenge **...........** ***46***
Judy Jackson May

Beyond Methods: Embedding a Critical Perspective of Education in a Reading Methods Course **...........** ***56***
Carol Rozansky-Lloyd

Quality (and/or?) Control: **...........** ***68***
Kent Seidel and Helen Meyer

No one curriculum is enough: Effective California teachers tailor literacy instruction to student needs despite federal, state, and local mandates to follow scripts. **...........** ***90***
Rebecca Joseph

Inclusion in an Era of Accountability: **...........** ***104***
Deborah L. Voltz

Routing the Pipeline: The Structural Dilemmas of Urban Education **...........** ***116***
Thandeka K. Chapman and Nikola Hobbel

Examining the Effects of Multiple intelligence Instruction on Math Performance **...........** ***131***
Monica L. Dillihunt and Kenneth M. Tyler

Preparing Urban Teachers to Integrate Technology for Instruction: Challenges and Strategies **...........** ***151***
Manisha Javeri and Pearl Chen

Seeking Home: Portrait of a Changing Urban Teacher Education Program ***168***
Beth Berghoff

Building a Innovative Induction Program for Urban Teachers Through a University and District Partnership **...........** ***178***
Judith Washburn, Aleeta Powers, and Rosario Morales

Perceptions about Urban Schools: Changes in Preservice Teachers after Working in a City School **...........** ***192***

Diane Truscott and John Roden

***Impediments, Supports, and Suggestions for Effective Teaching of Mathematics: What Urban Teachers and Principals Say*............................204**
Judith McVarish, Margot Ely, and Barbara Signer

***Integrating a New Urban Teacher Education Center*......................................218**
Jana Noel

***Talk among student teachers in an urban high school: Questioning dimensions of difference*...228**
Michelle Yvonne Szpara

***Urban Legend in Teacher Education*...244**
Azure Dee Smiley

***Retaining Urban Teachers: The Impact of Mentoring*....................................254**
Felicia Saffold

***Creating Community Through Mentoring*...262**
Deborah E. Erickson and Cecelia Travick-Jackson

***About the Urban Learning, Teaching, and Research SIG*..............................271**

***Guidelines for Submission of Manuscripts*...272**

Abstracts

Conflicts and Challenges of Educators', Students' and Families' Education Goals 1

Susan Ghiaciuc, Ellen McIntyre, Diane Kyle, and Melissa Sutherland

The authors explore the ways current curricula continue to frustrate parental and student goals in the classroom, focusing on three separate ethnographic studies of subjects from African American, Appalachian, and Latino backgrounds. The researchers determine that, despite the idiographic nature of their individual studies, many marginalized populations demonstrate overlapping concerns that continue to rest outside the primary foci of educational reform. Results indicate the need for a critical examination of curricular goals and relationship building between educators and families. Revised institutional-level aims should include building on parents' and students' funds of knowledge in an effort create more equitable classroom environments. Locating and dismantling perceived barriers to educational dialogue and opportunity are imperative if our goal is to include diverse cultural viewpoints in the educational process.

White Girls Constructing Abstract and Embodied Racial Identities in an Urban Elementary School............ 21

Jessica Zacher

In this paper I examine the ways that three fifth-grade girls from different socioeconomic backgrounds formed and reformed their racial identities in a diverse urban public school. Although the girls were labeled as "White" by their parents and the school district, none identified as "White." Drawing on data from an ethnographic study of children's identification strategies, I look at the conjunction of race, socioeconomic class, and human geography to analyze their identity work. I find that at this particular site, Whiteness is both an abstract category and a personal, embodied identity for the girls and their peers.

Why's Everyone White? Moving Toward Critical Pedagogy in an Elementary Classroom 35

Jodene M. Kersten

This paper discusses challenges initiated by first and second generation Latino and Chinese American fourth graders in an urban elementary school, toward the perspective of California history in the mandated Social Studies curriculum. The required text highlighted significant moments in California and United States history with limited, if any, acknowledgement of the many contributions and hardships of non-European people. Through authentic dialogue (Freire, 1970) generated from the readings of counter-narratives of history (Loewen, 1995; Zinn, 1995) students recognized the exclusion of marginalized groups and questioned the validity of the text. They developed a critical perspective and constantly sought alternative sources of information from their communities, the Internet, and other texts. The classroom became a site for discussion that problematized dominant historical narratives and eventually led to the teacher's pedagogical transformation

The Role of Money, Race, and Politics in the Accountability Challenge..........45
Judy Jackson May

The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 propelled high stakes testing to an unprecedented level of significance. Decisions based on the results of such mandated assessments is flawed in that the tests are not an accurate measure of actual knowledge and neglect to address environmental, socio-cultural, and economic factors influencing student performance. This researcher does not claim to tell a new story, but it seems one that bears repeating. The results of this quantitative investigation further illustrate that variables such as median income and per pupil revenue have an undeniable impact on the academic success of students.

Beyond Methods: Embedding a Critical Perspective of Education in a Reading Methods Course..........55
Carol Rozansky-Lloyd

Preservice elementary teachers enrolled in a reading methods course learn how literacy instruction is a political act that can affect children's opportunities. Through discussions and readings, they learn how the ways in which they teach reading to children make a difference in their subsequent access to knowledge. Through a practicum experience in an urban elementary school with mainly African American and low SES children, these predominantly middle class White students apply their knowledge of reading practices and their developing dispositions toward educational equity. Their oral accounts and written work demonstrate developing understandings of equity.

Quality (and/or?) Control:..........67
Kent Seidel and Helen Meyer

This article looks at the perils and promises of standards-based instruction in urban environments. We begin with an outline of the rise of the current standards movement. Then turn to the con position which contends; states, schools and districts do not always implement standards-based ideals effectively, especially in urban settings where resources and educators prepared to teach well with standards are scarce. Standards can lead to standardization of curriculum and instruction, sacrificing student interest, real-world connections, and creativity and critical thinking. The pro position reports that research and evaluation has shown that standards can support better communication between schools and parents, and provide a framework for accountability and school improvement that focuses on academic achievement, leading to curriculum, instruction, and assessment with the potential for a system of mastery learning based on learners' needs.

No One Curriculum is Enough: Effective California Teachers Tailor Literacy Instruction to Student Needs despite Federal, State, and Local Mandates to Follow Scripts. ***89***
Rebecca Joseph

This study examines six teachers' responses inside and outside of their classrooms to increasingly mixed messages about how they should develop the literacy of California's youngest and most at-risk students. While they must develop highly developed knowledge and skills to teach literacy in linguistically diverse classrooms, they must also adhere rigidly to the substance and pace of scripted literacy curricula. This qualitative study sought to fill an impact research gap by investigating how six first grade urban teachers, identified as "effective" by district personnel, university professors, and peers, did respond. Despite a tightly monitored policy context, these teachers responded in deeply meaningful ways rather than blindly implementing the curricula. These findings suggest the importance of honoring teacher creativity, thirst for knowledge, and practical experiences.

Inclusion in an Era of Accountability: ***103***
Deborah L. Voltz

In our current climate of standards-based reform, efforts abound to have all students reach the same goals. At the same time, other educational reforms, such as inclusion, are creating increasingly diverse populations of students in general education classrooms. Consequently, teachers often view inclusion and standards-based reform as incompatible ideas. These tensions can be exacerbated in urban districts, where educators often find the need to make greater gains with fewer resources. This paper describes a professional development sequence found useful in helping urban teachers reconcile two divergent educational initiatives—standards-based reform and inclusion.

Routing the Pipeline: The Structural Dilemmas of Urban Education ***115***
Thandeka K. Chapman and Nikola Hobbel

Using a collaborative program evaluation of a bridge program at a state flagship university, the authors argue that contradictions in student perceptions of their literacy learning are endemic to the effects of the structure of urban schooling. Overcrowding and underfunding of particular schools, in contrast with successful academic magnet schools, result in an uneven playing field as college-bound students of color enter competitive programs. The authors argue that programs designed to enrich college-bound students' experiences cannot work in isolation: better university/public school partnerships need to be pursued in order to ensure that students from urban settings do not arrive at elite universities lacking skills in academic writing.

Examining the Effects of Multiple intelligence Instruction on Math Performance ***129***
Monica L. Dillihunt and Kenneth M. Tyler

The purpose of this study is to discern the effects of instruction type on minority students in urban schools, mathematics achievement. Two hundred thirteen third and fifth grade (136 African American and 77 Latino) students attending schools

in low-income urban communities were provided mathematics instruction in one of two ways: multiple intelligence instruction (MI) or traditional instruction. Quasi-experimental results (Creswell, 2005) reveal that students exposed to multiple intelligence instruction score significantly higher on the mathematics posttest than students in the traditional instruction context. MI students also demonstrate significantly higher improvement from pre to post test than traditional instruction students do. Implications of these findings and future research directions are discussed.

Preparing Urban Teachers to Integrate Technology for Instruction: Challenges and Strategies..149
Manisha Javeri and Pearl Chen

This paper focuses on the challenges faced by faculty in the urban teacher preparation programs, particularly in the area of technology integration by pre-service and in-service teachers in their classroom instruction. The paper discusses the issues of first-order barriers (access to technology, infrastructure support) and second-order barriers (perceptions and attitudes toward technology, motivation to integrate technology), that impede successful technology integration in an urban classroom. Strategies to overcome these barriers are further discussed in detail, which provide teachers with finding a balance between learning technology skills and applying these skills to fit their pedagogical beliefs of meaningful technology integration.

Seeking Home: Portrait of a Changing Urban Teacher Education Program 165
Beth Berghoff

The value of teacher education is being questioned at the same time as schools are facing the challenges of budget shortfalls and unfunded mandates. Efforts to professionalize teaching are being undermined by overly authoritarian control of the curriculum and test-driven reforms. But schools of education do know how to stay the course. This article is a portrait of one teacher education program working with the local community schools to bring about change and to prepare teachers who are culturally competent discipline experts.

Building a Innovative Induction Program for Urban Teachers Through a University and District Partnership..175
Judith Washburn, Aleeta Powers, and Rosario Morales

In response to the challenges of new state-mandated requirements for teacher credentialing, a team of university faculty and school district representatives worked in a collaborative project to support beginning teachers. The outcome of the collaborative is an innovative program that provides support and formative assessment of teachers during their first two years of teaching, the induction period, while providing them with an opportunity to obtain a master's degree. This master's program meets the state induction standards and at the same time enhances the teachers' preparation for educating students in urban schools.

Perceptions about Urban Schools: Changes in Preservice Teachers after Working in a City School ***189***
Diane Truscott and John Roden

The study reports on changes in beliefs and attitudes toward urban schools evidenced by teacher candidates when engaged in a five week summer tutoring experience in a city school district. Beliefs at pre and post testing are presented descriptively, while changes between the two measures are presented in a matched-case method. Among the most significant changes in perceptions by teacher candidates are those associated with the school environment, specifically the commitment to diversity and the resources necessary for effective education. Teacher intern concerns shifted from larger macro-level issues such as quality of building and adequacy of teaching resources to micro-level ones including students' learning abilities, general student health, parental involvement and support.

Impediments, Supports, and Suggestions for Effective Teaching of Mathematics: What Urban Teachers and Principals Say ***201***
Judith McVarish, Margot Ely, and Barbara Signer

This study rests on written statements made by New York City teachers and administrators. The study documents what a sample of urban teachers of mathematics and school principals in elementary, middle, and high schools state are: impediments of, as well as supports to, their productive teaching of mathematics, and their suggestions of what is needed to help promote the productive teaching of mathematics.

Integrating a New Urban Teacher Education Center ***215***
Jana Noel

A new Sacramento State University Urban Teacher Education Center (UTEC) is located at Jedediah Smith Elementary School, a highly diverse urban school whose students come entirely from two federally subsidized housing complexes. This paper documents the integration of UTEC into the school and its community, including descriptions of the initial set-up of the center, the incorporation of UTEC into its basic structure, how UTEC has expanded its realm into overall school functioning, and UTEC's movement toward learning about and becoming involved in the community agencies, community groups, and neighborhood efforts to provide support for children, their families, and their school.

Talk among student teachers in an urban high school: Questioning dimensions of difference ***225***
Michelle Yvonne Szpara

Race and other forms of difference are socially constructed concepts, continually reproduced and redefined in interaction. It is important to focus on how race and class are constructed by future teachers, because the ways in which they perceive their students may affect their interactions in the classroom, including having lower expectations for certain minority groups. This study focuses on how a cohort of interns – predominantly White (European American) and middle-class – make sense of racial and class differences while teaching in an urban, low-

income, minority-race high school. Ethnographically oriented discourse analysis was employed to examine the interns' representations of difference. Findings include the rarity of explicit discourse about race and class, the functions of various discourse strategies to circumvent explicit discussions, and a deficit model approach among interns toward educating low income, minority students.

Urban Legend in Teacher Education* *241
Azure Dee Smiley
Many European American pre-service special education teachers participate in activities and coursework to prepare them to engage with diverse students in urban settings. This qualitative study explores the experience of two teacher candidates taking part in one such program. Specifically, the interactions and perceptions of the participants' first urban teaching experience are examined. Interviews and observations were conducted to reflect on the way participants interpret and implement their special education and multicultural education preparation as a means to better understand how to prepare teacher candidates for border crossing (Giroux, 1992) and urban teaching experiences. The need for addressing preconceived notions and expectations about urban education within teacher preparation is discussed.

Retaining Urban Teachers: The Impact of Mentoring* *251
Felicia Saffold
This study explores urban teachers' perception of their mentoring experience in an alternative urban teacher education program. Fifteen teachers who had been teaching in urban schools for at least three years participated in focus groups. The findings support the need for continuing the development of new teachers through utilizing mentors in the induction years. The mentoring relationship is of primary importance in developing self-confidence, competence, and collegiality during the first year.

Creating Community Through Mentoring* *259
Deborah E. Erickson and Cecelia Travick-Jackson
This research studies a doctoral program that includes a cohort component. Candidates engage in active learning and in the skill of mentoring. Research on peer mentoring has shown to support graduate students as they progress in their study (Luna & Cullen, 1998). Analysis of the data found themes relating to mentoring and community: candidates identify the act of mentoring with leadership development; candidates see mentoring as a form of social as well as emotional/psychological support; candidates build community within own cohort but not necessarily across cohort lines.

Conflicts and Challenges of Educators', Students' and Families' Education Goals

Susan Ghiaciuc
James Madison University
Ellen McIntyre
Diane Kyle
University of Louisville
Melissa Sutherland
Kentucky Department of Education

The authors explore the ways current curricula continue to frustrate parental and student goals in the classroom, focusing on three separate ethnographic studies of subjects from African American, Appalachian, and Latino backgrounds. The researchers determine that, despite the idiographic nature of their individual studies, many marginalized populations demonstrate overlapping concerns that continue to rest outside the primary foci of educational reform. Results indicate the need for a critical examination of curricular goals and relationship building between educators and families. Revised institutional-level aims should include building on parents' and students' funds of knowledge in an effort create more equitable classroom environments. Locating and dismantling perceived barriers to educational dialogue and opportunity are imperative if our goal is to include diverse cultural viewpoints in the educational process.

"Education is deeply implicated in the politics of culture. The curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a selective tradition, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge" (Apple, 2001).

How can we, as educators, acknowledge the educational goals of individual families while simultaneously reaching educational requirements mandated by local officials? How do curricula determine or limit familial participation in educational aims? It is frequently acknowledged that parental involvement is directly related to student success (Purcell-Gates, 1995; Lawson, 2003). Yet, we also know that perceptions and definitions of parental involvement vary widely. Lawson (2003) addressed a continuum of parental involvement that moves from a school-centric framework, whereby parents solely act to fulfill the school's mission, to a more equitable framework where parents serve as partners in school problem solving and design. His assessment illuminates the idea that any "school reform efforts will be impeded if the meanings and functions of parent involvement are unclear, ambiguous or

competing" (p.78). Further complicating the direction of this discussion, though, are underserved students and families whose own goals often clash or fail to intersect with school sanctioned outcomes.

Despite contemporary efforts to incorporate diverse educational practices in the classroom, curricula continue to devalue cultural differences. As suggested by Michael Apple (2001), "Whether we recognize it or not, curriculum and more general educational issues in the U.S. have always been caught up in the history of class, race, gender, and religious relations" (p. 342), and these issues continue to hamper notions of equality in education. Current curricula, from both the progressive orientation to teaching and the traditional orientation, may not be sufficient without an examination of familial goals. That is, curricula that seek to include multiple voices in the educational process may still alienate the very students educational institutions purport to be helping. Regarding current multicultural pedagogies, McLaren (1995) argues that our educational standards continue to "be based on the cultural capital of the Anglo-middle class" (p. 38). Thus, both the progressive and traditional orientations to teaching may serve to perpetuate and reward specific kinds of cultural practices and knowledge. As such, both students and their families might continue to view themselves in opposition to curricular aims and experience a profound disconnect from the educational process.

The purpose of this article is to examine familial goals in light of educational practices. Through three separate ethnographic studies with parents and students from African-American, Appalachian, and Latino backgrounds, we examine the ways familial goals intersect or clash with classroom/institutional curricula. In particular, we explore the ways cultural capital emerging in home cultures is characterized by parents and students while simultaneously investigating how that same cultural capital is interpreted as being denied or promoted in a classroom setting. We conclude with specific implications and recommendations. The following two questions focus this article: a) How do student and parental educational goals clash and merge with school-sanctioned goals? and b) What are the implications of familial goals on the education of socio-economically marginalized students and cultural minorities?

Revisiting Cultural Clashes

In her recent article, Rolon-Dow (2005) re-visits the importance of foregrounding educational practice in historical and political knowledge. While she argues that educators often "fail to see how racialized practices and beliefs influence institutions and relationships" (p. 78), we assert that an equally important intersection of familial-based values and institution continues to lie dormant in our discussion of critical pedagogy. As suggested in Bourdieu (1984), traditional cultural practices reproduce or

are passed on in formal institutions like public education. Institutions then serve to perpetuate and reward specific kinds of cultural capital by enacting "particular knowledge, linguistic behavior, styles, dispositions, and modes of thought or expression" (Olneck, 2000, p. 320). These means of measuring student achievement are what we mean by the idea of producing cultural capital in the classroom. Consequently, cultural capital is often manufactured by educational values that produce distinctions among individual students. In the case studies provided here, students and families are often labeled as problematic or existing outside the parameters of accepted cultural capital.

Comprehending and addressing disparities in the educational experiences of students from socio-economically marginalized populations is necessary if the overarching project of education is equality. Waters and LeBlanc (2005) succinctly explain that "public education is the key to the operation of a modern state" and that schools work to "create a common understanding of identity in terms of what is imagined as legitimate expressions of nationalism, patriotism and economic activity" (p. 129). Problematic and useful to our analyses here is the idea of "common understanding" and the way it does or does not manifest in parental and student goals. Since "curricular choices are intended to help define those types of citizenship that are perceived as legitimate and those which are not" (p. 129) what role, if any, do marginalized families have in shaping curriculum and what it means to be a citizen?

Most educators and parents see the transformational possibilities inherent in education itself. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1970) wrote that education is an instrument for liberation or an act of freedom, and that our pursuit of these ideals "cannot be carried out in isolation or individualism, but only in fellowship and solidarity" (p. 66). As such, both schools and the communities that help form them must be intimately involved in the process of educating. Relative to the schooling of all children are their parents, but as exhibited by researchers [see Macedo, 2000; Giroux, 1997; Moll & Gonzalez, 2003] parental values or funds of knowledge are frequently made invisible or ignored in mainstream classrooms.

Progressive, Critical Pedagogy Not Enough?

Although current reforms like the No Child Left Behind Act (2001) include language which promises to educate the neediest students, current goals appear to be about achieving a population of citizens that can read and write, but only at basic levels (Allington, 2002), further perpetuating the status quo. If our goals, however, are to establish positive relationships between schools and the families they serve, we must consider particular cultures and histories rarely envisioned during

the construction of school curricula. Importantly Bartholome (1996) argued:

> By understanding the historical specificities of marginalized students, teachers and prospective teachers come to realize that an uncritical focus on methods makes invisible the historical role that schools and their personnel have played and continue to play, not only discriminating against many culturally different groups, but also in denying their humanity. By robbing students of their culture, language, history, and values, schools reduce these students to the status of sub-humans who need to be rescued from their savage selves (p. 233).

Other scholars have made similar arguments (Delpit, 1995; Lensmire, 1998). For instance, Delpit has strongly argued for a re-examination of progressive pedagogy as she makes the claim that in some classrooms considered "best practice" classrooms, the curriculum and discourse in no way resemble that of the students' home cultures and language. She further argues that parents of these children want some practices different from those that progressive educators deem best. Delpit quotes a friend about the disconnection between progressive writing instruction and the goals of the African American community. She says:

> "What do they think? Our children have no fluency? If they think that, they ought to read some of the rap songs my students write all the time. They might not be writing their school assignments, but they sure are writing. Our kids *are* fluent. What they need are the skills to get them into college." (1995, p. 16).

Thus, while traditional instruction has been shown to be fundamentally inadequate for the education of students historically marginalized in school, so too is practice considered "progressive." We argue instead for more attention to the goals of families. Behind the students that Bartolome, Delpit, and Lensmire mention are marginalized parents whose educational concerns and goals frequently rest at the perimeter of our discussions concerning curricula. The following three separate ethnographic studies of parents and students from African-American, Appalachian, and Latino backgrounds make visible the complex impact of parental and student expectations on classroom performance.

Methods

All three studies discussed here used qualitative interviews as one wag information about study participants and their environments. Using a combination of structured and open-ended questions, all researchers recorded and transcribed participant interviews. In each study, our separate methods of analysis combined concepts of social-cultural theory

as proposed by Purcell-Gates (1995), Brandt (2001); Merriam (1998); and Gutierrez & Garcia, 1989.

Purcell-Gates' notions of social-cultural theory suggest that "such a lens allows us to see them (study participants) as cultural beings whose identities and perceptions reflect the nested cultural contexts of ethnic heritage, education/literacy level, gender, and socio-economic status (where) we gain insight into the ways they perceive the literate world and the world of school" (p. 179). Approaching our projects from a similar perspective, the studies presented here highlight cases where students and parents reveal information about their perceptions of school, as well as their interpretations of how schools incorporate or dismiss familial goals. Each researcher validated their data collection through developing close relations with parents, students, and teachers. Importantly, each researcher also independently consulted with outside readers in attempts to curtail researcher bias. All studies positioned researchers as participant observers, while Study 2 also positioned researchers as collaborators. (Please see Appendix for more detailed description of methodologies).

Study 1: Urban African American Family

The first study took place in a large urban city in the Midwest with a high level of poverty and a low level of educational attainment. Investigating Thompson's (2002) argument that "deficit theories about language, culture, home environments, and parents of children of color" have created gaps between some groups of parents and educators, this research examined the roles three African American families played while navigating public school education with their children.

Not surprisingly, all three families in this study expressed love for their children and a belief that their children must behave and do well in school. All families shared strong beliefs about their roles and responsibilities in the education of their children. With respect to identifying their child's educational needs, helping with homework, and monitoring overall school progress, each family believed it was their responsibility as parents to meet these educational needs of their children. With respect to school communication, the families shared a belief that the school's role and responsibility was to communicate with parents. The families believed they also had a role in communicating with the school

One example from Study 1 included a young African American mother of 25, Renaee, and her six-year-old son Montez. Renaee's beliefs and goals for educating her son were grounded in her own experiences as a student less than a decade ago. She had felt excluded and ostracized as a student in high school, primarily because she believed some of the teachers disliked the "black students who were pregnant, because basically all the black girls were the pregnant girls." She wanted a better

experience for her son, one that focused on academics, but she also wanted schooling to respect her son's own discourse and behavioral norms.

For example, Renaee had concerns about the academic expectations that she encountered in homework assignments during Montez's first grade year. Renaee wanted Montez to do well in school, but she was unsure about how to help Montez meet the school's academic expectations. One day Renaee revealed her frustration with the researcher by explaining how she couldn't help him with his homework. She said, " He came home with his homework paper that said 'text-to-self' and 'text-to-a-book.' I didn't have no clue what that meant. What's that mean?".

This popular literacy strategy, which asks students to make connections from the text they are reading to their experiences and other texts, is grounded in educational theory that would be categorized as progressive. Yet, the book in which this strategy was first introduced (Zimmerman & O'Keene, 1997) was written by white educators whose culture clearly differs greatly from many non-mainstream students (e.g., trips to art museums, classical music, and travel are described) as well as from many students from cultural minority groups such as those in the studies we describe here. Even though Renaee was more than willing to help Montez, she was unfamiliar with the language used by the teacher to explain the homework assignment and the academic expectations for the assignment. In a best-case scenario, Renaee exhibited a vested interest in her child's educational well-being, but a combination of the teacher's use of discipline-specific terminology and the parent's lack of knowledge of teachers' discourse greatly hampered parental involvement.

Similarly, parental knowledge of behavioral expectations in the classroom may conflict with those of the actual classroom environment. In the following excerpt we see another example of disconnect between school and parental expectations. Renaee tells the researcher:

> He fell asleep in the classroom yesterday and somebody woke him up. And he got in trouble because somebody woke him up and he hollered. You know when how, you're sleeping, it don't matter where you are. If somebody is bothering you, you're like, leave me alone! You're sleeping, you're forgetting where you at. You're sleeping. So somebody tried to wake him up and he got in trouble. (September , 2002)

Although Renaee expressed desire for Montez to behave in school, her own definitions for appropriate and inappropriate behavior were at odds with those expressed in a school setting. She thought that Montez responded in a normal, predictable manner. She did not want Montez to be "in trouble" at school, but she was surprised that he got in trouble in the first place. Montez's behavior may not have reflected the kind of

behavior Renaee felt deserving of disciplinary measures, and on one level this is understandable. In an era where students are involved in more incidents of violence, falling asleep in class and yelling when jolted awake may seem like a minor offense. What appears to be lacking in this scenario is a clearly defined set of behavioral expectations within the classroom for both parents and students to follow. If viewed from Renaee's position, disciplinary measures for this incident may seem like a penalizing measure that doesn't fit the perceived infraction. Such incidents could create greater feelings of unease between parents and their children's school, and thus place parents and teachers in oppositional, polarized positions. While this may seem like an exaggerated point we argue the importance of thinking through the underlying complications of the race relations involved in this scenario.

African-American students are frequently positioned as part of an achievement gap. According to Sonia Nieto (2004), minority students "continue to achieve below grade level, drop out in much greater numbers, and go to college in much lower proportion than their middle-class and European American peers" (p. 41). Therefore, what kind of narrative does it perpetuate to not only send African-American students home with homework that may not translate for their parents or to punish them for behavior deemed inappropriate by teachers? That is, where are the parents in this dialogue and how much awareness is there on the part of teachers concerning parental expectations? Are African-American parents' issues with school practices merely invisible to educators and administrators? Can parents serve as a mirror for teachers to help them further develop inclusive classroom practices? Implications and recommendations that address these questions follow the descriptions of these studies.

Study 2: Appalachian Families' Goals

In this study, the goal was to track Appalachian children's development both in and out of school within the context of a state-wide reform that valued responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994), which can be defined as progressive practices that directly respond to students' needs. Researchers selected for participation teachers considered excellent examples of "best practices" and who exhibited positive attitudes towards parents. In collaboration with classroom teachers, researchers documented the academic achievement of 30 children both in and outside of school in efforts to understand the relationship of the state's reform and students' cultural understandings. Teachers and researchers (both now referred to as "researchers") interviewed families regularly during visits to the homes of the targeted children. Researchers worked to build trust and rapport, aware of the inevitable initial awkwardness and strained conversations. Eventually, when the families

and researchers became more comfortable, interviews were tape-recorded. During the visits, researchers viewed the parents as experts on their children, seeking to learn from them. Interviews covered information about the children, then about parents and guardians: their backgrounds, demographics, beliefs and practices about schooling, and goals they had for their children. Researchers documented the families' "funds of knowledge" (Moll & Gonzalez, 2003) in efforts to more consciously connect curriculum to the lives of students. (For details on method and analysis of this study, see McIntyre, Kyle, & Rightmyer, 2005).

In some of the classrooms, the teachers were highly successful at building curriculum around the funds of knowledge of their students. These were reflective teachers who were critical of their own practices. The potential for reaching marginalized groups using this theoretical pedagogical model was exhibited at times in each of the classrooms, but nagging questions remained. Are the goals of the researchers aligned with those of the families? Are schools, even those employing a critical pedagogy, meeting families' goals, or are they perpetuating "particular knowledge, linguistic behavior, styles, dispositions, and modes of thought of expression" (Olneck, 2000, p. 320)? Indeed, with nearly all the teachers, the families' goals seemed to be, at times, at odds with their own goals.

In many cases parents expressed a desire for their children to succeed academically so they could get ahead in the world, but they also desired for their children to retain familial values. These familial or community values were sometimes portrayed by parents as at odds with more academic values. For example, in an interview with the parents of Becky, the father expressed some resentment toward the norms dictated by mainstream society:

> "Well, I just think that they (rich people) have all the computers and books and everything, and when they have some time to spend with the kids, they say [uses sarcastic tone], 'hey, lets work on the computer or go to the library' and all. We're not like that; we get on the tractor or go four wheeling" (McIntyre, Sutherland, Ghiacic, & Kyle, 2003).

In this particular instance, Becky's father clearly articulates how his cultural background and goals stand just far enough outside a perceived norm. This same social norm correlates directly with the way schools construct and maintain particular types of cultural capital. "Behavior and practices that lie outside the range of prescribed ways, irrespective of their potential value to learning, are defined as not school, or at least, as inappropriate for school" (Olneck, 2000, p. 321). Although Becky's parents comprehend the educational practices other parents engage in with their children, they also expressed desire for their children

to “have family and friends and neighbors” like they did and “to be happy…” The cultural capital they are attempting to pass to their children exists somewhat outside the realm of school related activities, but they are also activities that serve to strengthen familial connections and values. Many other families in this study expressed a similar view. The desire to have their children stay connected to family and the kinds of activities the family enjoyed together became a refrain across the interviews.

In the final visit with this family, the researchers asked the parents why they thought poor children did not do as well in school as wealthy children. The following dialogue ensued:

> Father: Well, we *are* trying to set an example, but we are not reading and studying and doing business and paper every day and computers. Our kids are not seeing us do that. Our kids are seeing us use a paper and pencil to add numbers instead of just knowing 5+5=10.
>
> Mother: Because we don’t know how to use a computer. [later] I think people that have money expect more out of their kids than people who don’t.
>
> Father [to mother]: Why? They send them off to schools.…Maybe they don’t have nothing else to utilize their time. Like Stanley [brother of the target child]. He’s not going to take that extra time to study tonight because he has to mow the yard.
>
> Mother [speaking in a reflective mode]: I don’t know why the kids that don’t have nothing don’t do well. I really don’t. I wonder that. Because I see that, that’s just the way it is.

While this family was able to identify traits associated with success in school like literacy activities and computers, they willingly ascribed to values outside those deemed important or worthy by middle class norms. As such, these parents are placed at odds with the cultural politics embedded in school curricula. By informing students and parents what they should aspire to and who they should be, education can alienate the very people it ideally aims to serve.

Other interview questions elicited parents’ long-term goals for their children. Although many of the responses included further education as a hoped-for goal, many of the parents focused more attention on wanting their children to have economic security and contentment in life more than academic degrees or advanced professional roles:

> I don’t care as long as he is happy. I want them to do something that they will be able to pay their way and be comfortable.
>
> I want them to be well-off. I would rather them go to school, get the best education that they could get and go sit at a desk and make more than I could ever dream of and not have to worry about next week, because I won’t get paid until next week. And, as far as it comes to my daughter, you know, I hope she marries a man so that

> she doesn't have to work, that she can sit at home, or, she can go to school and get a degree, if she wants, but she don't have to use them.
>
> You don't have to go to college, but you need to finish high school, because otherwise you are going to be doing like I've done as far as jobs. You are going to have a hard time getting one.
>
> I wouldn't push her to do anything she didn't want to do as far as, you know, education or a job. I would like for her to go to college, but if she definitely didn't want to do that I wouldn't force her to do it.

Beyond highlighting the ways parents may or may not be actively present in their children's education, these comments suggest familial goals and values that students are most likely carrying to class with them. These goals represent areas that teachers, administrators, and families might address in the development of curricula. While Nieto (2004) writes that it makes sense to provide future teachers with a variety of multicultural experiences in educational courses, it would also be in the best interest of K-12 students to participate in similar experiences. Implications and recommendations for using goals such as those described above are included later in this article.

Study 3: Latinos in Rural Mid-America

Similarly removed from the dialogue concerning curricular goals and pedagogy are immigrant children and their parents. Using Juan Guerra's *Close to Home* (1998) a study of a trans-national Mexican community's letter writing practices as a model, study 3 examined the way literacies were perceived and utilized by a small group of Spanish-speaking children and their teachers at a rural elementary school in central Kentucky (Ghiaciuc, 2003). The county where this school is located had recently experienced a surge in its Latino/Mexican population whereby the census numbers indicated a jump from 36 Mexican residents in 1990 to 1,087 in 2000. These shifting demographics created new challenges for the community, its residents, and its officials.

As then-recent INS raids had created a degree of trepidation among many residents, interviews with students for this study were limited. All four of the Latino students in this study ranged in age from 6-9. There were three boys and one girl. The four teachers and two ESL tutors who served as a focus in this study were all female, ranging in age from mid-twenties to mid-fifties.

With student and parental consent, each student was interviewed twice and all of their in-class writing assignments were collected and copied. Together with each student, the researcher reviewed their portfolios and asked them to discuss their attitudes towards their writing and writing processes. Important to these interviews were open discussions concerning students' biliterate skills both on and off the written page. The researcher compared students' opinions of their own

writing and literacy practices to the opinions of their teachers, while looking for patterns between what students suggested and what they produced in class. Similarly, the researcher looked for patterns in what teachers expressed about their classroom goals and how those goals did or didn't match up to the goals students expressed for themselves. Most of the goals expressed by students seemed to reflect parental or familial goals that could be interpreted as outside mainstream pedagogy.

This study focused on how literacy was accounted for, perceived by, and utilized among Spanish speaking children; how students and teachers felt about first and second language abilities; and how second language learners were best served in the classroom. Study 3 examined what students suggested in interviews about their feelings toward literacy activities. Different perspectives and actions toward literacy activities were observed, many of which implicitly extended Brandt's notions of "literacy sponsors" to children themselves.

Of interest were how writing activities and acts of sponsorship by parents and students revealed social and cultural values that may or may not have manifested in classroom settings. Together, these research and analytic methods helped create a layered examination, whereby teachers, students, and to a less visible-degree their parents displayed a complex dialogue about literacy and identity, as well as primary and secondary languages, from within a variety of roles. Of particular importance were analyses of instances where consciously or not students visibly worked against English-dominant instruction by speaking Spanish. In doing so, students created scenarios whereby most classroom teachers were pushed out of their own zones of authority and forced to develop alternative methods of instruction to address problems not anticipated by the curriculum.

Central to this study is the position that individual identity and literacies in language minority students are essentially erased within the institution of education by policies that exclude and/or seek to replace minority language and culture with English-only assimilationist policies. Supportive of this argument were interviews with students about their own educational goals and those of their teachers. Importantly, parental concerns and goals were often interpreted through their children due to linguistic and socio-cultural barriers.

Case Study

On a surface level, Lucy, a third-grade student represented a high level of academic success. Bright and intellectually curious, Lucy came from a bilingual household. While she communicated that both her parents worked much of the time, her mother encouraged her to perfect her English skills at the exclusion of her Spanish language skills. During one interview Lucy stated, "My Mom- when I read in Spanish,

sometimes my Mom says, 'You can't read in Spanish because then you'll forget English'." Despite the fact that Lucy's mother openly encouraged use of the English language, Lucy expressed concern that she seemed to be losing her Spanish language skills. Born in New York, Lucy spent her early years surrounded by her parents and her Spanish-speaking grandparents, who she claimed continually read and spoke to her in Spanish. Once immersed in public school though, Lucy explained that she began to "lose her Spanish."

> Researcher: So they wouldn't let you speak Spanish at school?
> Lucy: No!
> Researcher: Were there other Spanish-speaking kids in your class?
> Lucy: Yeah, but they weren't allowed (to speak Spanish).
> Researcher: Were they (the teachers) trying to help you learn English?
> Lucy: [nods head indicating yes] So I forgot all the Spanish.

From observations, however, it did not appear that Lucy had forgotten all her Spanish. She often engaged in conversation with a student named Maria, using Spanish to conduct typical classroom discussions regarding schoolwork, lunch, and minor arguments. It was noticeable that it often took Lucy a few minutes longer than Maria to respond in Spanish. Situated between two languages, Lucy attempted to accommodate multiple subjectivities in order to function as a limited bilingual student. Although her mother, teachers, and English-speaking classmates encouraged, and in some cases required her to speak English, Lucy's father, grandparents, and Spanish speaking classmates re-enforced her desire to learn and re-learn Spanish. She related her parent's position as follows:

> Lucy: My Mom never forgets her Spanish, but I do and my Dad knows a lot of Spanish.
> Researcher: Does your Dad just want you to speak in English, too?
> Lucy: He wants me to speak in English and Spanish
> Researcher: Does he try to help you with your Spanish? (Lucy nods yes). What does he try and do?
> Lucy: He tells me more numbers that I don't know and he tells me more words that I don't know how to say.

In many ways, Lucy's parents can be interpreted as offering two conflicting types of literacy sponsorship. Lucy's mother offered encouragement in educational and socially (American) supported realms by reportedly helping her with her reading and spelling words. Lucy's father offered a connection to her past and familial native language by providing instruction in Spanish. Both literacies being offered to Lucy were tools that helped her perceive classroom literacy practices as distinctly different from her home culture. Spanish, as Lucy had been taught, had no real place in the American classroom.

"As people interact with existing institutions and social practices in which the values, beliefs, bodies of knowledge, styles of

communication, and biases of the dominant culture are imposed, they are often stripped of their power to articulate and realize their own goals" (Leistyna & Woodrum, 1996, p. 3). While many of the studies of second-generation immigrants (see Portes & Rumbaut, 2001) reveal that these students will gravitate towards one language or the other dependent on their parent's cultural and socio-economic positions, Lucy often seemed to reside in a liminal space in which she had not yet decided where her greatest allegiance, if any, should rest. Importantly, teachers can play a pivotal role in helping students both navigate educational channels regarding identity and understand or reject accepted forms of knowledge.

In three interviews that occurred mid-way through the study, a number of teachers reflected how they initially assumed that some of their Spanish-speaking students were "playing dumb" or merely refusing to learn English. Theorists like Yaldon (1997) have suggested that sometimes student silence in the classroom might be used as a way to retain privilege. Extending this notion to our analyses here, students' inability or refusal to participate in ways we deem normative can actually be regarded as an attempt to influence classroom goals and values. Juan, another case-study student, perplexed many of his teachers and ESL tutors by refusing to read, write, or speak in English. After further investigation, his tutor discovered that his siblings were fluent in English and that his parents encouraged him to learn the language. What his tutor discovered was that Juan was able to speak and understand English.

If forced to work on a written assignment though, Juan sought the help of a bilingual tutor and had them translate for him, or if no other option were available, he would demand one-on-one interaction with a teacher who would scribe his words for him. His negotiation skills in the realm of English literacy were both supported and negated by his dependence on Spanish speaking tutors. On the one hand, Juan's abilities in English were obviously improving. According to his ESL tutor, Juan's test scores were improving. However, from his classroom teacher's perspective, Juan's dependence on translators continued to subtly undermine teachers' instructional efforts by indicating to him that it was acceptable to circumvent English in certain school scenarios. It was surprising then that for our interview Juan answered the researcher's questions in English. Like many of his Spanish-speaking classmates, Juan expressed a desire to read and communicate in Spanish outside of the classroom. Where though do student goals or values enter the curriculum?

Conclusions, Implications, and Recommendations

In each of the studies, children and parents valued school achievement. Yet, the values and ways of operating clearly differed

between home and schools. While this pattern has been written about for decades (see Heath, 1983; Tharp & Gallimore, 1993), we would like to focus the conclusions, implications, and recommendations on attending to what parents want for their children and what children want for themselves. We believe that we must begin with finding out what goals families have and how they fit or collide with the goals of the schools. We must examine whether we as educators are alienating students and their families by imposing middle class values on our expectations for schooling. In the cases described above, attending to parents' goals and expectations around homework, classroom behavior, how to spend free time, and what language to speak have the potential to contribute toward a curriculum that meets the needs of students far better than traditional or progressive educational practices alone can.

First, based on our case studies, we suggest there may be many instances in which the actions or motives of families are misinterpreted by schools. In each of our cases the parents wanted school achievement, but not at the cost of other values they held, such as having quality family time or maintaining skill in a child's first language. Too often, even educators with a progressive or critical literacy perspective expect their goals to be shared by marginalized students, when in reality the students do not always want what we, as educators, think they might want.

Of course, in no way do we recommend that we opt for tractor riding over reading in school or forgetting about teaching students English. While learning can evolve from what students bring to class with them, we argue that there needs to be a more explicit level of reciprocity in public schooling whereby teachers engage in active dialogue with not only administrators, but also the families themselves. However, for teachers to engage in such a dialogue, to construct a deeper understanding of families' and children's goals, and then to develop responsive classroom instruction will require substantive and careful planning. Teachers will need to learn how to confront their tacit assumptions about students and their families, and they will need to create opportunities and contexts within which meaningful, respectful, and rich dialogue with families can occur. Some teachers, such as those in the studies described as well as in other studies and sites (González, 1995; Ayers, Foseca, Andrade, & Civil, 2001; McIntyre, Rosebery, & Gonzalez, , 2001), have found great value in getting to know students and their families by making visits to homes. By communicating a desire to learn from families about their aspirations and experiences, teachers create the possibility of relationship-building and, as a result, lessen the likelihood of the misinterpretations that all too frequently occur. Teachers need legitimate school time with administrator help to engage in such time-consuming work. And they need facilitation with peers or

others to discern families' goals, their possible disconnect with officially sanctioned school goals, and how to negotiate the conflict in supporting students' learning.

Further, merely becoming more aware and knowledgeable about what parents want for their children is insufficient. As educators, we much know how to take the next step and create curricula that reflects that understanding in responsive and responsible ways. This includes instruction that links to and builds from families' funds of knowledge as has been illustrated with specific examples in the works of Moll and Gonzalez (2003) and others. Further, it can mean creating increased opportunities to involve and engage families in order to continue the dialogue about goals and potential barriers perceived by families.

Current educational reforms, like the NCLB Act, have been noted by researchers like Kozol (2005) to standardize knowledge and hold educators accountable for student achievement. Immersed and often subsequently pushed out of this new framework are the familial goals of marginalized families. In an era where critical discussion of our educational agenda is prevalent, we continue to be driven by a marketplace ideology that works against notions of equality. In essence, we make large leaps over any apparent socio-material gaps and proceed towards rhetorical solutions with no basis in reality. If we are to recognize and achieve more inclusive educational opportunities, we must not forfeit opportunities to create knowledge, negotiate and transform our curricular goals, or avoid critique in the wider community. Educators and communities can play a pivotal role in helping shape the course of current global capitalism by not letting social aims be dictated to them through curriculua that ultimately reproduces socio-economic hierarchies.

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Appendix

Description of Methodologies

		Control Observer Bias	Validation	Sample Size	How participants chosen	Study published elsewhere?
Study 1	Participant observer	Shared data with teachers and parents. Used documentation of instructional classroom practices	Internal validity (Merriam, 1998), triangulation	3 families	Convenience sampling and case sampling (Glense, 1999).	No
Study 2	Participant observer, collaborator	Shared data with teachers, parents, and experts in field.	Close work with teachers and participants	Initially 45 families, extensive data collection on 22 of these	Ease of visitation, range of students, teacher identified as "high implementers" by state program	Aspects of the study presented here are not published elsewhere. Findings from this longitudinal study, however, are available in multiple journals and books.
Study 3	Participant observer	Shared data and observations with teachers, ESL tutors, and administrators. Compared interviews with participants to textual data provided by students.	Triangulation via participants, student homework, interviews, and professionals outside the study	4 students and their teachers, 2 ESL tutors, and school staff	To achieve a range of primarily Spanish speaking students	Some aspects of one student in this study were published in 52nd NRC yearbook.

White Girls Constructing Abstract and Embodied Racial Identities in an Urban Elementary School

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In this paper I examine the ways that three fifth-grade girls from different socioeconomic backgrounds formed and reformed their racial identities in a diverse urban public school. Although the girls were labeled as "White" by their parents and the school district, none identified as "White." Drawing on data from an ethnographic study of children's identification strategies, I look at the conjunction of race, socioeconomic class, and human geography to analyze their identity work. I find that at this particular site, Whiteness is both an abstract category and a personal, embodied identity for the girls and their peers.

White Girls' Abstract and Embodied Racial Identification Strategies

In this paper I examine the ways that three fifth-grade girls from different socioeconomic backgrounds formed and reformed their racial identities in an urban public school. Although all three girls were labeled as "White" by their parents and the school district, none identified as "White." Drawing on data from a multi-year ethnographic study of children's fluid identification strategies at Gonzales Elementary[1], a diversely populated urban school (Zacher, 2005a), I look in brief at the conjunction of race, socioeconomic class, and human geography, the ways the girls lived in their city, to analyze their identity work. I found that at this particular site, Whiteness was both an abstract category and a personal, in-the-moment, embodied identity (cf. McDowell,1999) for the girls and their peers. Findings are critical for teachers who work in diversely populated classrooms and for urban educational researchers in the broad field of "identity" research.

A close examination of the children's individual identification strategies offers insights into how White students in social justice classrooms may cope with issues of difference, and suggests numerous ways that teachers can capitalize on students' "elusive" identities (Yon, 2000). The classroom teacher in this study, a White woman named Ms. Jean, taught her diverse fifth-grade students from a perspective that was "multicultural and social reconstructionist" (Banks & Banks, 2004); in her class, students were introduced to ideas of oppression and structural inequality through language arts and social studies curricula. In addition,

[1] All names are pseudonyms.

she tried to give students some responsibility for taking an active role in their learning (ibid.). In other writing, I have shown how the ways students took up and reworked the ideas on offer was sometimes less than socially just, and was often done in service to their own identity work and social maneuvering (Zacher, in press).

The three "White" girls at the center of this analysis responded to their teacher's pedagogy and their diverse environment in various ways. Cody, who was the daughter of upper middle-class parents[2], avoided being White, despite having a White best friend and no other realistic racial identification option. Christina, the daughter of middle-class parents, had only Latina friends and chose to claim a Latina identity; in other words, she pretended to be someone she was not in this classroom. Liz, the third student in my brief analysis, was the daughter of poor, sometimes homeless, parents, and she denied being White, saying she was uncomfortable with the label, despite having blue eyes, blond hair, and, like Cody, no other visible option. There was one other White girl in the class—Jordan, Cody's best friend—who labeled herself as White, and two White boys, one of whom labeled himself as White, the other as Jewish. Cody, Christina, and Liz's stories are of particular interest here because they show how class, race, gender, and social justice factors can play out in individual children's lives.

These girls' profiles also show the multiple approaches to racial labels that children have, and the ways they use such labels in their strategic identity enactments (Hull & Zacher, forthcoming; Zacher, in press). In the classroom, Whiteness was an abstract construct against which other races could be compared to, and, usually, seen as victimized by. For instance, in their study of slavery, which included reading the book *Sojourner Truth: Ain't I a woman?* (McKissack & McKissack, 1992), students of all races in this classroom showed their ability to recognize and label acts of violent racism. In a month-long unit on the "Cycle of Oppression," they also learned how to distinguish between classism, racism, sexism, ableism, and other "-isms," and to recognize such acts in the past as well as the present (Zacher, 2005b). However, Whiteness was also an embodied racial identity; Liz and Cody were both

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[2] For this analysis, "upper middle-class" signifies homeowners whose household income is above $250,000/year; "middle-class" signifies homeowners or renters whose income ranges from $150,000 to $249,000; "lower middle-class" signifies renters with incomes of $30,000 to $149,000; "working poor" signifies renters who work and earn up to $29,000; and "poor" signifies renters who may or may not receive government benefits like Section 8 housing credits, live in housing projects, and/or are homeless, and who have no stable incomes.

pale skinned, with blond and dark blond hair respectively, and neither of them could embody any other racial identity. Christina had the ability to pass as Latina on looks alone, but Liz and Cody had no such alternative. No matter what they preferred, Whiteness was read onto their bodies by others, in and out of school (Butler, 1999; Dyer, 1997; McDowell, 1999). Below I briefly review some studies on Whiteness in schools, and then move to discuss the girls themselves.

White Identity In and Out of School: Two Key Studies in Brief

Researchers have begun to focus on the ways junior high and high school students construct racial identities (Olsen, 1997; Yon, 2000), and some have focused specifically on White students (Finders, 1997; Perry, 2002), but as yet we know very little about how White elementary school students create and maintain their racial identities[3]. Yon's (2000) ethnographic account of identity work at a diverse Toronto high school focuses on the convergence of race, culture, and identity in students' lives. In her comparative ethnography of two California high schools, one mostly White and one diversely populated, Perry (2002) highlights the contextually contingent nature of racial identity, particularly, in these cases, White identity (or identities)[4]. Although neither study looks explicitly at how students use space to create and maintain identities, each offers a radically new perspective on how students in diverse environments negotiate emergent identities as they talk about themselves and others (Yon, 2000).

These researchers emphasize the process of "identification" over any notion of fixed identity, arguing for "a process that is continuous and incomplete… a constructed and open-ended process" (Yon, 2000, p. 14). Perry writes that "identity is that by which we define ourselves, a name we call "home," even if only *temporarily* or *strategically*" (p. 73, emphasis added). Cody, Christina, and Liz, like Perry and Yon's subjects, made strategic choices about how to identify as they engaged in "a process of investment in and identification with the meaning attached to one's social location" (ibid). Because identities are always "produced in specific historical and institutional sites" (Hall, 1996, p. 4), research into identity formation in school must account for both the ways the girls identified in school and the ways they used the city to do so. In this school context, for example, it was a viable option for Christina to claim a Latina identity, since her two best friends, both of whom claimed and

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[3] For a psychological perspective on the racial identity formation of African American children, see Tatum (1997).

[4] For additional insights into the ways Whiteness is portrayed in popular culture and the arts, see Dyer (1997).

were ascribed Latina identities (Hagood, 2002), were willing to allow her such a claim.

Studies such as Yon's and Perry's, with their intense foci on race, culture, and identity, shed some light on what high school students in diverse (and not-so-diverse) settings do throughout the school day, in and out of class, to identify as certain types of people. They provide no clean-cut examples or answers, because, as both authors note, this is a messy business, and "White students' identities, like all racial identities, were fickle, multiple, and often contradictory" (Perry, p. 2). Each project touches on the role of the city and the school in setting up certain racial dynamics, and both also go into the classroom to show students talking and interacting in class (and in other out of class settings) with each other. Perry in particular paints a broad picture of the social groups at Clavey and Valley Groves high schools[5], and we are left with a complete sense of the social landscape.

However, what is missing from the studies, and what this essay's analysis hopes to offer, is a micro-level perspective on the identity work of students in one classroom, done with attention to city, school, and community contexts[6]. They tell us about the broad, school-wide nature of students' identity politics and identifications, but we do not know enough about how students (re)create their identities in interactions with their peers, with their friends and their enemies. Nor do we know much about how younger White children in diversely populated settings like Gonzales Elementary identify racially. The gap here is one of scale: in the sections that follow, I rely on such work, which has begun to make clear how race, culture, and identity are diffuse, negotiated, and contradictory in schools, to make my own claims about how these three girls identified in their classroom.

Methodology

Site and Participants

Gonzales Elementary was a small public kindergarten through fifth grade school with approximately 250 students; about 1/3 were African American, 1/3 Latino/a, 1/6 White, and 1/6 Asian. Over the past seven years, the principal had endeavored to draw neighborhood middle-class (mostly White) families to the school as she maintained the interest

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[5] These are much like the portrait done of social groups by Laurie Olsen (1997) in her study of immigrant high school students at another California high school.

[6] For other studies about race, identity, and schooling from institutional perspectives (as opposed to more student-centered studies like these), see Ferguson (2001), Lei (2003), and Lewis (2003).

and support of existing African American and Latino families (who tended to be working-class and/or poor, and who usually lived in other, more distant, neighborhoods). The school's stated goal was to promote tolerance and work for the advancement of the civil rights of all of its students.

Research Questions

To investigate these issues in the girls' lives, I asked the following questions of my data: 1) How do each of these "White" girls identify racially, and for what purposes? And 2) In what ways do the girls use the city, their social networks, and other resources to position themselves as certain kinds of children and make their identity claims?

Data Collection and Analysis Strategies

The goal of my larger project was to investigate the salience of particular identity categories in literacy events. To accomplish this, the major method I employed was ethnography (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Erickson, 1986; Geertz, 1973); specifically, participant-observation sessions two to three times a week, for two hours a day, over the course of a year. Data sources were numerous, and include my field notes of in and out of school events, tape recordings and transcriptions of all events in which recording was possible; copies of all student work; digital photographs taken of students in and out of school; and interviews with a total of twenty students (Weiss, 1994). In addition, I had eight focal students (Christina and Cody among them) that I followed throughout the day, from home to school and back again. These home visits gave me valuable insight into the out of school lives of Cody and Christina; due to her constantly shifting home circumstances, Liz's mother was unable to accommodate my requests for such a visit. Christina's mother was one of my key adult informants, and she often told me stories about Christina and other children; some of her assessments of her daughter's identity work are included in my findings section.

I interviewed my focal students alone and in their friendship groups to gather more contextual data on how each girl presented herself racially alone with me and with her friends. Liz, who had no close friend, invited Marcus, another low-status student, to our pizza lunch/interview; Christina brought DeAndre and Vanessa on separate occasions; Cody brought Jordan and Ella together (all students are described in more detail below). In the larger project, I analyzed the data using a grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). As I collected data, I created analytic categories with which I described participants' ongoing identity work as I saw it; I also created categories to describe what participants were doing with the multicultural curricula on offer in the classroom (Zacher, 2005b). In keeping with the tenets of

grounded theory, I continually reworked those categories as I collected and analyzed more data. In this article, in addition to hinting at some of those findings, I have conducted a conjunctural analysis of the many contingent factors that came into play in shaping these girls' racial identities (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005).

Findings

The Girls' Identities in the City

Geographers of childhood have urged us to pay more attention to the everyday spaces and spatial discourses that surround children (Gagen, 2000; Holloway, 2000; James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998; Valentine, Skelton, & Chambers, 1998) to understand how children's interpretations of events and spaces influence their life choices and possible futures. How children use city spaces is determined, I argue, by their "deeply racialized" way of seeing cities (Cross & Keith, 1993, p. 4). For example, Cody and her two best friends, who also came from upper middle-class families, lived in houses their parents owned. Cody lived near the school in a mostly White neighborhood, and carpooled with her friends, who also lived near the school. Although she chose to refer to herself by a variety of ethnic identity labels instead of by the label White, she had no social need to pretend to a non-White identity. Her home and her neighborhood were mostly populated by White people, and most of those—except at school—were middle-class and upper middle-class. Given Cody's interview answers (above) about her racial identity, Whiteness seemed to be something to be avoided in the abstract, but, unlike Christina and Liz, she did not seem uncomfortable to embody Whiteness.

Christina lived in a rented house in a racially mixed Latino and White neighborhood. She was either driven to school by her mother or took the city bus (an acceptable practice for fifth-grade students in this city). Christina had asked to ride the bus because riding with Latino and African-American middle school students from her neighborhood fostered the image of "ghetto" that her teacher said she consciously created for her peers. According to Christina's teacher, who lived 3 blocks away in the same geographically bounded area, the neighborhood was a gentrifying mix of working-class and middle-class residents, but Christina purposefully described is as a "kinda cool, half-ghetto" neighborhood populated by people named "Vato, Chico, and Cruiser." These urban Latino nicknames sometimes connote gang affiliation; using them to name her neighborhood's denizens was yet another way Christina tried to distance herself from a middle-class White identity that, as I show below, she did not see as useful in school. Her mother reported that Christina often talked to these men—who were usually day laborers

waiting to be picked up for work at a street corner near their house—to practice her limited Spanish.

Liz, who had lived in apartments all over the city with her transient single mother, was either driven to school (often arriving late) or sometimes, when location permitted, was put on the school bus. Unlike Cody, who talked proudly about her house, or Christina, who used her neighborhood to foster her non-Whiteness, Liz had little to say about her homes to me or to any of her peers. At one point in the year, her mother and the classroom teacher arranged for Liz to stay with Jordan, Cody's best friend, in a temporary foster situation. While her mother tried to regain control of her finances and her life, Liz lived with Jordan. Although Jordan's mother reported to me that Liz seemed to enjoy doing her homework at their house and having a routine (Ms. Jean also described a lack of routines at Liz's mother's house), Liz did not speak much about being fostered with Jordan, and Jordan and her friends Cody and Ella did not socialize with Liz any more than they had before. Liz's mother eventually moved the family in with some of her own relatives, and little was ever said about the foster situation in the classroom again. These physical moves and the seeming lack of social ramifications show how disconnected Liz was from her peers, and how, due to her family's financial and housing problems, she was unable to use the city in her efforts to distance herself from a White identity. Christina played down the bourgeois nature of her neighborhood to distance herself from the class privileges associated with Whiteness; Cody seemed unaware of such privileges and appeared to simply enjoy and take pride in her home life; Liz, however, seemed at the mercy of events and seldom used her housing situation(s) to make identity claims.

Abstract and Embodied (Physical) White Identities

White feminists argue that Whiteness is often "learned simultaneously with a negative connotation, in terms of its attachment to privilege and exclusionism" (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 73). At Gonzales, engagement across racial groups was promoted through school activities and the social justice curriculum, and particular Whites or groups of Whites (activists in the Civil Rights Movement, for instance) were championed for their efforts to break down barriers for and with people of color. However, Whites in the curriculum were generally not seen as victims, and they were linked with privilege and exclusion. This mélange of viewpoints on Whiteness may have resulted in the phenomenon that (as with one of the women in Frankenberg's study) the girls were "more sharply aware of racial *oppression* shaping Black [and other people of color's] experience than of race *privilege*" (1993, p. 59) in their own lives. Such a distinction may have been one explanation for why Christina claimed to be a Latina, and Liz refused to be called White;

they may have been either unconscious of the privileges of Whiteness (especially Liz, whose family was very poor), or attempting to get away from its assumed privileges by avoiding the label altogether (McIntosh, 1988).

In short, none of these three girls directly labeled themselves as White. Cody's friendship group included Jordan (who self-identified as "Irish" and "White") and Ella (who had been born in Mexico to parents who gave her up for adoption, and had been adopted as an infant by White parents, and identified as "Mexican,"). She had a fourth friend, Keisha, a troubled African American girl with whom she socialized and played in school. The girls purposefully excluded Keisha from out-of-school social activities because she was "difficult," they said. Cody's friends had many of the accoutrements and hobbies of upper middle-class children; they had cell phones, computers at home, and spent lots of time online emailing friends and playing with virtual pets and creations. Cody avoided being labeled as White, settling on German, Yiddish, and "a little Hispanic" (the last part drawn from a dark-haired, probably Mexican great-grandfather), but she was happy to label Jordan, and hear Jordan label herself, as White.

Christina's friends Marta and Vanessa both self-identified as Latina (of Mexican and Salvadoran/Venezuelan ancestry, respectively). The school recorded Christina's ethnicity as "W" for White in kindergarten, on a form filled out by her parents, and her parents were both White, her father Jewish. However, despite "knowing" she was "not a Latina" (according to a conversation with her mother that her mother relayed to me), she most often identified herself as Latina. She told her parents that one reason she preferred to be known as a Latina was that Marta and Vanessa "made fun of" White people. She used a variety of tools to maintain this identity, including writing an essay at school in which she transformed her Aunt Tamara into her Tía Tamára. Her brown hair and brown eyes made it easier for her to pass as Latina than it would have been for her had she been blond. However, she was not above invoking her father's Jewishness to make a connection with Vanessa, who was a self-styled specialist on the life of Anne Frank (Zacher, forthcoming).

Christina was an accomplished dancer out of school, and she enjoyed reading, talking on the phone, and sharing news about hip-hop and "Latin" music with Marta and Vanessa. The girls also gossiped about their peers and the boys in their social circle. They were a socially powerful trio, as evidenced by the group's connection to equally powerful boys and by their ability to "get away with" bad or rude behavior, as Jordan and Ella explained to me. Christina was best friends with DeAndre, the "most popular" boy in school by his own and his peers' estimation, and the leader of a group of African-American and

Latino boys—and her friendship with him cementer their groups' shared social power (for a more comprehensive description of Christina's social network, see Zacher, in press).

Christina had the ability to pass as Latina, to look Latina enough to be considered as one. Her friend Vanessa had roughly the same skin color, and darker hair, and might have tried to pass as White, but Marta had much darker skin and could not have passed. This privilege, Christina's ability to switch and embody both Whiteness and Latina-ness, is of course not fair. It is, however, indicative of her social power in the classroom, and her keen sense of the classroom's racial dynamics and social hierarchy. Unlike Cody, whose material privileges—home-owning parents included—were substantial, Christina was the child of middle-class parents and had fewer class privileges. Had she accepted "White" as her identity, and foregone her attempts at a Latina identity, she would have been forced to join either a group of lower-status Latinas (who did not have the social power of Christina's group) or Cody's group, where she seemed neither to fit nor to want to be.

Unlike Christina and Cody, Liz had little choice in several key areas of her life, and her case was steeped in tensions between race and class. As bell hooks notes, "class matters. Race and gender can be used as screens to deflect attention away from the harsh realities class politics exposes" (hooks, 2000), and Liz's schoolwork and interpersonal relationships were doubtless affected by her family's fortunes. On the other hand, in a school where all differences were named, and students read historical fiction that often cast Whites as genocidal racists (e.g., Armstrong, 2001), race was still quite salient for Liz. She liked to be called by "all the things" that she was, including Irish and German, and explained that "When I say, "I'm White," it doesn't feel right. If I say "I'm White," it feels weird to say that." In short, she denied being White, although to all appearances, and by all of the school adults' standards, she was.

This denial of Whiteness seemed to indicate that Liz recognized a connection between Whiteness and privilege (McIntosh, 1988), but her understanding was not sophisticated enough to decouple race and class, or for her to use her family's poverty to separate her in the eyes of her classmates from middle-class and upper middle-class Whites. Although, even had she been able to do so, she would probably not have wanted to emphasize her family's poverty the way that Christina de-emphasized her own family's middle-class status. Liz's case represents some of the contradictions inherent in these girls' identifications with Whiteness, contradictions that I discuss below.

Conclusions

We must be very careful when we label students, and we must take into account the multiple, and sometimes contradictory, pieces of

evidence they offer us to explain their own identity choices. Christina, for example, offered her teacher and peers many pieces of evidence to prove her Latina identity, and was skillful at pretending to be something she was not. She needed to identify as a Latina for social reasons, in order to fit in with a friendship group that she deemed popular, cool, and worthy of membership. In a feat of pretension, she used her extensive knowledge of Latino culture and identity categories to do so. This choice, which was accepted by her peers with limited success, was made for many reasons; it behooves researchers and teachers to look at not only the causes of such identifications but also the usefulness of them for students in the present moment. Her claim to be Latina may have been rooted in a denial of Whiteness, or in White guilt, but her more visible reasons had to do with her immediate social life.

Liz and Codys' stories offer us other lessons. In both of their cases, I have hinted at how parental social class impacts students' life and school experiences. "White" was an uncomfortable identity for these girls to claim, particularly for Liz, who was already low on the classroom status hierarchy and who may have felt that embracing a White identity would lower her status further in her diverse peer group's eyes. The social justice curriculum, and the social dynamics surrounding it, might have left these girls with little desire to be "White," but Jordan, another "White" girl, did claim her Whiteness with no apparent guilt or second thoughts (Zacher, 2005b). The curriculum might then be partially at fault, particularly for highlighting the many ways Whites repeatedly took away and denied the rights of others across time. At the same time, Ms. Jean was careful to discuss the many helpful, activist White people who did work for social justice, and Cody, for one, researched several White heroines for a unit on the women's factory strike of 1909 (Dash, 1996).

However, just like Christina, Liz and Cody were also actively maintaining their identities (Hall, 1996). They were trying on new social costumes, and using these costumes to angle for more peer approval. In other words, they were trying, as all of us do who learn, teach or research in diverse settings, to make the best of their limited resources in a racially sensitive environment. Avoiding or denying one's visible racial identity may not be a tenable long term strategy, but in this classroom, as the girls learned how to ameliorate injustices and fight for social justice through their teacher's curriculum, avoidance and denial must have seemed like good choices for the girls to make. In hindsight, with the luxury of time to analyze my data, I can suggest that Ms. Jean might have used the ongoing situation to explore Whiteness and racial identification in the current age.

She might, for example, have had all of the students in her class investigate the reasons behind their own current racial identity claims, looking at the notion of race abstractly. At the same time, she could have

had them explore the physical boundaries of embodied racial categories, such as skin color and hair color, that offer some people a chance to shed their identities and pass while seeming to confine others to distinct and inflexible categorizations. To deal with, and, indeed, build upon such shifting identity work, teachers must be aware of broader contexts, in and out of the classroom, in which their students are creating identities (Cazden & Mehan, 1989; Moje, Ciechanowski, Kramer, & Ellis, 2002). In addition to making for good, connected teaching, such knowledge can allow teachers to be sensitive to students' choices and be aware of the agency they are displaying.

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Why's Everyone White? Moving Toward Critical Pedagogy in an Elementary Classroom

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This paper discusses challenges initiated by first and second generation Latino and Chinese American fourth graders in an urban elementary school, toward the perspective of California history in the mandated Social Studies curriculum. The required text highlighted significant moments in California and United States history with limited, if any, acknowledgement of the many contributions and hardships of non-European people. Through authentic dialogue (Freire, 1970) generated from the readings of counter-narratives of history (Loewen, 1995; Zinn, 1995) students recognized the exclusion of marginalized groups and questioned the validity of the text. They developed a critical perspective and constantly sought alternative sources of information from their communities, the Internet, and other texts. The classroom became a site for discussion that problematized dominant historical narratives and eventually led to the teacher's pedagogical transformation.

Introduction

On February 24, Hector asked a question that reflected six months of profound progression toward critical learning for me, the teacher, and my fourth grade students. It symbolized a transformation in how my students viewed the state mandated social studies textbook. While studying a photograph of a group of men at Promontory Point, Utah, where the transcontinental railroad was completed (Armento, Nash, Salter, & Wixson, 1991, 176 – 177), Hector asked, "Why's everyone white?" For several weeks we had studied aspects of the transcontinental railroad from various sources including the social studies textbook. Most sources mentioned laborers from China. Hector and several other students immediately noticed that the photograph was inconsistent with information from the textbook and supplementary sources. His questioning reflected my students' new confidence and knowledge of how to critically approach text.

Hector, like 90% of the 700 students at Lei Elementary, did not enter Kindergarten speaking English. By fourth grade Hector and his classmates were fluent in their home language, Cantonese or Spanish, as well as English. The school culture reflected the values and beliefs of the Chinese American community, where the school was located, as well as the Latino community from where half of the students were bused. Lei Elementary embraced bilingual education, employed a staff from the same communities as the children, and celebrated multiple cultures. It

was common to hear students and adults speaking Cantonese, Vietnamese, Spanish, and various English dialects in the halls and classrooms. The potential for a critical approach to text was tremendous.

In this article I examine the shift from what Freire (1995) calls a "banking concept of education" in which "education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are depositories and the teacher is the depositor" (p. 53) toward critical pedagogy. At that time, I lacked the discourse to address what McLaren (1998) describes as the tension between the day-to-day practice of teaching and the theoretical grasp necessary for becoming a critical pedagogue. The transformation toward critical pedagogy was exceptional in that my examination and reshaping of pedagogy was in reaction to my students' movement toward critical learning. I discuss significant moments when students challenged the textbook through questioning, referenced their own knowledge and experiences, and sought texts beyond the history textbook for counter narratives. Finally, I discuss how this impacted me as an educator and the importance of a common critical discourse for students and teachers.

Why critical pedagogy?

According to Giroux (2001) critical theory, "refers to the nature of self-conscious critique and to the need to develop a discourse of social transformation and emancipation" (p. 8) making it both a school of thought and a process of critique. Giroux also states that although critical theory was never a "fully articulated philosophy shared unproblematically by all members of the Frankfurt School", it supports the assumption that thought and action should be in response to the suffering of others. Individuals who tend to suffer most in schools have been minorities, the poor, and females (McLaren, 1995). If this is an accurate critique of current schooling, then teachers working with these populations have a tremendous responsibility to teach for social justice and emancipation through critical pedagogy.

Discussing the shift toward critical pedagogy requires clarification of certain educational terms. McLaren (1998) cites Roger Simon's differentiation of teaching from pedagogy in which Simon states:

> Pedagogy [refers] to the integration in practice of particular curriculum content and design, classroom strategies and techniques, and evaluation purpose and methods... Together they organize a view of how a teacher's work within an institutional context specifies a particular version of what knowledge is of most worth, what it means to know something, and how we might construct representations of ourselves, others, and our physical and social environment. (p. 165)

Simon's definition of pedagogy applies to both Freire's "banking system" and a critical approach. From a critical approach it "allows us to scrutinize schooling more insistently in terms of race, class, power, and gender" (McLaren, 1998, 166). It also recognizes that education is not a neutral, apolitical act (Apple, 1990; hooks, 1994). Until my students challenged my "banking" approach, I did not consider the political nature of teaching or my students' cultural, historical, and economic backgrounds.

Examining social studies from a critical perspective challenges the genre categorization of the curriculum. Authors write from a particular, subjective perspective making history textbooks narratives (Loewen, 1995; Nodelman & Reimer, 2003). After analyzing twelve history textbooks, Loewen concluded that, "Textbooks encourage students to believe that history is facts to be learned" (p. 16). Students are rarely encouraged to read against the text and question the "facts". Therefore, it is imperative that educators teach students how to read the implicit and explicit messages embedded within the written texts as well as photographs, charts, and other visual representations. What appears to be an apolitical, normal and neutral retelling of history may negatively impact how students view themselves and their communities. This is particularly true if the students represent the disempowered and marginalized groups described by McLaren.

By labeling the history book a narrative, it is relatively easy to distinguish how it fits certain categories of children's literature. The textbook reflects four categories described by Nodelman and Reimer (2003): (1) the world and its people are wonderfully diverse, (2) the world is a rational place, (3) the world is a hopeful place; and (4) the world is getting better all the time (see chapter 7). Several of my students were Guatemalan refugees, approximately half had seen or held a gun, and four had witnessed a murder. Two boys were initiated into gangs at age ten and several were accused of gang affiliation by police officers. All but two qualified for free breakfast and lunch. My students did not share the overall positive view of the world propagandized by the social studies textbook.

What is Neutral and Normal?

As a third year teacher and California native, I never questioned my assumptions about the social studies curriculum. I viewed it as an apolitical and objective text and regurgitated the same history I learned as a student. As a female of color and child of a parent born in a relocation camp during World War II, it is odd that I believed the textbook and teacher's guide to be politically neutral. I was uncritical of whose story was being told, by whom, for what purpose, and for whose benefit. I

failed to employ what Allen (1997) describes as mandatory for critical pedagogues:

> Teachers examine their own positional frames of references with respect to their power, social class, access, and privilege and how these might sometimes contrast or be in conflict with the frames of their students. Teachers must become aware of their cultural and class-bound perceptions of students to appreciate how their students interpret their school experiences, especially when students do not respond to schooling in ways that teachers expect. (p. 520)

I was stunned by my students' resistance and expected my diverse group of children to accept the text the way I had as a student and educator. I tried to duplicate the previous two years of teaching since, as bell hooks (1994) states, "There can be no intervention that challenges the status quo if we are not willing to interrogate the way our presentation of self as well as our pedagogical process is often shaped by middle-class norms" (p. 185). My students forced me to question how my beliefs about schooling and knowledge were shaped.

Resistance to Hegemony

I was naively teaching to maintain hegemony (Gramsci, 1999; Nodelman & Reimer, 2003)[1]. My traditional pedagogy and reliance on the mandated textbook as the only source of historical information granted absolute power and validity to the text. If my students, who were of African, Latin-American, Asian, and European descent, digested the explicit and implicit messages in the social studies textbook as truths, we never would have moved toward critical pedagogy. If they had internalized the negative messages [2]about the limited influence of non-White groups and ignored the silencing of women and those who suffered in California history, little in my teaching practice would have changed.

Fortunately, resistance can occur and change can happen since hegemony depends on the acceptance of those who are most disempowered (Apple, 1990; Nodelman & Reimer, 2003). My fourth grade children resisted the normalization of a white, middle-class culture in the school and challenged the hegemony promoted by the social studies curriculum. Granted, the textbook occasionally addressed the inexcusable treatment of certain ethnic groups; however, it tended to use neutral language when addressing the oppression of many disempowered groups.

In the third chapter, "Life on a Mission", my students used the word slavery after reading a section called "Work to Be Done". It states:

> The Indians did all of the physical work at the mission. In return, the Indians received their food, housing, Spanish clothing, and religious training. They farmed, constructed and repaired mission buildings, and practiced crafts like tanning leather. The padres supervised the Indians as they worked. (p. 76)

In this same chapter is a section called, "Problems at the Mission" which focuses on Indian revolts. The authors use the word violent to describe the Indian's behavior, stating, "Sometimes Indians revolted violently" (p. 79), when discussing the uprising and burning of the San Diego Mission. My students cheered and several commented that they would have done the same. A few pages later, in the middle of two pages titled "Understanding Culture" is a picture of a group of children and a woman, all of whom appear to be of European descent (p. 78). In this section

[1] Nodelman & Reimer (2003) define hegemony as "how a dominant group maintains its power over others by regulating a society's beliefs and practices through the media it controls" (p. 244).

about missions and the oppression of Native Americans, the photograph did not fit the text and again my students wanted to know, "Why's everyone white?"

A group of students from Mexico, Guatemala, and El Salvador began to align themselves with the American Indians. They were enacting what Lewis (2001) describes as students learning to "immerse themselves in text and distance themselves from that text at the same time" (p. 138). They made personal connections to the people in the text who shared their history, then stepped away to critique how the book presented the information. Their perspective was changing and once I recognized this transformation, I ceased to rely on the social studies textbook as our main source. This led to a sharing of other sources to validate their reactions and to offer multiple perspectives of California and United States history. Finally, students were not moved by the last line of the book which reads:

> In 2050, when the space shuttles of the future circle high above the earth, the astronauts may look down on a world that is a little clearer, a little healthier, and a little nicer because you helped make it that way. (p. 290)

By the end of the school year, they were more angry, frustrated, and skeptical toward the textbook than in the beginning of the year. However, they were able to discuss the text from a critical perspective, questioning its purpose as well as whose voices were heard and whose were silenced.

Questioning & Voice

Challenging the text was typically in the form of questioning what was written against students' own experiences and background knowledge. Freire and Faundez (2001) discuss the importance of questioning in *The Paulo Freire Reader*. Faundez states:

> Knowledge begins with asking questions. And only when we begin with questions, should we go out in search of answers, and not the other way round. If you produce answers as if all knowledge consisted of them, were already given, were absolute, you are leaving no room for curiosity or the discovery of fresh elements. Knowledge comes ready-made- that is what teaching then is. (p. 222).

Initially, the social studies textbook represented the only source of knowledge, which I supported.

In response to Faundez's statement, Freire replies, "the authoritarianism running through our educational experiences inhibits, even if it does not repress, our capacity for asking questions. In an authoritarian atmosphere, the challenge implicit in a question tends to be regarded as an attack on authority" (p. 222). During social studies instruction, the textbook and I represented the authority which the

students were not expected to question. This eventually changed when students grew confident in questioning me and the messages in the text.

I failed to consider that my students had been socialized for the past four years to accept the textbook and their teachers' words as truth. A safe space to question the text was not something I initially supported. However, by the proposed debate on the last page of chapter one, whether or not to build the Hetch Hetchy dam in Yosemite National Park to provide water for people in the city, I recognized that my students were approaching the text differently than how I originally anticipated. They dismissed the debate with a simple answer- build the dam and give the people water. My students' parents worked in sweat shops in the city. Many shared a bedroom with three or more people and relied on the school for breakfast and lunch. They were not concerned with saving the wildlife in Yosemite National Park. This was their way of questioning me when I tried to make the issue more complicated and they unanimously agreed to build the dam.

Questioning became a distinct characteristic of our discussions. Rather than accepting the text as the voice of authority, we began to push against assumptions. Occasionally, the written text did not support or match the photographs and graphic representations. We were able to circumvent what hooks (1994) discusses as a serious problem at the university level. She states, "The experience of professors who educate for critical consciousness indicates that many students, especially student of color, may not feel at all 'safe' in what appears to be a neutral setting. It is the absence of a feeling of safety that often promotes prolonged silence or lack of student engagement" (p. 39). My students demonstrated their sense of increased empowerment by questioning the text and measuring its "truth" against their own experiences and knowledge.

My students brought multiple cultures and languages to the classroom, as well as an incredible wealth of knowledge from their homes and communities to our readings and discussions. Many students had extended family living in their home or nearby. After discussing several issues, such as Mexico's loss of land in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and forced detainment of Asian immigrants at Angel Island, students began sharing our classroom discussions with family members on these and other topics. An extended conversation about Angel Island occurred after reading a section in the book called "More Discrimination". The book states:

Like the Indians, Asians were often the victims of violent attacks. The United States government even passed laws against Asian immigrants… Many Chinese passed the time on Angel Island by carving poems into the walls of the bare wooden buildings. (p. 210 – 211) Several students had family members, especially grandparents, detained at Angel Island for extensive

periods of time. Independently, students interviewed family members and shared their stories with the class. They were not satisfied with the three paragraphs in the book and sought other sources they could trust.

Referencing Other Written Texts

My students wanted to learn about related topics and to share their own stories, which were treated by their peers with more credence than the textbook. Several students became interested in laws related to language after reading about the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which promised that Spanish would remain one of the country's official languages. This led to a discussion about their school's history regarding language, since this was the site of the lawsuit that established bilingual education in California. They wanted to learn more about their own school and city history and how they were personally impacted by these changes. We referenced sources such as the internet and *A People's History of the United States* (Zinn, 1995) to learn more about the outcome of the 1846 war between Mexico and the United States. The two pages in the history book were not sufficient to address their questions.

Conclusion and Discussion: *Was This Critical Literacy?*

In an article discussing critical pedagogy in an elementary classroom, Allen (1997) asks a series of questions:

- Do elementary students come to school already aware of the social inequities in their environment?
- Do they really notice the forms of biases they encounter and are they even interested in issues of equity and social justice?
- Is there a need to raise these issues in an elementary classroom in the first place and are students at this stage developmentally capable of recognizing and dealing with bias in the classroom materials or the curriculum? (p. 519)

My students were acutely aware of social inequality and we created space to challenge the mandated hegemonic social studies curriculum. We learned to confront bias in social studies and other subjects. We enacted a critical reading of the text similar to what Kohl (1996) describes as, "questioning a text, challenging it, and speculating on ways in which the world it creates can illuminate the one we live in" (p.22). This occurred through discussions of equality and representation of various groups. It was a critical reading of the text, and perhaps even a movement toward critical literacy, but not yet critical literacy or critical pedagogy.

My students critiqued the text however, a more developed understanding of critical pedagogy was necessary on my part. McLaren (1995) states that, "critical pedagogy is fundamentally concerned with understanding the relationship between power and knowledge" (p. 183).

Was I encouraging knowledge-seeking to empower my students, explicitly teaching them to question the hidden curriculum, and recognizing how hegemony ensures social reproduction? We were pushing against ideas in the text, but the purpose was not toward social justice or preparing my students with the discourse to continue enacting critical literacy in their academic lives and beyond. I believe the transformation of my pedagogy *toward* critical pedagogy and the way we studied history was incredibly important, but not yet critical pedagogy.

Recognizing the need to learn more about critical theory and pedagogy encouraged me to follow bell hooks' advice. She states, "It is crucial that critical thinkers who want to change our teaching practices talk to one another, collaborate in a discussion that crosses boundaries and creates a space for intervention" (p. 129). She suggests that the critical thinkers are the teachers, but in my classroom the critical thinkers who changed my pedagogy were my students. Eventually I embraced McLaren's position that "the traditional view of classroom instruction and learning as a neutral process antiseptically removed from the concepts of power, politics, history and context can no longer be credibly endorsed" (p.164). My students made this evident in their questioning of the text in relation to their own experiences and knowledge. I quickly realized that teaching is what hooks calls a "performative act within a highly charged political environment" (hooks, 1994). Indeed, the process of moving toward a critical reading of social studies with my fourth graders was challenging. Students, such as mine, who have been most oppressed and marginalized by schooling, deserve an education based on critical educational theory. I believe that transformation is more than possible- it is imperative.

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45

The Role of Money, Race, and Politics in the Accountability Challenge

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The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 propelled high stakes testing to an unprecedented level of significance. Decisions based on the results of such mandated assessments is flawed in that the tests are not an accurate measure of actual knowledge and neglect to address environmental, socio-cultural, and economic factors influencing student performance. This researcher does not claim to tell a new story, but it seems one that bears repeating. The results of this quantitative investigation further illustrate that variables such as median income and per pupil revenue have an undeniable impact on the academic success of students.

The word "accountability" has acquired new meaning over the last two decades, becoming the focal point of reform movements seeking to establish standards-based accountability. With increasing focus on standards and accountability, the legislature has dramatically altered the purpose of testing with policies mandating reliance on "high-stakes" assessment to gauge academic achievement. High stakes testing, characterized as an assessment used for accountability that has significant consequences, makes the assumption that the tests will improve educational quality and academic achievement (Amrein & Berliner, 2002; Hunter & Bartee, 2003). A recent *Education Week* article discussing a study by David Berliner, Sharon Nichols and Gene Glass notes that in theory the pressure from high stakes standardized assessment is supposed to push schools to improve. However, no current research proves a relationship exists between pressure and student gains. Additionally, Berliner, Nichols, and Glass write that states that employ "test based accountability systems have not shown improvement on national assessments" (as cited in Manzo, 2005, p. 9).

Implicit in this pressure-test based theory is the assumption that test results are a function of curriculum and instruction as delivered by teachers, as well as of what students have an opportunity to learn (Hoover, 2000). Noticeably lacking in this assumption is the inescapable effect of poverty and the influence of environmental variables on the academic performance of children (Davison, Seo, Davenport, Butterbaugh, & Davison, 2004; Taylor, 2005). Often, children from low socio-economic environments are academically at-risk and cannot compete on a level playing field due to factors such as abuse and/or neglect, homelessness, high mobility rate, low education level of young

parents, unemployment, and most importantly, lack of exposure to the educational experiences comparable to their more affluent peers (Kindle & Pelullo-Willis, 2002; Rothstein, 2002). Children from affluent homes outscore children from low income homes in all academic areas, and family income continues to be a reliable predictor of student achievement (Taylor, 2005). The purpose of this study is to examine the factors that influence the reading test performance of fourth grade students. The objective of this article is two-fold. First, the results of the investigation provide another opportunity to present empirical data underscoring the influence of socioeconomic factors in educational achievement. Secondly, the author will argue that the use of high stakes testing serves a particular societal purpose; to validate, justify and maintain the status quo.

Perspectives

One of the most pivotal events in the history of school reform is reportedly the 1983 release of "A Nation at Risk." This report, a culmination of an eighteen month study by the United States Department of Education on the progress of America's schools, notes with sobering clarity that, "through our rising tide of mediocrity….we have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral educational disarmament" (U. S. Department of Education, p.5). This crucial document drew critical attention to our nation's failure to adequately educate our nation's youth, leading to a fury of school reform initiatives.

The years following the release of "A Nation at Risk," realized a tremendous push for state legislatures to implement statewide assessments to raise student achievement and standards. In addition to overall achievement, educators, politicians, and informed stakeholders became concerned over the increasing gap between the achievement of children from different socio-economic, ethnic, and racial environments; often referred to as the achievement gap (Hunter & Bartee, 2003; Truscott & Truscott, 2005; Weissglass, 2001). African American and Hispanic students, who are more likely to be impoverished, lag significantly in achievement behind their white peers in all subjects (Taylor, 2005). In addition, African American and Hispanic students, hailing from socio-economically disadvantaged environments are more likely to enter school less prepared than their middle class white peers (Davidson et al. 2004; Neill, 2003; Truscott & Truscott, 2005). Noted researchers such as Ruth Johnson (2002) place much of the achievement gap blame on the public school, charging that children enter school ready to learn and that lags begin to appear in the mid elementary grades. Many disagree with Johnson's assertion including the parent respondents in the 37th Annual Phi Delta Kappa Gallop Poll of Public Attitudes Toward Public School. Nine of 10 poll respondents feel closing the achievement gap is very important, but also attribute the gap to factors

other than schooling (Rose & Gallop, 2005). Other researchers also suggest that gaps begin in the home environment prior to kindergarten and reading readiness is key to academic growth once official schooling commences (Davison et al. 2004; Truscott & Truscott, 2005).

Students arrive at the schoolhouse door with varying levels of developmental readiness and educators believe states are misusing achievement data when it is the primary factor in the rating and categorizing a districts' effectiveness. Substantial disagreement exists between practitioners, researchers, legislative policy makers and stakeholders as to the meaning, interpretation, and use of test results (Amrein & Berliner, 2002; Ayers, 2000; Baines & Stanley, 2004; Borman et al. 2004; Elmore, 2002; Hoover, 1999, 2000; Heubert & Hauser, 1999; Klein, Hamilton, McCaffrey, & Stecher, 2000; Olson, 2000).

Methods

This study examines the relationship of socio-economic variables on the fourth grade reading performance of 150 elementary school students randomly selected from 54 Ohio public school districts. Reading achievement continues to be a significant factor in gauging the success or failure of the school environment. Fourth grade reading achievement, specifically, is a crucial indicator on Ohio's Report Card and is often used as a pivotal data benchmark in reports compiled by the National Assessment of Educational Progress. School selection for the study was achieved through stratified sampling of the 612 public school districts in the state and test result data were collected from the Ohio Department of Education's Educational Management Information System (EMIS). The Ohio Proficiency Test (OPT) was administered in the 2003 school year to all public school children in the state and was used as the dependent variable in the study. Independent variables included for analysis in this study were (a) the percentage of students in the district for which Disadvantage Pupil Impact Aid is received, (b) the median income, (c) the local per pupil expenditure, (d) the percentage of students who were considered disabled, (e) the district report card performance rating, and (f) the district racial composition. The system established by the state of Ohio rates districts on a 22 point Report Card according to the number of performance indicators earned from test passage rates, and graduation and attendance rates. Of the districts randomly selected for inclusion in this study, 8 were rated as Excellent (21 – 22 points). Eleven districts were rated as Effective (17 – 20 points). Twenty-six districts are rated as Continuous Improvement (11 – 16 points). Five districts were rated as Academic Watch (7 -10 points) and four districts were rated as Academic Emergency (0 – 6 points).

Regression analyses of variance at the .05 probability level were used to examine the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The regression analysis in this examination illustrates how the changes in the independent variables affect the dependent variables. Stepwise analyses were used to eliminate the independent variables that had no effect on the reading scores.

Results

The results of the analysis of variance calculations show that at the .05 probability level there are significant relationships between the fourth grade reading scores on the OPT and six independent variables. The independent variables that had significant interaction with the fourth grade reading scores are (a) the district report card performance rating, (b) the percentage of students who are disabled, (c) the percentage of students who are disadvantaged, (d) the median income level, (e) the per pupil expenditure, and (f) the district's racial composition. The following paragraphs detail the resulting interactions.

In districts rated as excellent, meeting 21-22 performance standards, significant relationships exist between the fourth grade reading scores and the percentage of students who are disabled and the median income, $F(2, 7) = 12.50$, $p = .049$. For each decrease in the percentage of disabled students, the fourth grade reading scores increased. Similarly, for each increase in the median income the student reading scores increased. Districts rated as excellent demonstrated the highest attendance levels and for each increased point in attendance the student reading scores increased.

In districts rated as Effective, meeting 17 – 20 state performance indicators, significant relationships exist between the fourth grade reading scores and the per pupil expenditure, the median income, and the percentage of non-white students, $F(4, 9) = 75.90$, $p<.01$. For each increase in per pupil expenditure and median income the reading scores increased. Additionally, for each decrease in percentage of non-white students the reading scores increased.

In districts rated as Continuous Improvement, meeting 11-16 state performance indicators, significant relationships exist between the fourth grade reading scores and the percentage of economically disadvantaged students, $F(2, 24) = 5.24$, $p <.01$. For each percentage point increase in Disadvantaged Pupil Impact Aid and Ohio Works First Benefits, student reading scores decreased.

For districts rated as Academic Watch, meeting 7 – 10 state performance indicators, significant relationships exist between the fourth grade reading scores and the percentage of non-white students, percentage of disabled students and per pupil revenue, $F(1, 4) =1168.59$, $p =.021$. For each increase in non-white student population and percentage of disabled students, the fourth grade reading scores

decreased. In addition, as the local per pupil revenue increased the reading scores also increased.

Districts rated as Academic Emergency, meeting 0-6 state performance indicators, exhibit significant relationships between the fourth grade reading test scores and the per pupil revenue and the percentage of economically disadvantaged students, $F(1, 3) = 251.74$, $p < .01$. For each increase in local per pupil revenue the reading scores increased and predictably, the reading scores decreased for each percentage increase in Ohio Works First Benefits.

Discussion

Results of the study clearly illustrate that test performance is strongly correlated to the socio- economic status of the student and the district. The variables that most strongly influence the fourth grade reading test performance in this study were relative to socio-economic status. As a point of contention the reader may quickly and accurately surmise that there is scant new or pivotal research reported here. This, the author purports, is the point of the article. The argument presented in the following paragraphs has a dual purpose. First, discussion of the study results is yet another opportunity to emphasize the significant role poverty plays in academic achievement. And secondly, the article draws attention to the author's contention that the use of data gathered from high stakes testing serve a particular societal purpose. The author believes this purpose is to validate, justify and maintain the status quo.

According to reports by the Ohio Department of Education's web site, low poverty schools continuously out perform high poverty schools on all portions of the OPT. The 2003 cumulative reading scores for low poverty schools, those with less than 50% of the student population on free and reduced lunch, had a reading passage rate nearly twice that of high poverty schools with 50% or more students on free and reduced lunch. The significance of economic status as an influencing factor on academic performance calls into question the validity of the proficiency tests as a single measure in assessing academic achievement.

Over the last twenty years legislators have created a huge and unprecedented social experiment on the nation's children, one with tremendous costs and unproven benefits (Sacks, 2000). Lawmakers, educators, and educational institutions are alarmed with the discrepancy in the state and national test performance between students from different socio-economic levels (Houston, 2003; Weissglass, 2001). If the achievement gap between the haves and have-nots is continuously proven to be correlated to socio-economic status, why then does the state continue to report the scores from the high stakes testing as a measure of district success relative to teaching and learning? This researcher believes the answer to this question is difficult, complex and deeply

embedded in the fabric of our capitalistic society. The beneficiaries of high stakes testing are those who have historically reaped educational benefits; the privileged, well educated and affluent. The students who have historically come up short include children of the poor, working class and undereducated. Statistics from the census bureau indicate that people of color are more likely to live in poverty than their white counterparts. The environment and circumstances surrounding living in poverty encompass variables that have historically been understated and/or ignored by political and educational institutions. Variables associated with poverty include unemployment, language barriers, abuse and neglect, young and single parents, low parent educational level, low birth weight, homelessness and high mobility, and dangerous neighborhood environments (Pellino, 2002; Stringfield & Yakimowski-Srebnick 2005; Taylor 2005; Viadero 2003). Extensive research exists illustrating that social and environmental contexts have a significant impact on the educational development of children (See Hunter & Bartee, 2003).

Hoover (1999) notes that proficiency tests are misleading as an indication of intelligence, arguing the examinations are tests of cultural experience. There are marked differences in the cultural experiences of those in the dominant culture and those who are impoverished (Viadero, 2000). Readiness to learn is a multifaceted concept that includes behavioral and cognitive factors (Pellino, 2001). Children from impoverished environments begin their lives at a disadvantage, considering inadequate prenatal care, insufficient early health care, quality of day care, and a lack of accessibility to basic experiences that enhance the ability to be successful in school (Stringfield & Yakimowski-Srebnick, 2005). Inability to successfully perform on standardized assessments is not a sign of intellectual deficiency. Pellino (2001) reports experiences that impact the academic success of students include the availability of home computers, attendance at high quality pre-schools, visits to libraries, museums, zoos, opportunities to be read to, the availability of literature and educational materials and routine interaction with literate, well spoken adults. Appropriate social interaction is also essential to the development of cognitive skills. Researchers continue to assert that children of poverty are often unable to develop mutually satisfying social relationships with teachers leading to the development of higher order cognitive processes (Benson, 1995; Bowman, 1994; Guerra & Schutz, 2001). These social relationships assist in the development of skills necessary to be successful on standardized tests.

High mobility rates among poor students also have a particularly negative impact on educational achievement (NCREL, 2000). Frequent relocation interrupts the learning process through irregular attendance,

continuity of curricular material, and the ability to develop relationships with teachers and peers. NCREL (2000) reports that 41% of highly mobile students are low achievers as opposed to 26% of students from more stable environments.

Summary and Conclusions

It is the opinion of this researcher that many school policy-makers accept the legitimacy of high-stakes testing. The results of the test provide "evidence and validation" of the meritocracy ethos that undergirds the belief systems of many Americans. Meritocracy refers to a social system which allows people to achieve success proportionate to their talents and abilities, as opposed to one in which social class, or wealth play a significant role. If we, as a nation, were to overtly acknowledge that wealth, or lack thereof plays a role in the success one is able to achieve, we would also have to acknowledge that some individuals are privileged by wealth and may even be bestowed with such at birth. This suggests that other individuals may not have a fair or equal opportunity for economic or academic success. Lawmakers and American society would have to acknowledge that there may be systematic mistreatment of certain groups of people on the basis of characteristics such as socio-economic status and skin color. Weissglass (2001) quotes Shirley Chisolm, the nation's first African American congresswomen, as remarking that "racism is so universal in this country, so widespread and deep-seated, that it is invisible because it is so normal."

Gauging the success of certain groups and the failure of other groups based on high-stakes testing without the overt admission that societal and environmental factors may predispose one's success is irresponsible. The consistent and routine reporting of student failure among the nation's impoverished validates the erroneous, but long held belief that some children do not have the ability to achieve in America's schools. This approach is "more comfortable" than addressing deeper issues such as that inequality of educational opportunity begins at birth. Comparing the success of the affluent to the success of the impoverished perpetuates notions of genetic inferiority and minimizes factors such as racism, prejudice, and systematic and institutionalized biases. Until we, as nation are willing to overtly address the real issues of student failure, disadvantaged students will continue to fail tests constructed to reflect the values and experiences of the dominant culture.

Questions should continue to be raised as to the true validity of high stakes testing as a single measure of student achievement. Domenech (2000) notes that the issue isn't academic benchmarks; it's the misguided use and data interpretation of a single test. Ayers (2000) notes that the purpose of a democratic education is to reduce barriers,

overcome obstacles, open doors, minds, and possibilities (p. 76), however Sacks (2000) surmises the use of high stakes testing has served to further stratify the nation along race, ethnic, and class lines.

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Beyond Methods: Embedding a Critical Perspective of Education in a Reading Methods Course

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Preservice elementary teachers enrolled in a reading methods course learn how literacy instruction is a political act that can affect children's opportunities. Through discussions and readings, they learn how the ways in which they teach reading to children make a difference in their subsequent access to knowledge. Through a practicum experience in an urban elementary school with mainly African American and low SES children, these predominantly middle class White students apply their knowledge of reading practices and their developing dispositions toward educational equity. Their oral accounts and written work demonstrate developing understandings of equity.

"I grew up in the western part of the city. I don't think we had more than a couple of African American students in my school. Teaching at Golden Elementary School was an eye-opening experience for me. *I* was the minority! I'm really glad we had this experience."

Statements like these are common from my preservice teachers during and after their practicum experiences in an urban school with more than eighty percent African American students, and with three-fourths of the students qualifying for free or reduced lunch. The vast majority of these preservice teachers are white and culturally insular (Feiman-Nemser and Remillard, 1996), having grown up in communities and attending schools with little racial, ethnic or economic diversity.

Addressing Diversity: Beyond Multiculturalism

Many PreK-12 schools across the country are required to address multiculturalism. This often takes the form of ethnic food fairs, observing or learning Native American or African dances, or adding a book by a non-white author to a class's reading requirement. However, these are surface-level approaches to multicultural education, what James Banks (2001) identifies as the "Contributions" and "Ethnic Additive Approaches." Many multicultural activities in schools have subdued attempts at radical transformation of the education system (McCarthy, 1988).

What is missing from these approaches to multicultural education is a critical examination of differential power relationships that are framed in cultural and economic differences. A critical perspective of diversity names the world (Freire, 1993/1970) that disenfranchises

certain groups while legitimizing others. It points out unequal power relationships exhibited by teachers' expectations, histories presented, and authors celebrated in classrooms.

Preservice teachers must develop a critical perspective about education, especially as it relates to diversity and educational equity. A critical perspective adds the concept of morality into the purpose of teaching and thus teacher education. "[T]eaching [is] a moral endeavor … [because] it is, quite centrally, human action undertaken in regard to other human beings" (Fenstermacher, 1990, p. 133). Situating reading instruction within a critical perspective provides future teachers knowledge and perspectives they can use to critique and challenge institutional structures such as "ability" grouping; use of standardized tests; and correlations between race, poverty, and students' achievement (Jenks, Lee, & Kanpol, 2001).

The outcomes of education demonstrate differences by race and income. There continues to be an achievement gap and a difference in placement in advanced courses between white students and students of color, and between students living in poverty and those who do not (U.S. Department of Education, 2005). This is true across subject areas such as science, math, and English (Clewell, Anderson, & Thorpe, 1992; Gamoran, Nystrand, Berends, & LePore, 1995; The Education Trust, 1998) and reading (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2005). These trends are exemplified in urban schools where histories of racism and urbanization have resulted in inequitable education for many of these students (Anyon, 1997; Kozol, 2005).

These disparities in achievement and opportunities to take high-level classes make it imperative to imbed inquiry about systemic educational disenfranchisement of certain groups into teacher education programs. If teacher educators do not do that, they are complicit, even if unintentionally, in perpetuating the unjust status quo (Tatum, 1992).

Connecting to an Urban School

I am a teacher educator in a racially segregated state and city that are populated mainly by whites who live above the poverty level. The preservice teachers in the College of Education in which I teach are also mainly white middle class students. Our students have a history of resistance to practica in urban schools. Their resistance ranges from refusing to go to these schools to parents and husbands confronting the college dean about sending their loved ones to "dangerous" neighborhoods. Other teacher education programs have faced similar obstacles (Leland & Harste, 2005).

The urban school district in which my preservice students participate in a practicum has a different demographic – 56% of its students belong to racial/ethnic minorities, and 53% qualify for free or reduced lunch. (Table 1 displays these racial/ethnic demographics.) My

college is committed to equitable PreK-12 education with a focus on diversity; however, few of our students have had much experience in economically or racially diverse settings. Through my courses, I provide experiences in these settings.

TABLE 1
Demographics of State, City, School District, and College*

	% African American	% Caucasian American	% Hispanic American	% Native American	% Poverty**
State	4	90	7	<1	19
City	12	76	10	<1	25
School District	31	42	24	<2	53
College of Education	4	89	3	<1	

* School and college data from 2005-2006; state and city data from 2004 census estimates (rounded).
** State and city poverty: people below poverty line; school poverty: students eligible for free or reduced lunch

Educational Equity

The education class I describe here is, by title and syllabus, a methods class. Its general purpose is to teach preservice elementary teachers basic principles and methods for teaching PreK-6 students how to read and how to continue their reading development. Historically, courses like this one are based on a positivist/modernist notion of teaching, one that clearly defines the teaching procedures that should be followed to teach children to read. If children are not successful, it is reasoned within this perspective, it is most likely because the teacher did not adhere to the method or because the child has some sort of deficit that interferes with learning (Bartolomé, 1994). [This belief has recently become entrenched in teacher education programs and elementary schools through policies and statutes in many districts and states, and, more recently, in federal legislation that has defined "scientific research" in reading and resultant teaching methods (U.S. Department of Education, 2004)].

My concern about this perspective relates to disparate educational outcomes that are highly correlated with race, ethnicity and parental income. For example, a traditional way differential achievement levels are addressed is through tracking. While tracking is based on the assumption that leveled classes will help children catch up, most students who are in low track groups or classes in elementary and middle school remain in the low tracks in high school (Oakes & Lipton, 1994). Teachers tend to have lower expectations of these students (Carey, 1989), which impact their performance (Weinstein, Madison, & Kuklinski,

1995). The lower tracked students rarely have the same access to knowledge as those in the higher-level tracks, an outcome that is hardly moral (Goodlad, 1990).

Another concern is the assumption that there is one “perfect” method to teach a subject such as reading. Freire makes the point that if education is to be democratized, it "cannot simply undergo changes in methods" (Freire & Faundez, 1989, p. 78). Yet studies demonstrate that effective literacy instruction reflects complex interactions of, at the very least, students, teachers, methods, materials, schools, culture, and community knowledge (Duffy & Hoffman, 1999).

An alternative perspective of education is a critical perspective. Critical pedagogy, the application of critical theory to education, “expos[es] student sorting processes and power involvement with curriculum, [and] helps students and teachers understand how schools work” (Kincheloe, 1999, p. 72). Since students’ reading achievement is a primary sorting mechanism, the ways teachers teach reading have profound political implications (Spring, 1998). Students’ reading achievement is frequently used to determine whether students receive skills-based instruction that focuses on decoding and literal comprehension, or strategy instruction that focuses on higher-level thinking (Allington, 1991). Since much knowledge is text-dependent, the nature of students’ reading instruction directly impacts students’ access to knowledge. Knowledge is not politically neutral; those with knowledge have power (Freire & Faundez, 1989). Literacy education thus becomes an issue of social justice (Ladson-Billings, 2001).

In my course, we discussed two constructs that contribute to preservice teachers’ understandings of equitable education as they develop a critical perspective. Culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995), has three purposes: 1) "to develop students academically," 2) "to nurture and support cultural competence" and 3) “to develop students who can both understand and critique the existing social order." The second is Moll’s (1993) work which underscores the abundance of community knowledge, i.e., “funds of knowledge,” that critical teachers bring into their classrooms. Bartolomé (1994) maintains that in this altered environment teachers are more likely to develop an effective educational ideology that guides their teaching, rather than implementing methods as if there were no political impact.

Connecting Literacy and Diversity with Science and Mathematics: Cultural Capital in an Urban School

Schools must provide the codes of power, the cultural capital of our society (Lamont & Lareau, 1988), to all students, including those traditionally marginalized, thus giving them the skills they need to succeed in our society. In math and science, areas that greatly affect

college and employment opportunities, minorities have poorer attitudes and achievement (Mullis & Jenkins, 1988), and less knowledge about careers related to these subject areas (Clewell, Anderson & Thorpe, 1992). Minority students in the urban district in which we worked also demonstrate these low levels of achievement in math and science.

Teacher educators need to go beyond assessment of preservice teachers' knowledge of traditional educational content and address their dispositions toward and understandings of students' cultures, educational equity, and literacies (Dee & Henkin, 2002). The purpose of this study was to describe preservice elementary teachers' developing understandings and applications of educational equity. They integrated reading methods with the teaching of science and math concepts, all areas in which African American and low-SES children demonstrate lower achievement than their White peers, in a practicum in an urban school.

Procedure: Reading Methods Course

Practicum

Reading methods classes for preservice elementary teachers primarily examine ways to teach reading during "reading time." Because I wanted to underscore the ways in which reading needs to be taught and used by students in multiple learning situations, because students' achievement in math and science was unacceptably low, and because I wanted preservice teachers to implement a pedagogy that reflected equity toward students labeled as low-achievers, I developed the following practicum experience in an urban elementary school. I purposely selected an urban school composed of children that were culturally, racially, and economically unlike my students. Such experiences are necessary if our educators are to learn how to effectively teach children in urban schools (Jenks, Lee, & Kanpol, 2001).

Twenty-four sophomore and junior elementary preservice teachers were enrolled during the semester course I describe here. Similar to the demographics of the college, these students were mainly female (23 students) and mainly White (23 students). (One student was African American female; one was white male).

At the beginning of the fifth week of the semester, I assigned pairs of preservice teachers to one classroom each at Golden Elementary School in a Midwestern urban school district. Approximately 80% of the students were African American, and about 75% qualified for free/reduced lunch. Most of the students had low levels of reading, math, and science achievement.

These preservice teachers observed a class once, and then designed and implemented four lessons, one per week, to an entire class. Their literacy lessons were based on a science or math concept

appropriate to district grade level standards. These subject-area integrated lessons gave them the opportunity to understand first hand how reading could be taught within science and math contexts. They started each lesson with a fiction or non-fiction text such as a children's book, a magazine article, or an article from the Internet that they read to the children. They integrated students' background knowledge into a pre-reading teaching practice. The pair planned and implemented an extension activity that contributed to children's understanding of the main science or math concept. Children often used writing and/or referred to written materials to complete this activity.

Data Sources, Analysis and Findings

This qualitative study had three data sources. They included my notes about our class discussions, preservice teachers' journals about their practicum experiences, and a written assignment requiring them to address dispositions related to educational equity. These multiple data sources allowed me to triangulate the data with the purpose of learning about my students' understandings of the intersections between literacy education, science and math learning, and educational equity. Understanding their points of view is a phenomenological approach (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992) to the data. I employed the constant comparative method (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to the data, reading and re-reading the data, inductively developing an understanding of their knowledge and dispositions.

In our university class, we had often discussed the impact of teacher expectations. Though preservice teachers knew that children differed from one another, they were to assume that their students could think, solve problems, and complete challenging tasks. They also knew that some children would require more support than others. Through our class and others they had taken, they had hopefully developed a sense of cultural awareness that they could integrate into their lessons.

Teachers' beliefs about students' abilities translate into educational opportunities provided or denied, sometimes in subtle ways (Weinstein, Madison, & Kuklinski, 1995). Our classroom discussions and their practicum experience sensitized them to ways in which teachers provided equitable or inequitable opportunities for their students. For example, during a discussion about emergent literacy in my class, a preservice teacher described with shock and dismay a kindergarten teacher she observed who always wrote the (poor, mainly Black) children's names on their papers because, according to the teacher, "They can't write their names." They also shared examples of teachers who spent more time on discipline than on teaching, who told them that "these students are the lowest I've ever had" in a voice the children could hear, and who taught pre-K children only one color and shape a month because "that's all they

can handle." On the other hand, preservice teachers also shared examples of ways in which teachers held high expectations of their students and provided the scaffolding that led these children to success.

Most of these preservice teachers learned that connecting reading or writing instruction with math or science is relatively easy to do. They learned they could help students develop understandings of difficult vocabulary, even with "low-achieving" students. In other words, they saw that when they expected children to learn new and difficult concepts and provided motivating, engaging, and supportive ways to learn those ideas, children from the "other side" of town were successful. For some, confronting their own low expectations and reflecting on how their teaching contradicted their prior beliefs was a profound experience. Many talked and wrote about their surprise when students, whom they had initially observed as inattentive and disruptive, were well-behaved when they treated them with respect and demanded high-level interactions with new concepts.

When children demonstrated difficulty with reading, writing, or spelling, these preservice teachers discussed the importance of teaching skills embedded in meaningful literacy practices. They saw this instruction as possible during any part of their teaching day, whether it was during the designated reading instructional period, or while teaching science or math (or social studies, etc.). They often saw these subjects as the motivating contexts behind effective literacy learning. They saw students as needing *more* opportunities to read and write rather than the *fewer* opportunities that struggling readers and writers are typically afforded (Allington, 1991).

In addition to the practicum experience I described above, several other experiences in my "methods" class contributed to teacher candidates' development of dispositions directed at educational equity. Our examinations of various reading and writing methods were always connected to the opportunities afforded or withheld from students. For example, if students who are struggling in reading are repeatedly given skills worksheets to complete, we discussed when or if they received instruction in that skill, when or if they learned when to apply that skill (i.e., metacognitive, strategic knowledge), and the results of such instruction on children's developing literacy. We contrasted this with contextualized skill and strategy instruction, and the implications for children's access to text and knowledge. We also discussed and read about ways in which students' measured reading achievement is usually used to track them in middle and high school so that these future teachers understood the tremendous impact their literacy instruction can have on their students.

We read more than our methods textbook, reading professional articles that provided reasons for implementing culturally relevant

pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995), and the effects of such practices. We read and discussed articles about student motivation and engagement (Guthrie, 1996), connecting those concepts to their own school experiences as K-12 students and their experiences as preservice teachers in our practicum.

There are many factors that impact the equitable or inequitable educational experiences of students. I developed a list of twelve such dispositions based on my professional readings about educational equity and critical pedagogy. They include, for example, "To understand, appreciate, and respect diversity in students, including diversity defined by the characteristics of gender, culture, race, ethnicity, physical characteristics, language facility, and sexual orientation;" "To implement teaching practices that contribute to equitable educational opportunities for all students;" and "To understand and implement the concept of teacher as decision maker through the process of critical reflection rather than teacher as technician." (See Appendix for the complete list.)

At the end of the semester, these preservice teachers described their understandings of any six of the twelve dispositions. They used examples from our practicum, our readings, and their field experiences from other classes. Sometimes they wrote about their erroneous assumptions, and how students proved them wrong. They wrote about ways in which they provided an atmosphere that encouraged students to take risks as they attempted new and difficult tasks. The importance of every student's well-being, self-respect and learning was exemplified when they described their responsibilities toward every child.

Several preservice teachers related how they selected reading materials for their practicum that were not only about science or math, but about African Americans so that the children could better relate to the text. Some described how they were aware of whether or not students were learning, and altered their teaching methods or provided extra help to those who were not. This shows how they were decision makers, not technicians. Similar to Navarro's (2005) findings, they showed evidence of acculturation into an urban school.

Final Thoughts

The federal legislation that defines "scientifically-based" reading research (U.S. Department of Education, 2003) and the narrow view of reading instruction emanating from this research (Coles, 2000) oftentimes has me wondering what impact my teaching has on these future teachers' instruction after they are hired, and the subsequent effects on their future students. This restricted view of research and instruction ignores the economic and social realities of these students and their urban communities. It also abdicates responsibility for children's education, especially for children from diverse (i.e., marginalized)

populations, from those who perpetuate inequitable economic and social policies.

In a conversation with Donaldo Macedo about the "pseudoscience" that attempts to define blacks as inferior to Whites, Freire (Macedo & Bartolomé, 1999) says,

> What is needed is not yet another study like *The Bell Curve* designed to rationalize the further abandonment of blacks. … However, in order to make education democratic, we must simultaneously make the society within which it exists democratic as well. We cannot speak of democracy while promoting racist policies. p. 90

With students' literacy learning, and thus their opportunities to understand, participate, and critique the world (Freire & Macedo, 1987) at stake, Tierney (2001/2002) suggests that "literacy educators and researchers may need to develop an ethical equivalent to the Hippocratic oath" (p. 275). Like physicians' ethical commitment to patient care, literacy educators and researchers would have an ethical commitment to learners rather than to a government-sanctioned definition of effective literacy instruction. I try to remain optimistic that these preservice teachers will continue to develop and implement a critical stance in their teaching that guides them to equitable educational practices.

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Appendix

Dispositions of Teacher Candidates

Assumption:
The major purpose of pre-K – 12 schools is to develop citizens who can participate in a democracy.

1) To recognize and work to dismantle unequal power arrangements in schools that benefit some students while subordinating others

2) To implement teaching practices that contribute to equitable educational opportunities for all students

3) To be an advocate for all students, especially those who are marginalized within existing educational structures

4) To understand, appreciate, and respect diversity in students, including diversity defined by the characteristics of gender, culture, race, ethnicity, physical characteristics, language facility, and sexual orientation

5) To build on students' characteristics (listed above) in the implementation of learning goals/standards/curricula

6) To demonstrate respect for students and their communities through attitude, language, teaching practices, and interactions

7) To demonstrate actions that promote the physical, emotional, and social well-being of all students

8) To understand and implement the concept of teacher as decision maker through the process of critical reflection rather than teacher as technician

9) To share in the responsibility for student learning of all students

10) To look for, recognize and build learning opportunities based on students' assets rather than perceived deficits

11) To demonstrate and provide support for high expectations for all students

To participate in the critical evaluation of curriculum to ensure the accurate representation of multiple points of view

Quality (and/or?) Control: Perils and Promises of Standards-Based School Reform in Urban Contexts

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This article looks at the perils and promises of standards-based instruction in urban environments. We begin with an outline of the rise of the current standards movement. Then turn to the con position which contends; states, schools and districts do not always implement standards-based ideals effectively, especially in urban settings where resources and educators prepared to teach well with standards are scarce. Standards can lead to standardization of curriculum and instruction, sacrificing student interest, real-world connections, and creativity and critical thinking. The pro position reports that research and evaluation has shown that standards can support better communication between schools and parents, and provide a framework for accountability and school improvement that focuses on academic achievement, leading to curriculum, instruction, and assessment with the potential for a system of mastery learning based on learners' needs.

"All children can learn."

The above phrase is a common mantra for reform efforts, but it is also too often a simplistic truism, rarely meant to bolster enthusiasm for teaching "one's own" children. In many schools and communities, "all children can learn" does not go nearly far enough as the basis of belief for true school improvement. It has become a platitude that lets reformers feel good about their intentions for "those children," while avoiding the deep, difficult decisions necessary for true change that *will* support the "all children" to which the phrase obliquely refers. All children can learn *what*, to what levels, in what contexts, for which purposes? Who is responsible for supporting them in their learning? Can and should *some* children learn additional or different things? Can and should *some* children receive additional support from the community and society, in the form of schooling and other services that other children already receive from private sector sources? These types of questions uncover reform issues that, if effectively addressed, may help us become more successful in supporting the achievement of a greater number of all our youth.

Several constituencies have viewed the development of standards, with various forms and focus, as one way to address these tough questions. However, standards have so far served as only an initial

uncovering. Competing philosophical camps and the social, political, and economic forces that push our educational institutions toward particular ends have all used standards as a banner in recent years, so that while standards have clarified some matters, they have simultaneously complicated others.

In this article, we debate some important nuances of the development and application of various types of standards and discuss their impact on urban schools, communities and students. Of course, taking a simple stand for or against something as far-reaching as standards-based reform is a bit unrealistic, but we hope that the arguments presented will help the reader gain a more sophisticated understanding of the issues. We hold different views of what standards and their roles should be, as well as how they have affected the real world of schools. We agree, however, on a number of key points.

First, the achievement of students must be the core of the discussion. We believe that educational institutions exist to impact student achievement in some positive fashion. Standards are one way to make explicit what exactly the expected achievements should be.

Second, standards have not yet met their full potential, regardless of what that potential is imagined to be. This is due to a variety of barriers to implementation as well as to the fact that some standards-based efforts are in competition, pulling schools and communities in different directions. We discuss how this is happening in both the pro and con sections below.

Finally, the most essential role that standards can play is to spotlight issues in need of improvement in order to better support student achievement. But this can't and won't happen if we remain content to pat ourselves on the back for having put standards—and accompanying tests—into place without the sometimes difficult in-depth examination of what these actually mean for our schools and society. What exactly are the political, social, and economic outcomes that accompany the student achievement results we expect to see from our assorted reforms? Our children are indeed our future, and the shaping of their learning shapes our future society. We hope the following debate inspires readers to ask why—and why not—so that hidden assumptions can begin to be uncovered to help support real change for all children.

The Evolution of Present Day Standards

The idea of basing curriculum development, instruction, assessment, and evaluation of the work of the school on a set of desired outcomes is far from recent. Ralph Tyler is often credited with spreading the approach broadly within the education field with his "four-step analysis" (1950). He encouraged schools to move from the casual setting of expectations, often based on skills, interests, and whims of a teacher or

school leader, to an approach that took more formal notice of community and societal interests, at least at the local level.

1. What educational purposes shall the school seek to attain?
2. What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain those purposes?
3. How can these educational experiences be effectively organized?
4. How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained?

However, the creation and use of such "standards for student learning" as a widespread basis for formal accountability is more recent. Some states experimented with "outcomes-based education" and other approaches to specifying student learning expectations in the decades following Tyler's publication, but as a nation we did not focus our attention on standards—and aligned assessments—until the end of the 1980s. In 1989, president George Bush and a number of prominent business executives, led by IBM president Lou Gerstener, brought the nation's governors together for a first-ever summit on student learning. The focus was assessment, as their primary interest was to compare states with each other and with other nations in the context of a rapidly expanding "global economy," but the newly published standards of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics figured prominently. It soon became evident that content-learning standards of one sort or another were needed, if for no other reason than to provide a comparable set of learnings to underlie the assessments. This assessment focus was then expanded by a strong push from disciplinary professional associations as well as the National Academy of Sciences and other national agencies. This resulted in a broader view of content area standards, with the goal to define "what every student should know and be able to do." One of the basic tenets agreed to by the leaders of more than three dozen national education and policy organizations at two Curriculum Congress meetings organized in response to the 1989 national governor's summit was that "curriculum should inform assessment, not vice-versa" (Curriculum Congress records, 1990).

Politically, the standards movement has received bi-partisan support, with related legislation evolving from the first Bush administration, through the Clinton administration, to the second Bush administration. Professional organizations developed national content standards and promoted teaching models to support these standards, but these experiences varied greatly. The national history standards and national standards for English language arts, for example, were strongly politicized and vehemently attacked. The national history standards were officially rewritten, and the federal funding was pulled from the groups tapped to develop the English standards, largely for their refusal to develop content standards without accompanying "opportunity to learn" standards, an issue important to our discussion here. The National

Council of Teachers of English and the International Reading Association then proceeded to develop standards without federal funding. Other content area standards proliferated with an assortment of federal, private, and association funding throughout the 1990s, including civics, dance, geography, health, music, physical education, sciences, social studies, theatre, technology, visual arts, world languages, and others. Standards for multi-disciplinary areas were also created, including support for English language learners and special needs students, information literacy, early childhood, and the like.

At about the same time, states began developing their own standards, some of which were modeled on these national standards, and some of which preceded them depending on the content area. In addition to content standards, other standards were developed including teacher preparation standards, accountability standards, and so-called "opportunity to learn" standards.

Opportunity to learn (OTL) standards—that is, standards which specify the educational supports needed to meet the content learning standards, from books to science equipment to teacher quality to time in class—were originally part of the Goals 2000 legislation advanced by the Clinton administration. Of all the standards proposed, these were the only ones defeated by the legislature, in all likelihood due to fear of lawsuits over the adequacy of education for all students. The Opportunity to Learn standards would have provided the basis for arguing for a redistribution of funds to remedy inequities that have been known to exist for decades, spotlighting some of the most pernicious arguments related to educational haves and have-nots. While standards and accompanying assessments at the state level have been successfully used to obtain judgments of unconstitutionality among funding formulas for schools, very few states have moved past endless visits to the appeals courts, with some going on for nearly twenty years at the time of this writing. It is also worth noting that methods other than standards have been used to determine minimal constitutional expectations for learning, such as a New York state lawsuit that used as its basis an analysis of knowledge and skills required to act as an informed voting citizen for a set of ballot issues (see Campaign for Fiscal Equity, 2006). There too, the courts found New York unconstitutional in its distribution of funding and educational supports, but so far to no avail. Sadly, the legislature continues to struggle for a solution that will pass muster some 24 years later.

Perils: Whose Knowledge is the Right Knowledge, and How Can We Make the Reality Match the Promise?

Standards-based curriculum is going to transform education and schooling for American students in urban schools. If everyone would just

comply with standards-based reform we can overcome the equity and achievement gaps that are currently so pronounced in urban/suburban school dichotomies. Plus, the beauty of standards-based reform is that it is so simple, since we *all* know what is important to teach, and if we teach this to *all* children then we will *all* be equal. With these marvelous content standards in place, we can write teachers' guides, create daily lessons and everything will be fine.

At least this is what proponents of standards-based educational reform would like us to believe—the differences between urban schools and students and more affluent schools and neighborhoods are simply the result of an undefined curriculum. I would like to counter these arguments on two fronts. First is the belief in the ease with which we can define content standards that will be equal and accessible to all students. I base this argument on the reality of the selection of content for standards, and the underlying assumptions that guide the selection of which knowledge to include and whose knowledge this represents. I use examples from current state and national content standards to demonstrate how content standards systematically disenfranchise students in urban schools. I then address the idea of simplicity of implementation of content standards by examining cases of how standards are actually being implemented in urban districts. Finally, I explore examples of successful urban school reform based on the now lost opportunity to learn (OTL) standards and how these are the standards to consider if we are interested in addressing the renewal of urban schools.

Content Standards: My *Knowledge is your Knowledge*

The 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education [NCEE]) identified students in U.S. public schools as noncompetitive with children from other nations. The role of education was defined as the maintenance and growth of economic viability. For affluent students this translated into preparation for high paying jobs leading to the creation and leadership of entrepreneurial companies and corporations. For traditionally disadvantaged students—urban, minorities, poor, and all intersections of these traits—this translated into increasing their knowledge and skill base leading to employment in service jobs that would allow for continued global expansion. This message became doctrine in spite of there being little evidence of a direct connection between standards, performance on tests, and economic advantage or workplace productivity (Levin 1998).

With this established as the role for public education, standards could be developed to support a globalization of the economy. Feuerstein (2001) commented that the "movement to develop educational standards in our nation's schools is ...premised on a set of hyper-rationalized

assumptions" (p. 108). Feuerstein cited Wise's (1978) description of hyper-rationalization as that of applying scientific rationality to public education resulting in an over-emphasis of "measurable (though not necessarily important) educational goals; viewing teachers as technologists trained to help students develop well defined competencies; and understanding schools as factories in which raw materials (uneducated students) were turned into products (educated students)" (p. 108).

Of course we know that students are not standard inputs, rather they enter schools with a variety of cultural and social experiences that shape their educational experiences. Proponents of standards acknowledge this, claiming that by defining clear content standards we can overcome these differences. They believe that "success is achieved when those seen as 'educationally disadvantaged' conform and accommodate to the dominant culture" (Hodson, 1999), which allows them to take their appropriate place in a global economy. However, critics of standards generally agree that standards-based curriculum reforms fail urban students in each of the following three ways.

First, they are blatantly assimilationist in their educational approach (Hodson, 1998; Forbes, 2000). By defining what everyone must know, multicultural and pluralistic ways of knowing are rendered useless and invalid. Brady (2000) in her critique of standards suggested that when business and political leaders respond to the rhetorical question, "What should be taught in school?" they simply answer, "They should be taught what those of us who are educated know" (p. 648).

Second, the desire for equity based on standards is derived from a deficit view of urban youth and non-majority culture. Deficit views claim that urban minority youth lack significant historical and cultural experiences that would comprise an education (Weiner, 2000; Hodson, 1998). Further, Diamond and Spillane (2004) explain that urban minority youth are seen not only lacking in useful historical and cultural knowledge, but to be personally deficient. Thus high standards are needed to provide external motivations for students since on their own they lack the necessary internal motivations.

Finally, content standards are premised on the belief that there is an "essential knowledge" for all students that is culturally and politically neutral therefore should be an uncontested part of all schools' curriculum. This view is typified by the following description of how standards-based content is determined. "In their efforts to clarify what students should learn, subject-matter specialists have come up with a curriculum that is overwhelming to teachers and students. Now, unbiased experts must be brought together to determine the fundamental and significant ideas of their disciplines" (Marzano, Gaddy, & Kendall, 1999, p. 68). This essential knowledge is defined as the knowledge already held

by those in power who hold influence within the disciplines, and divergent views are not welcome.

The following two examples of content standards, one at the state level and one at the national level, demonstrate how the points above become incorporated into standards. They illustrate the powerful assumptions and messages embedded in content standards to reinforce who has the right to hold power in our society, resulting in the maintenance of the status quo.

In California, a state with many large urban centers and a diverse public school population, the social studies standards clearly reflect a singularly Anglo-American point of view. Forbes' (2000) analysis of the history of California "history" standards indicated that they ignore the history of the state prior to the arrival of Anglo-Americans. He concluded the use of the term "America" is a pseudonym for lands that were controlled by Anglo-Americans who fought against the British, thus making "Americans" those Anglo-Americans who populated these lands. He quoted from the overview to the California History Standards pointing out how they disregard any history of the "America" prior to the coming of the white man:

> … the standards proceed chronologically and call attention to the story of America as a noble experiment in constitutional democracy. They recognize America's on-going struggle to realize the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the US Constitution …. While emphasizing western civilization as the source of American political institutions, laws and ideology… (California State Board of Education, 2000; p. v)

The roles of other groups are only important insofar as they have been filtered through the needs of this "American" culture. The message to our urban students is simple: if you want to share in America then you had better accept this truism and assimilate into the Anglo-culture. To do otherwise is to be un-American. And those of you who have not shared in the wealth of the Anglo-culture, you are a separate form of American.

The second example of how standards limit the scope of knowledge to that of the already powerful comes from the National Science Standards (NRC, 1996). The National Science Education Standards (NSES) not only outline what science students should know, they also provide pedagogical suggestions for teachers. Rodriguez (1997) discusses the effects and the invisibility of cultural and contextual indicators. Examples in the text use non-descriptive statements about who teachers are and their classroom composition, such as, "Ms. B. in a fifth grade classroom." Rodriguez goes on to cite a specific example in NSES to exemplify how these standards reinforce traditional knowledge claims. The example (p. 215) suggests how teachers may employ inquiry to find the circumference of the earth. In this example the inquiry

problem is contextualized as Columbus needing to know the circumference of the earth for his sailing. Relative distances for calculations are based on European cities. This teaching situation reinforces the idea that science (and knowledge) arose in the Western Hemisphere and that important knowledge is the knowledge of Anglo-Americans. The standards and example do not mention that the method for finding the circumference of the world was developed in Egypt much earlier or that it was known and used by the Aztecs and Mayans in South America, although obviously not with European cities as reference points.

The students who populate our urban schools are led to believe that these cultures, and their own cultures, had little or no impact on the development of our current knowledge. The unspoken message attached to this is that their cultures, and they themselves, will have little impact on important knowledge in the future. Standards driven by the need to maintain economic superiority will lead to curricular contraction, since by definition they seek to limit what is to be taught to what is important for enhancement of the status quo. This curricular contraction disadvantages urban students by trivializing their role in American society and reinforcing their marginality in relationship to it.

Standards in Practice

Standard based reform requires effective implementation at the school and district levels. Unfortunately this does not readily happen. In this section I present two case studies of standards-based implementation which highlight why standards are not the route to urban school renewal.

The first example comes from the Chicago Public School system and demonstrates how standards-based reform has not improved educational attainment or decreased achievement gaps. Chicago's large, centralized district used standards-based accountability tests to rank its schools. Diamond and Spillane (2004) compared how two (magnet) schools ranked at the highest and two (neighborhood) schools ranked at the lowest levels of performance enacted the content standards. Although each of the four elementary schools studied were teaching the same standards, local school policies and daily implementation resulted in significantly different educational experiences for the students.

The case study investigation found that the neighborhood schools lowered their standards to meet the minimum acceptable student performance level. In order to achieve this they provided tutoring and extra instruction only to students just below the minimum standard, and focused instruction on the skills and basic facts that would allow the students to reach the minimum threshold. The magnet schools implemented the standards in qualitatively different ways. They geared instruction to the needs of students and expected it to be carried out in the

classroom, rather than through separate external programs. Teachers offered enrichment and remediation on skills or topics as needed by the students in classes. These schools focused on complex instructional goals that integrated the learning of basic skills while developing their students' critical thinking and problem solving in mathematics.

Diamond and Spillane (2004) concluded from their study that content standards failed to decrease achievement gaps because the local enactment resulted in different goals. "In probation schools, responses …emphasize getting off of probation" (p. 1159) not the improvement of the learning for all students. They cautioned that "the situated nature of policy implementation should be an important consideration for school reformers. "Policy implementation is very much a local affair and understanding the variation in context (even within districts) appears critical" (p. 1160). The clear implication of this study is that although each school was addressing the same district and state standards, those students already disadvantaged continued to be disadvantaged.

A second example comes from an urban Southern California school district. The poor performing district was in the process of aligning their mathematics curriculum across the elementary, middle and high schools to the California Mathematics standards. This study exemplified how urban districts implement standards in ways that limit their students' academic potential based upon assumptions about urban students' learning potential (Tucker and Codding, 2001).

Sandholtz, Ogawa, & Scribner's (2004) found that rather than using the state standards to raise the academic expectations of their urban population, the district determined the state standards were out of reach for their students. Therefore the district created new standards that resulted in their students lagging behind state and national standards. The district explained this gap by stating that the national standards did not respond to their students' local needs and "were bloated and quite 'world class'" (p. 1182), implicitly indicating that their community was not a "world class" community. A district position paper stated that "many state standards are ambiguous, and most would argue with their …imbalanced emphasis on the highest level of critical thinking at most grade levels" (p. 1182).

The district responded with local standards that pushed the teachers toward teaching minimal skills and that emphasized instruction focused on drill and practice rather than conceptual understanding. The study's authors concluded that schools and districts that have historically performed poorly interpret standards-based reform as another occasion for failure for their students, schools, and the district. Thus content standards are selectively taught, rather than pushing all students toward academic excellence, with urban schools typically focused on achievement at the minimal level.

This leads to questioning the simplicity with which standards-based reform can be enacted in American schools. Evidence from unsuccessful and successful urban schools leads to the same conclusion: increasing academic expectations without increasing the resources at hand for the most struggling schools ensures these schools will make minimal gains. This brings me to my final point and why standards-based reform will fail urban schools.

The Lost Standards Are What Mattered

In 1994 when the Clinton administration proposed *Goals 2000* and the implementation of high academic standards there was a parallel set of Opportunity-to-Learn (OTL) Standards that were to be simultaneously implemented. The OTL standards recognized that just having "…all teachers using the same materials in the same way at the same time…did not mean that all kindergarteners had an even start" (Starnes, 2000, p. 110). The OTL standards obligated states that were using federal money to create academic standards to also create equity standards to address issues such as school financing, quality of learning facilities and curriculum materials, teacher qualifications and teacher professional development. These measures would be used to determine the level of support different schools and districts needed to ensure that all students had the necessary support to meet new academic standards (Fritzberg, 2000). However, the OTL standards did not make it through the legislative process, leaving urban and impoverished schools to meet high standards without leveling resources. This led to a situation that Starnes (2000) described as "the federal government's latest efforts to cure fundamental educational problems by focusing on the symptoms rather than on root causes" (p. 109).

What these OTL standards might have done for urban schools is force States to measure the inequities in school districts and develop mechanisms to resolve them. Examples from successful urban school reform help to define what these OTL standards might have looked like. Linda Darling-Hammond (2004) examined three successful urban contexts implementing academic standards in conjunction with accountability standards to ensure true learning opportunities for all students. The common themes that arose from these successful urban environments resemble Fritzberg (2000) suggested measures of OTL, including improved teacher training in pedagogy with a specific focus on multicultural literacies; re-assessment and reduction of current tracking and ability grouping practices (explicit and implicit); reduced class sizes and smaller school size; increased programming for compensatory programs; and increased opportunities for community involvement. What Darling-Hammond found was that successful urban schools spent dollars on recruiting and hiring excellent teachers, followed by coherent teacher

professional development that focused on improving and individualizing instruction. Schools were restructured to an optimal size of 300-500 students and teachers worked with teams of students. Assessment practices were redesigned to include performance assessments, measures of progress on a coherent curriculum, and to provide feedback on instruction. Finally, the schools targeted funds for the students with the greatest needs.

It is possible for urban schools to improve and for urban students to achieve on rigorous educational standards, but it is doubtful that current standards-based reforms will achieve these goals. The implementation of economically driven and externally created content standards will continue to alienate students who have historically been oppressed. Current standards elevate the idea of essential cultural knowledge to new heights. Further, the singular use of student performance on standards to evaluate educational quality ignores basic facts of the American society. When schools and school districts are forced to comply with these rigid standards, they will find ways to ease the pain for themselves and their students by restricting teaching to only minimal requirements, developing instructional strategies that drill students on these requirements, and focusing on the minimum needed to keep schools open. Unless we reinstate and enforce the opportunity to learn standards acknowledging that different schools and students need different supports and instruction, standards-based reform will only reinforce the status quo and create greater educational disparities between our urban and suburban youth.

PROMISES: Standards Enable Students to Participate with Knowledge, and They Serve as a Foundation for Supporting Students, Teachers, and Schools.

I will first note that there is not a large body of evidence about the effects of standards over the course of what is now, for some content areas, more than 15 years of work, but this is perhaps to be expected. While the "standards movement" dates back to the late eighties, many content area standards were developed just ten or fewer years ago at the national level, with state-level efforts coming even later. Some content areas have not been enacted at state or local levels at all. Finally, there is an issue of evidence about standards-based reforms, with school personnel, policymakers, and researchers confounding "standards" with "standardized assessments." The literature too often looks only at limited, standardized tests of student performance, rather than exploring the real reach and potential value of standards in school reform. As Elmore (2002) laments:

> The standards and accountability movement is in danger of being transformed into the testing and accountability movement. States

> without the human and financial resources to select, administer, and monitor tests are now being forced to begin testing at all grade levels. This is the surest way to guarantee that the test will become the content. Instead of creating academic standards that drive the design of a standards-based assessment, low-capacity states will simply select a test based on its expense and ease of administration.... A test with no external anchor in standards or expectations about student learning becomes a curriculum in itself, which trivializes the whole idea of performance-based accountability. (para. 20)

Teachers agree. *Quality Counts* (Olson, 2001), an annual report of state progress in school reform, recently polled public school teachers and found that a majority felt that "the curriculum is more demanding than it was three years ago, and that students are working harder, in part because of state standards" (para. 3). But the teachers went on to assert that states place "too much emphasis on state tests to drive changes in education" (para. 4).

However, when one looks at content standards and the related teaching and OTL standards that support them, and NOT just at standardized tests that have unfortunately become their sole representation in many schools, we find well-reasoned purposes and a growing body of support for standards-based reform. Standards identify knowledge and skills essential for students to understand a discipline and to participate within it, and in doing so they provide a framework for communication among educators, parents, and policy leaders about educational goals. This framework for educational practice has the potential to empower traditionally underserved students to become active players in the larger society. Additionally, some core set of educational goals helps equip educational systems to better address challenges commonly faced by urban schools, including high mobility among students and teachers, under-qualified teachers, and lack of resources targeted on student learning.

Content Standards: Some Knowledge Should be Everyone's *Knowledge*

The question of whose knowledge is taught in schools and reflected in the content standards needs to be redefined. Content standards make what it to be learned in classrooms transparent to all educational stakeholders. Recent research into standards-based reforms suggests that one of the most powerful ways that standards contribute is as the basis of clear communication between schools and parents about student achievement. Giving parents access to what students are expected to learn allows for communication that draws attention to the responsibilities of the schools for assisting and supporting students in their learning, while empowering parents to take an active role.

Additionally, a system of standards-based curriculum, instruction, and assessment potentially allows for mastery learning based on learners' needs and growth within a content area, and has been used by schools as a structure for effective differentiated instruction (as opposed to retention in grade and other harmful practices). Perhaps the deepest change that occurs in successful standards-based reforms is a true shift in thinking about the students, their ability to succeed, and the role of the educators and school system in that success. Having studied a number of successful middle schools, Wheelock (1998) concludes:

> A deep belief that every student can develop thinking skills, learn for understanding, apply knowledge, become smart, and meet standards is fundamental to school cultures that support standards-based reforms. A second belief—that schools themselves have responsibility for developing the conditions that foster learning for understanding—closely follows. (p. 2)

But a generic increase of expectations—the afore-mentioned "all children can learn" mantra—is unlikely to translate to real results. Detailed content standards must organize a discipline area into a scaffold of essential learnings that will support student progress and provide explicit indicators of progress. And as noted above, attention to test scores alone as the progress indicator is a red herring. Ironically, the idea that test scores indicate accountability in a performance-based system that is assumed to confer upon students an advantage in the future workplace has also been called into question. Consider that researchers, notably Levin (1998), found little correlation between higher test scores—the coin of the realm for judging school effectiveness—and future success. "At the moment, there are no specific performance assessment standards that have been validated as strong predictors of economic productivity or the quality of the workforce, despite this being a major rationale for standards" (p. 8). The determination of the value of content standards cannot be adequately measured by current accountability systems; other measures, such as increased access to curriculum and parental and student knowledge of learning expectations, must also be measured.

Given the above, one might argue that the best role for content standards then is to identify the knowledge that is important in relation to the *content area and discipline* and, to a lesser extent, to the majority culture in power, so that students can compete effectively in the future economy. Once such standards are made explicit, there exists a means to draw the attention of parents, community members, and educators to existing inadequacies. As adults, these groups of people are given the responsibility to act in the best interests of the children in our society.

In 1996, prior to the institutionalization of content standards, Steinberg, Brown and Dornbusch's research found that the majority of

parents did not know what their students were learning in school, and whether what they were learning would affect their students' future, either positively of negatively. Specifically, in surveying American high school students, Steinberg, et al. (1996) found that "nearly one-third of students say their parents have no idea how they are doing in school" and "about one-sixth of all students report that their parents don't care whether they earn good grades in school or not" (p. 19). "Similarly... when parents are asked to "grade" their child's school, they award A's and B's; when asked to evaluate the nation's schools in general, they give much lower grades" (p. 42). Steinberg et al. (1996) also notes that:

> When finer measures of school quality are used—measures that look closely at the quality of classroom instruction—studies show that school practices can in fact make a difference, albeit a modest one. In one extensive program of research on young adolescents in London schools **[Rutter et al, 1979],** for example, researchers found that... [g]enerally speaking, students behaved and performed better in schools where teachers were supportive but firm, and maintained *high, well-defined standards for academic work* [emphasis added]. (pp. 50-51)

Standards permit a compelling basis of comparison of student achievement across varied and inequitable contexts. Such a comparison can make evident to parents and the community that reforms are needed within the system in order to support students in their quest for achievement.

Finally, a principal described the ability of standards to improve communication of educational expectations this way:

> I remember standing outside one day.... I saw in the behavior and in the mien of students a look that broadcast a certain disregard for learning, and school.... I think I even shook my head as I lamented to myself that for the most part our students didn't even know what rigor, challenge, and excellence look like.... The lamentation in the bus lane became one of the reasons that a standards-based approach appealed to me. If nothing else, our students would have the chance to find out what the expectations and standards are in a larger context.... They would have the chance to meet the challenges and compete. They would have a chance to find out that education and real learning go far beyond the pages of a text. (Welch, 2000, p. 21)

"Teaching and Learning for Social Justice"

In order to give students a chance at learning that will permit them to have a future voice in the established academy, so that they too might create important future knowledge, we must ensure that they learn the essentials of the discipline, to think critically, and to apply their knowledge and skills in context. Regarding critical thinking, Gutstein (2003) reports on a two-year action research study on "teaching and

learning mathematics for social justice" in an urban, Latino classroom. He asserts that the *Standards* of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics were essential to the success of the students:

> As Ladson-Billings (1994) puts it, "thinking critically" is something students need to struggle successfully against racism and for justice. One can argue that a curriculum [based on the *Standards*] can play a role in teaching for social justice because it helps develop the critical thinking that is necessary in the struggle for equity and justice. (p. 66)

However, critical thinking is contextualized within the discipline—as Gardner (1999) states, one thinks "like a historian," "like an artist," "like a scientist." To participate in the world, students must first understand it. Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) discussion resonates with Ladson-Billings:

> New songs, new ideas, new machines are what creativity is about. But because these changes do not happen automatically as in biological evolution, it is necessary to consider the price we must pay for creativity to occur. It takes effort to change traditions. For example, a musician must learn the musical tradition, the notation system, the way instruments are played before she can think of writing a new song; before an inventor can improve on airplane design he has to learn physics, aerodynamics, and why birds don't fall out of the sky. (p. 10)

The national standards, developed primarily to describe learning growth in particular disciplines, address not only the content and skills students need to be successful in school but also the critical thinking and related skills necessary for students to participate in the world of the discipline. Such learning prepares students to make their own contributions to future important knowledge regardless of their cultural and socio-economic status. Furthermore, history has shown that novel and important contributions to the sciences, arts, and humanities have often been made because of the unique perspectives brought by individuals who are not "in the majority"—but in almost every case, an understanding of prior knowledge in the discipline was the key.

An analysis of the national content-area standards conducted by a majority of the national professional associations ((National Study of School Evaluation, 1998, p.108) developed a list of "schoolwide goals for student learning." These standards define a powerful set a standards that include thinking and reasoning skills that students need to "learn for social justice." The major topics within these schoolwwide learning goals include: Learning-to-Learn Skills; Expanding and Integrating Knowledge; Communication Skills; Thinking and Reasoning Skills *(Critical Thinking, Problem-Solving, and Creative Thinking)*; Interpersonal Skills; Personal and Social Responsibility**.** When schools implement content-area standards in an integrated and scaffolded process, all students have access to critical and creative learning which

will allow urban youth to understand their role in creating their communities future.

Putting Standards for Student Learning into Practice for Teachers and Schools

Content standards can raise expectations for student achievement. However, if this is the goal of standards-based reforms, then schools have a very distinct task before them. Such standards have clear implications for teacher learning and teaching quality. Content standards must become an integrated part of teacher training and professional development. Content standards will also require schools to rethink their use of resources—everything from time to facilities to instructional approaches, and for the relationship of school and curriculum to the community and the academy. Wheelock (1995) summarizes the multiple roles of and potential benefits of standards in improving schools for all students:

By promoting idea-rich content and complex problem solving, they anticipate the kinds of teaching and learning for understanding that can enliven classrooms and counteract student disengagement. As descriptions of the endpoints of learning, they can prompt teachers to direct students toward generating products that demonstrate their mastery of basic skills within content areas.... They can offer a gauge against which teachers can assess the degree to which all students experience opportunities to learn challenging academic content (cited in Wheelock, 1998, pp. 7-8).

In the pages above, my colleague presented a compelling rationale for revisiting the missed Opportunity to Learn Standards. I agree with her assessment, but argue that effective OTL standards derive from clear content-area standards with a basis in the discipline and with the goal of supporting teachers as they guide students through learning. This guidance is not a trivial matter, nor easy to master. There is growing evidence that a standards-based curriculum and qualified teachers to enact it are the most important aspects of improving education for urban, minority, and poor children (e.g, see Haycock, 1998; Wright, Horn, & Sanders, 1997). Elmore (2002) argues that:

> The work of turning a school around entails improving the knowledge and skills of teachers—changing their knowledge of content and how to teach it—and helping them to understand where their students are in their academic development. Low-performing schools, and the people who work in them, don't know what to do. If they did, they would be doing it already. You can't improve a school's performance, or the performance of any teacher or student in it, without increasing the investment in teachers' knowledge, pedagogical skills, and understanding of students.

To get specific about how teachers' capacity must be turned around, we can turn to *How People Learn*, a review of "scientific work on the mind and brain, on the processes of thinking and learning, and on the development of competence" (p. 3). The authors conclude that expertise in content alone is not sufficient for good teaching, nor is knowledge of teaching methods alone—teachers need an interactive mix to be successful:

> Effective teachers need 'pedagogical content knowledge'—knowledge about how to teach in particular disciplines, which is different from knowledge of general teaching methods… Expert teachers know the structure of their disciplines and this provides them with cognitive roadmaps that guide the assignments they give students, the assessments they use to gauge student progress, and the questions they ask in the give and take of classroom life…In short, teachers' knowledge of the discipline and their knowledge of pedagogy interact…. The misconception is that teaching consists only of a set of general methods, that a good teacher can teach any subject, and that content knowledge alone is sufficient. (p. xviii)

The follow-up report *Knowing What Students Know: The science and design of educational assessment* (NRC, 2001), concludes that "every assessment, regardless of its purpose, rests on three pillars" which includes "a model of how students represent knowledge and develop competence in the subject domain" (p. 2). Content standards clearly provide the underlying framework for sophisticated and effective teacher work.

However, content standards alone are not enough; they must be connected to the teaching and learning process. As Ball and Cohen (2000), put it:

> Even if we can offer more grounded ideas about the specific content that teachers need to know, the important question is not just what teachers need to know about the subjects they teach, but how they use content knowledge in teaching. Take, for example, figuring out what students understand and what they are learning, sizing up an activity in the textbook and revising it to make it work more effectively, or managing a classroom discussion toward a set of goals. Each of these depends on the ways in which the teacher can flexibly bring to bear her own understanding of the content. (p. 31)

A recent analysis of teaching systems recorded in classrooms in a number of countries as part of the Third International Mathematics and Science Study 1999 Video Study (Hiebert et al, 2005) concluded that:

> The goal toward which these [educationally significant] changes should be directed is a teaching system well aligned with clear and widely accepted student-learning goals. Although work remains on developing a consensus on learning goals, the contrasts among systems presented in this article provide information that can be used

> to work toward a teaching system that is more effective in helping students achieve the more ambitious goals around which consensus is building. (pp. 128-129)

While there is unquestionably much work to be done in developing the most effective content standards and in understanding their relationship to schools and systemic reform, their potential for focusing teaching and learning on high-quality work and worthwhile student achievement is strong enough to warrant continuing our journey. Content standards hold particular promise for urban schools, assuming that inappropriate, "knee-jerk" responses to accountability pressures don't lead educators and parents astray. To close by returning to the students, our reasons for standards in the first place, I cite a study of urban middle school reforms. Storz and Nestor (2003) found that too often, "since standards have been adopted, schools, and urban schools in particular, have felt pressured to focus on standards rather than on students as they plan instruction" (p. 18). However, in interviewing students, the need for high expectations was clearly supported:

> Students want their teachers to expect a great deal from them academically and personally. They want difficult work, but just as importantly, they want work that challenges their thinking and understanding. They want teachers to help them set goals and monitor their progress toward their own goals. (p. 18)

We owe all of our children a rich, comprehensive, balanced—*standards-based*—education that will prepare and encourage them to become active participants in our society—as engaged citizens, creators of new knowledge and culture, and yes, even as productive workers.

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No One Curriculum is Enough: Effective California Teachers Tailor Literacy Instruction to Student Needs Despite Federal, State, and Local Mandates to Follow Scripts.

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This study examines six teachers' responses inside and outside of their classrooms to increasingly mixed messages about how they should develop the literacy of California's youngest and most at-risk students. While they must develop highly developed knowledge and skills to teach literacy in linguistically diverse classrooms, they must also adhere rigidly to the substance and pace of scripted literacy curricula. This qualitative study sought to fill an impact research gap by investigating how six first grade urban teachers, identified as "effective" by district personnel, university professors, and peers, did respond. Despite a tightly monitored policy context, these teachers responded in deeply meaningful ways rather than blindly implementing the curricula. These findings suggest the importance of honoring teacher creativity, thirst for knowledge, and practical experiences.

Introduction

This article describes six urban teachers' responses to increasingly mixed messages about how they should develop the literacy of California's youngest and most at-risk students. These mixed messages tell them, on the one hand, that they need highly developed knowledge and skills to teach literacy in linguistically diverse classrooms. On the other hand, they are told not to use this knowledge, but rather to adhere rigidly to the substance and pace of scripted literacy curricula. Not surprisingly, recent studies suggest urban teachers who use mandated curricula experience loss, guilt, and depression and often leave their schools (see, for example, Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006). However, other preliminary evidence shows that many effective teachers are staying within their schools and continuing to provide high quality literacy instruction to their students.

The National and State Context

Urban teachers work in a context of increased literacy workplace and global participation demands, necessitating that all students receive advanced reading instruction (Hoffman & Pearson, 2000; Luke, 2003). However, despite a bevy of recent reforms, the reading levels of urban students still significantly under perform their peers attending suburban schools, as evidenced by their performance on fourth grade reading

assessments (Manzo, 2003). In addition, urban school districts are having an increasingly difficult time filling their positions with trained teachers given the rapidly aging teaching population, the high demands of working with diverse student populations, and new federal requirements (Carroll, Reichard, & Guarino, 2000; Darling-Hammond, 2000, Manzo, 2002).

Developing integrated remedies would be ideal given the strong evidence that literacy teachers, rather than the instructional programs they use, have a greater impact on student reading growth (Bond & Dystra, 1967; Hoffman, 1991; Snow et al., 1998). However, in response to recent state and federal demands to improve early literacy skills quickly, many urban districts are being encouraged, and at times forced, to implement prescriptive early reading curricula. The federal government's Reading First program requires districts to spend 80% of their grants to purchase scientifically proven reading curricula, most of which require all teachers within individual schools to use direct instruction, phonics-centered, one-size fits all teaching methods (Allington & Waimsley, 1995; Coles, 2000; Goodman, 1998; Taylor, 1998).

While state and federal officials place their funding emphasis on curricular implementation of scientifically proven reading curricula, strong research evidence demonstrates that effective literacy teachers use multiple instructional strategies tailored to the specific needs of students, particularly those with varying language and cultural backgrounds (Knapp, 1995; National Reading Council, 2000; Wenglisky, 2000, Yatvin, Weaver, & Garan, 2003). In their multi-year study of primary-grade reading instruction in urban schools, Taylor et al (2002) found that effective literacy providers provided explicit phonics instruction along with small group coaching high level questioning of text, and frequent writing in response to text.

The scripted literacy curricula approved by the federal Reading Program approved curricula do not include this balanced approach (Yatvin, Weaver, & Garan, 2003). Allington (1991) believes that these lower-order skills, oriented curricula focus on improving decoding skills without a concurrent focus on higher level, meaning making instruction. Effective literacy teachers move beyond providing this compensatory instruction, offering their weaker, less economically advantaged students instruction tailored to their specific needs (Pressley, Rankin, & Yokoi, 1996). Yatvin, Weaver and Garan (2003) find a remarkable lack of scientific verification of the long-term benefits of these widely used commercial, scripted curricula. The authors then make twelve key recommendations from high-quality research about key components of early literacy programs, elements that are lacking from the commercial curricula. Their recommendations include: embedding significant

comprehension development strategies from kindergarten and up; including silent, independent reading for entire classrooms; assisting children both directly and indirectly in developing vocabulary, integrating high quality literature; and rejecting assisting struggling readers with more of the same.

The Conflicting Impact on Teachers

Not surprisingly then, recent research studies suggest that many effective urban teachers using these scripted early literacy curricula feel devalued as professionals because the curricula prevent them from meeting the specific needs of their students because the curricula prevent them from meeting the specific needs of their students (Cooper, 1998; Datnow & Castellano, 2000; Taylor, 2001). They often leave their urban classrooms for more affluent, less structured districts. Researchers note different responses from teachers, responses that often depend on the teachers' school culture and individual belief systems (Acker, 1997; Osborn, 1997). Even some teachers with strong belief systems resist the curricula in less supportive school environments, but they experience significant consequences, including increased anxiety, stress related illnesses, and demoralization because of their lost ability to make instructional and curricular decisions (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006; Addock & Patton, 2001; Campbell & Neill, 1999; MacGillivray, Skoda, Curwen, & Ardell, 2002; Troman & Woods, 2001).

Thriving Urban Teachers

Yet in urban districts around the country, preliminary evidence shows that many of these effective teachers are staying within their schools and continuing to provide high quality literacy instruction to their students (MacGillivray, Skoda, Curwen, & Axdell, 2003). While studies respond to teacher self-reports, none include detailed observations of teacher practice to find how and why they respond to scripted curricula.

Methods

Interested in examining the ways teachers respond to mandated literacy curricula, I conducted case studies of six teachers who work with scripted literacy curricula in their classrooms in a large urban district in southern California. Because there are strong correlations between teacher quality and experience (see, for example, Darling-Hammond, 2002), I only included in my study teachers who had completed at least one full year of teaching and held a clear teaching credential before I observed their teaching. Two of my teachers had two years of experience (Mary and Catherine), one three (Beatriz), one four (Lisa), one seven (Vicky), and one eleven (Veronica). Moreover, because the scripted

literacy curricula are particularly controlled in the early elementary years, I focused on six first grade teachers; first grade is a critical year in literacy acquisition.

I used multiple case study methods to gather my data, including observations, interviews, and document gathering. Over the course of fourteen months, I visited each teacher for several consecutive days as she worked through at least one complete story cycle during the second half of the required curriculum. Each teacher used the same program, which is the most widely used scripted program in California and the nation. Before observing each teacher, I conducted an indepth semi-structured preliminary interview to gain background information and overall teaching and literacy beliefs (See Appendix A for preliminary interview protocol).

I took in-depth field notes of each day of instruction I observed, focusing on how the teacher presented her instruction and student responses, especially as compared to the program's teacher's edition and other instructional requirements. After each day of observation, I interviewed the teacher in person or via email regarding specific questions about her instructional decision making practices that day (See Appendix B for post observation questions). I also conducted at least one extensive interview with each participant to garner her perspectives about teaching, learning, and literacy.

Findings: A Critical Interpretation

Mary believed:

> There's actually no curriculum I think would be able to meet every need of every single student in every single classroom... I think that's just almost impossible, so I don't think there is such a curriculum that would do that. But I do believe that the (scripted literacy) program, it has flaws, and I think every curriculum will have flaws and strengths, but it definitely has strengths that I think work well with students, but whatever it lacks, you know, I try to supplement in my own way.

All six teachers in my study echoed Mary's sentiments and had clear rationales for each instruction decision they made. Like Mary, they did not accept the mandated literacy program carte blanche, yet they did not dismiss it completely. In fact, regardless of their personal belief systems, educational training, or school site context, each one of my participants used the program's curricular materials as a component of her literacy instruction and simultaneously made significant modifications to the curriculum's instructional, content, and organizational approach. More specifically, these modifications included arranging desks in groups, using a variety of instructional approaches, integrating meaning and decoding, incorporating enrichment opportunities, integrating daily writing, providing separate science and

social studies, creating their own order of teaching, and targeting ongoing ELL development. Table 1 demonstrates this cross-case adaptation of the scripted curriculum. In actively adapting the scripted curriculum, the six teachers resembled other teachers who daily confront the tension of working with mandated curricula and testing and their own desires to work as professional, effective teachers (Mathison & Freeman, 2003; Wharton-McDonald, et al, 1998).

TABLE 1
Cross Case Instructional Responses

	Beatriz	Vicky	Mary	Catherine	Lisa	Veronica
Place Desks in Group Setting	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Use Variety of Instructional Methods	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Integrate Meaning and Decoding	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Embed Enrichment and Remediation for All/Use Center Approach	Yes/ Yes	Yes/ Yes	Yes/ Yes	Yes/ Yes	Yes/ Yes	Yes/ No
Integrate Daily Writing/ Writer's Workshop (WW) or Daily Journals (DJ)	Yes/ WW	Yes/ DJ	Yes/ WW	Yes	Yes/ WW	Yes/ WW
Separate Science and Social Studies	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Create Own Order of Daily Teaching	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Target ongoing ELL Development	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Instructional Changes to Benefit Student Learning

All six teachers made significant changes to the scripted program's teacher-centered instructional focus. Rejecting exclusive transmission models of learning, all of these teachers believed student learning occurs best when students support each other in their learning, and teachers serve as facilitators as well as instructors. These beliefs led them to move away from teacher-directed whole-group instruction to include small groups, interactive whole-group, and collaborative individual learning opportunities for their students. These interactive teaching approaches allowed the teachers to serve as coaches, a sign of effective teaching (Taylor et al., 2000, 2002; Wharton-McDonald et al, 1998.) They did not lead their students' responses but provided instructional strategies that fostered their students' creation of their own knowledge.

Through her instructional day, Catherine, for example, had students engage with partners to discuss various topics ranging from

meanings of individual words, predicting story plots, to brainstorming adjectives for a collaborative story. Catherine felt that the curriculum's extensive focus on whole group work limited the number of students who could participate, often leaving out shy students. Her use of small group conversations fostered a shared curiosity, because, as she said, "I want my students to feel that they can express their thoughts, opinions, and ideas in a safe, non-threatening environment."

Significant Content Changes to Deepen Learning

Integrating Key Phonemic Awareness Skills

All six teachers criticized the curriculum for isolating skills, mirroring studies that show effective literacy teachers embed their literacy instruction (see, Pressley, Rankin, & Yokoi, 1996; Wharton-McDonald et al. 1998). First, they disagreed with the curriculum's separating phonemic awareness and phonics development from meaning. As much as they liked its organization of sounds and letters, especially the blending components, they all embedded significant meaning building activities into the decoding development. Lisa, for example, allowed students to discuss the meaning of each blending word, connecting the words to their prior knowledge or looking them up in dictionaries or encyclopedia. Each teacher employed similar sound to meaning connections.

Exploring Prior Knowledge

Before reading the curriculum's stories, all six teachers explored student prior knowledge, because they believed that the program assumes all students have had the same experiences. They believed students, especially English Language Learners, need to have their background knowledge activated to support vocabulary and comprehension development (Schifini, 1994; Ulanoff & Pucci, 1999). Beatriz devoted a great deal of instructional time to tapping prior knowledge. At times when students did not have that prior knowledge, she gave it to them. "Without it, my students do not have any idea of what the stories are really about." Because none of her students had ever gone camping, for example, she created a camping experience for them in her classroom before reading a required story, in which characters sleep outside. She brought in a tent, set it up in the middle of her classroom, and had students sit inside it with flashlights. "None of my students had gone camping. Now they have."

Significant Writing Programs

Because they found strong connections between reading and writing, all six teachers implemented significant writing programs in their first grade classrooms. Mary faulted the mandated curriculum for

"focusing solely on reading. Writing is just as important to develop in first grade. First graders love to write." The other teachers agreed. Four implemented writer's workshops, enabling students to work at their own pace on individual pieces. They included all components of the writing process, including brainstorming, drafting, editing, and publishing. The four presented targeted mini-lessons to assist student development, focusing equally on craft and mechanics. They read supplementary texts to highlight the connections between reading and writing. Each met individually with students about writing and tailored comments to each student's needs.

Changing Classroom and Activity Organization

Along with their instructional changes, all six teachers made major organizational changes to the program's required seating arrangement and sequencing of learning activities. Because they believed in student collaboration and community building, five of the six teachers rejected the program's U shaped seating arrangement, placing their students at tables. At these tables, students assisted each other and participated in joint activities. "I don't want them to think that all learning happens in the front of the room; it happens where they are," said Beatriz. Because of school mandates, Vicky had to use the U arrangement even though she disliked it. Nonetheless, she allowed her students to work with their neighbors and moved them around to different areas where they could work together. Embedding collaboration as a hallmark of their teaching let students know that they belong to a community that values their voices and their role in learning (Griffin & Cole, 1984).

In addition to changing the physical layout of their classrooms, all six teachers changed the mandated curriculum's sequencing of learning activities. "If I followed (the program) from beginning to end, from blending to reading to worksheets, my students would have to sit still for 90 minutes; that's impossible and unnatural for any first grader to do," Vicky explained. The other teachers concurred and provided schedules that shifted focus every twenty to thirty minutes.

Discussion: Teachers Whose Resistance Fuels Their Desire to Remain Teaching

Many teachers required to use scripted curricula experience significant feelings of loss, grief, and depression (see, for example, Nias, 1989; Troman and Wood, 2001). My six participants revealed a different story. While my six participants believed that the curriculum they must use, one of the most widely used scripted curricula, limited their literacy delivery, they did not internalize those feelings into a sense of loss, grief, or depression. Rather they felt committed and optimistic. They retained their feelings of creativity, professionalism, and independence. They

mirrored other effective and resistant teachers who are professionally confident and exercise professional judgment to provide their students with powerful learning opportunities (Helsby, 1995).

Moreover, my six teachers' responses did not cause them to alter their goals of providing their students with quality literacy instruction. That does not mean that they did not experience frustration; they did quite often. Yet their frustration was externally located; they disliked parts of the curriculum, the pacing plan, and the frequent assessments. Recognizing the limitations of the curriculum, they drew on different resources and take actions. These actions provided their students with powerful literacy opportunities, thereby reenergizing the teachers' desires to continue teaching in their urban schools.

Turning Frustration into Positive Action

Their frustration often fueled their desire to learn more and to increasingly tailor the curriculum. Like other effective primary grade literacy teachers, they adapted their instruction to meet their students' needs, not allowing the script to stem their efforts (Collins-Block & Pressley, 2000). Even Vicky, who worked in the most restrictive school environment, harnessed her feelings of being overwhelmed with the pressure of having to use several different curricula programs into finding new and better ways to assist her students. During my visit, for example, frustrated with writing and comprehension deficiencies in the curriculum, she introduced two new non-mandated curriculum activities: doodle-loops and the kite making activity. Both activities departed significantly from the required curriculum, providing her students with valuable interactive, creative, and comprehension building opportunities. This quest for more effective strategies energized her.

Rather than dread going to school, my participants looked forward to teaching each day as Veronica so powerfully demonstrated when she said, "I can't wait to get to school." She eagerly awaited her daily writer's workshop, a significant departure from the scripted curriculum, "almost as much as the kids do." The teachers primarily anticipated working with their students on activities they tailor or create. Mary could not wait to "see my students act out their skits" or "listen to their unique responses to the stories. Their minds are always buzzing." Beatriz said she could not sleep the night before she set up the tent for the mock camping activity. "I was so excited about watching the kids respond when I set up the tent in our background. I knew they would love it." The day after she learned about cortizinas in her book making class, she spent the night "thinking of how I could use it with my students." She implemented it two days later, and she felt her students created tremendous books that "show their understanding of cause and effect in a visual and written manner. It was such a fun activity."

A Tremendous Joy in Their Teaching: A Commitment to Continue Teaching

All fully credentialed, my participants taught in high-poverty schools that serve large numbers of ELLs. They remained committed to their work, and despite fewer options for sustained professional growth, they actively sought professional development opportunities. For these teachers, the only block to their continued effectiveness was their own lack of professional knowledge. And they actively pursued ways-both internally and externally-to better meet their students' literacy needs and their confidence and capability in doing so.

This is not to say that they did not face obstacles, including pacing plans, frequent assessment requirements, and site leaders committed to strict program implementation. Many did. But they refused to allow these obstacles to deter their efforts.

Implications: Honor the Roles of Experienced, Creative, Professional Teachers

As my study shows, when faced with implementing a rigid literacy program, these six teachers balked because they identified key weaknesses. Using their experience and professional knowledge, these teachers made significant modifications. While their overall changes contained many similarities, each one created lessons that appealed to her unique group of students. Each teacher derived great pleasure from the creative aspect of designing lessons that stimulated and pushed her students. So, at the same time they should heed the collective messages these teachers send about the significant limitations of scripted, one size fits all curriculum, policymakers need to honor the individuality behind effective teaching and question continued reform efforts that script teacher behavior. Sarason (1999) calls effective teaching a true performing art in which teachers create lessons that reflect a combination of their knowledge and their students needs. And it is, as these teachers revealed in many of their proactive adaptations of the scripted literacy program. Rather than continuing to hold deficit beliefs about teachers, policymakers should find ways to respect and honor the individual expertise of teachers who remain committed to providing urban students with high quality literacy instruction.

Notes:

1. The University of California Consortium for College Access provided partial funding for this study.

2. In the scripted literacy program, each first grade unit follows a similar approach. Organized around a theme, each unit lasts approximately four weeks and contains several stories and poems that connect to the theme. Detailed instructions come in prose and table form before the unit, sets of

stories, and individual stories. The unit then proceeds into specific lessons, organized around individual stories. For each piece, the curriculum guide provides detailed teacher directions for each lesson that ranges from one to five actual days. However, the text does not provide recommended amounts of time teachers should devote to individual components of each lesson. Four of the schools I visited followed a sub-district pacing plan that details each day what lesson teachers should be one and a school breakdown for different daily components. Three of the five schools allotted daily times; one school's literacy time lasted three and a half hours, another three hours, and the two hours. The curriculum structures each day around three sections, preparing to read, reading, and language arts. The first section focuses on phonics, fluency, and preparing to read. The second section emphasizes reading and responding to text, including building background, previewing, and key vocabulary. The third section includes workbook activities for spelling, word analysis, writing process strategies, and English Language conventions. Each section provides detailed directions to the teacher; whole class instruction dominates each section, except for extension activities during the reading section and individual phonics and grammar reviews in the first and third sections.

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Appendix A

Preliminary Interview Protocol (Before my first observation)

1. What made you want to become a teacher? An elementary teacher? An urban teacher?
2. Where did you receive your credential? What was the focus on the courses you took that addressed literacy and student development?
3. What goals do you set for yourself as work with your students on their literacy development?
4. What different factors contribute to this goal setting?
   Prompts—curricula, personal knowledge, professional knowledge.
5. Describe how you plan your daily literacy lessons with your students.
6. What resources do you draw from in constructing these lessons?
7. Describe how this work impacts the rest of your planning.
8. What are your greatest joys in doing your literacy work?
9. What factors contribute to these joys?
   Prompts—students, colleagues, community, curricula, teacher educators, personal knowledge, school context
10. What are your greatest challenges in doing your literacy work?
11. What factors contribute to these challenges?
    Prompts- students, colleagues, community, curricula, teacher educators, personal knowledge, school context
12. How do these challenges impact how you feel about
    a) your students
    b) yourself as a literacy provider?
    c) yourself as a professional?
13. How do you form your short-term responses to these challenges?
14. How do you form your long-term responses to these challenges?
15. What signals about literacy instruction do you get from
    a) your principal
    b) your literacy coaches
    c) your district
    d) your peers
16. Do you feel supported in your literacy efforts? If so, by whom? How?
17. Do you ever depart from expectations? If so, how?
18. What kinds of responses to you get? From whom?
19. How do you respond externally to these responses? How do you respond internally to these responses?
20. If could waive a magic wand and impact literacy instruction in your school, what would you do?
21. What keeps you from doing that now?
22. How is the rest of your day impacted by the time you spend with your literacy instruction?

Appendix B

Interview After Unstructured Observations

1. What went really well in the lesson?
2. What factors contributed to this success?
3. What areas proved to be somewhat challenging, if at all, in the lesson?
4. What factors contributed to these challenges?
5. Is there anything that you did today during your literacy instruction that you wouldn't have done if a literacy coach or other district curricular representative had been in your classroom? If so, what? Why?
6. How will your work today affect your work with your students tomorrow?
7. How do this work impact how you planned the remainder of your instructional days?
8. Additional questions related to specific actions of day

Inclusion in an Era of Accountability: A Framework for Differentiating Instruction in Urban Standards-Based Classrooms

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In our current climate of standards-based reform, efforts abound to have all students reach the same goals. At the same time, other educational reforms, such as inclusion, are creating increasingly diverse populations of students in general education classrooms. Consequently, teachers often view inclusion and standards-based reform as incompatible ideas. These tensions can be exacerbated in urban districts, where educators often find the need to make greater gains with fewer resources. This paper describes a professional development sequence found useful in helping urban teachers reconcile two divergent educational initiatives—standards-based reform and inclusion.

With the passage of the No Child Left Behind legislation, there has been increasing emphasis on the use of large-scale tests to monitor students' progress toward meeting educational standards and to hold school districts accountable for this progress. While the standards movement is felt across education as a whole, it is often felt with particular force in urban districts, where accountability test scores typically lag behind national averages, and where the resources to assist in closing these gaps are generally scarce (Council of Great City Schools, 2005). At the same time as efforts abound to have all students reach the same goals, other educational reforms, such as inclusion, are creating increasingly diverse populations of students in general education classrooms. Not only must general education students meet these rigorous goals, but most special education learners will be held to the same goals as well. These goals are reflected in the standards-based IEPs currently used in special education. State and national mandates to meet specific grade-level standards for all students places tremendous pressure on both general and special education teachers. As stated by Roach, Salisbury, and McGregor, general education teachers are likely to view inclusion and standards-based reform as "competing rather than complementary agendas" (2002, p. 452). These frustrations are often even greater in urban contexts, where a wider array of cultural, linguistic, social, and economic differences add complexity to the teaching process. Studies have shown that the more diverse a school population is, the more difficult it becomes to meet achievement goals established by measures such as the No Child Left Behind Act that require adequate

progress to be shown across all subgroups (Neill, 2003). This is an important consideration for inclusive urban schools.

Inclusion, or the movement toward maximizing the participation of students with disabilities in general education classes, has been an important theme in the field of education since the mid to late sixties. In the past, most of the discussion around the integration of special needs learners into general education classes focused primarily on integrating *students* in general and special education. For example, whereas great attention was given to the idea of having students with and without disabilities educated together in general education classes, relatively little emphasis was placed on helping general and special educators work together in a single educational environment. Neither was much attention placed on coordinating other critical aspects of general and special education systems, such as assessment programs, educational standards, and teacher preparation. It was not until the late 1980s that the systems integration concept of inclusive education brought with it a renewed impetus to restructure general education settings in order to provide the supports needed to facilitate the learning of a broader range of students. Since that time, the number of students with disabilities taught in general education classrooms has increased consistently and substantially (McLesky, Henry, & Hodges, 1999).

Despite recent gains on the National Assessment of Educational Progress in some urban districts, academic performance in the vast majority of urban districts continues to lag behind that of the nation as a whole (Council of Great City Schools, 2005; U.S. Department of Education, 2003). Students who are referred for special education tend to come from the lowest quartile of their class (Gottlieb, Alter, Gottlieb, & Wishner, 1994), which suggests that students in urban special education are among the lowest performers drawn from a group of students for whom achievement has already been depressed. This underscores the challenges of implementing inclusion in urban classrooms in the context of accountability reform driven by large-scale tests.

Eight-two percent of public school teachers teach in classrooms that include students with disabilities (National Center for Education Statistics, 2004). Yet research has suggested that many teachers feel ill-prepared to implement standards-based reform in heterogeneous learning environments. In a national survey of 400 general education teachers, less than half (37%) reported that they felt well-prepared to teach students with disabilities according to their states' content standards (Goldstein, 2004). Likewise, a state survey of 98 Virginia special education administrators revealed that a majority (55%) of these administrators believed that special education teachers in their state were not adequately prepared to assist special education students in meeting state standards (Defur, 2002). Evidence also suggests that accountability

assessments may encourage the reluctance of general education teachers and administrators to embrace the inclusion of students with disabilities for fear that the scores of these students will depress school or class scores (Defur, 2002, McDermott & McDermott, 2002). Increased referral rates to special education also have been associated with standardized test driven accountability systems (Defur, 2002; Parrish, 2000).

Given the apparent tension between the increasing standardization of educational goals and the increasing diversity of the student population, efforts should be made to assist teachers in reconciling and successfully implementing these critical themes in urban education. This suggests the need to investigate how urban teachers think about inclusion in standards-based classrooms, and how they go about the task of differentiating instruction for student success. Often, inadequate attention is given to listening to the teachers who must implement policies established by administrators and legislators. Getting a better idea of how urban teachers think about differentiating instruction in a standards-based context will provide the foundation upon which more effective professional development practices can be built. This study investigated the following questions: How do urban teacher conceptualizations of differentiated instruction evolve after training in a specific framework? How did this training impact urban teacher beliefs with respect to standards-based reform and inclusion?

Methods

Participants

Forty-four teachers from nine elementary schools (K-5) in an urban school district in the south volunteered to participate in this project. No screening was used. All volunteers were accepted until the program was full. Table 1 presents demographic information for these teachers. Teachers participated in this project in school-based teams that each included at least one special education teacher. Teams ranged in size from two to ten teachers. All teachers taught at least one student with high-incidence disabilities (e.g., learning disabilities, mild mental retardation, emotional disturbance, speech-language disorders).

Intervention

M²ECCA framework.

In order to better prepare them for inclusive, standards-based classrooms, teachers were trained on the implementation of a framework for differentiated instruction referred to as "M²ECCA for Inclusion", shown below in Figure 1. This framework integrates concepts related to

TABLE 1

Participant Demographics

Gender	
Female	95.5%
Male	4.5%
Race/Ethnicity	
African-American	86.4%
White	13.6%
Highest Degree Earned	
2	43.2%
MA/M.Ed	54.5%
Doctorate	2.3%
Teacher Type	
General education	72.7%
Special education	27.3%
Teaching Experience	
Mean number of years	11.63 (range = 1-27)

both differentiated instruction (Tomlinson, 1999) and multicultural education (Banks, 2001). The framework emphasizes major aspects of instruction—methods, materials, environment, content, collaboration, and assessment—important to implementing inclusion in diverse, standards-based classrooms. For example, in terms of methods of instruction, the M²ECCA framework encouraged teachers to consider how students learn best and to tap into student strengths, interests, and cognitive styles. The M²ECCA framework highlighted the fact that while standards provide a vision for where we should be going instructionally, determining the best route to get there is largely up to teachers--and this "best route" should be varied based on individual student learning needs and characteristics.

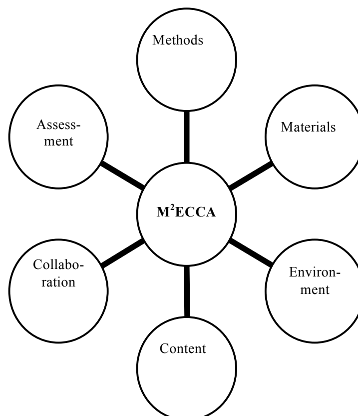

FIGURE 1
M²ECCA for Inclusion

Related to methods of instruction are the materials that enable these methods. Through the M²ECCA framework, teachers were

encouraged to consider a broad variety of enabling equipment and materials in planning instruction to meet diverse needs. For example, materials that reflected cultural plurality were explored. Various formats of textbooks---standard, reduced reading level, large print, audiotape, and digitized (e-text) on a CD--were presented and discussed. Assistive technology, such as screenreading software, voice recognition software, and talking word processors also were demonstrated.

In terms of the environment of the classroom, physical, organizational, and social aspects were considered. For example, the use of classroom furnishings (e.g., individual student mailboxes) to promote differentiation was addressed. The organization of student seating and the strategic positioning of students was explored. Behavior management strategies and the influence of culture on behavior also were aspects of this element of the M^2ECCA framework.

In discussing the content of instruction, it was noted that standards provide general parameters for content, but not much guidance with respect to the specific subskill areas needed to attain the standards with a given student. Hence, the M^2ECCA framework assisted teachers in coming up with ways of finding out as much specific information as possible about what students can and cannot do with respect to the standards in question. In other words, it encouraged teachers to raise questions such as: What prerequisite skills and content do I need to teach this student in order to enable him to meet this standard? Where is the student now in relation to where we are trying to go? How can I meet the student where he is and move him forward?

Collaboration among general and special educators is the cornerstone of successful inclusive classrooms. As such, the M^2ECCA framework emphasized the collaborative roles that support successful inclusion, such as exchanging student progress information, joint IEP planning, joint parental conferences, collaborative problem solving, and co-teaching.

Assessment both begins and ends the M^2ECCA process in inclusive standards-based classrooms. Assessment is used to inform instruction, monitor student progress, and guide program evaluation. This aspect of the framework encouraged teachers to use informal assessment to gather the information they need to plan the best route to student mastery of standards. Appropriate accommodations for large-scale assessments also were addressed.

Training format.

The training sequence was conducted in 2004 by the author, in collaboration with school district administrators. The sequence included two major components: 1) an 18-hour seminar focused on the M^2ECCA framework shown above; and 2) two small- group planning sessions at

the participating school sites. The seminar portion of the project was delivered on three Saturdays over a three-month period. As a part of this professional development sequence, participating teachers engaged in two small-group meetings at their schools sites, during which they shared standards-based lesson plans they developed. Each teacher brought a draft of a lesson s/he had planned that targeted state reading or math standards. During the planning meetings, teachers applied the M^{2}ECCA framework in making suggestions to their group members regarding ways the lessons they brought could be refined to enhance learning outcomes for students with high-incidence disabilities. These small group meetings lasted approximately one hour, and took place before school, after school, or during planning periods. School teams including more than six members were divided into two groups for the purpose of engaging in the small-group sessions. After the team meetings, the modified lessons were then taught and outcomes for students with and without disabilities were noted by participating teachers. The goal of these activities was to enhance teacher conceptualizations of what it meant to differentiate instruction in a standards-based environment by providing them with a framework for doing so.

Data Collection and Analysis

Concept Maps

Concept maps have been used as a research tool to assess conceptual change (Artiles, Mostert, & Tankersley, 1994; Markham, Mintzes, & Jones, 1994; Morine-Dershimer, 1993; Voltz, Brazil, & Scott, 2003). In this project, all participating teachers were asked to develop concept maps, which are designed to visually display relationships between various aspects of a concept. Participants were given verbal instructions regarding how to construct a concept map, were provided an example of a concept map, and then were asked to create a concept map reflecting critical aspects of differentiating instruction for diverse learners with disabilities in a standards-based context. Participants created concept maps both before and after participating in this professional development experience. Using an adaptation of procedures developed by Morine-Dershimer (1993), concept maps were analyzed based on the variety and quantity of aspects related to differentiating instruction included on the maps. The six aspects of instruction outlined in the M^{2}ECCA framework above were used to classify items included on the concept maps. Each teacher's concept map was rated, for both pre and post administrations, based on the variation in the nature of items included, as well as the quantity of items included. The variation rating was based on a one to six scale and was

TABLE 2 *Quest*

T 3.61 .24 4.97 5.53 .650

Item	Pre-assessment					Post-assessment				
	% Strongly disagree/ disagree	% Undecided	% Agree/ strongly agree	Mean	SD	% Strongly disagree/ disagree	% Undecided	% Agree/ strongly agree	Mean	SD
It is possible for a teacher to successfully implement both standards-based reform and the inclusion of students with disabilities in general education classes.	9.1	40.9	50.0	3.43	.79	4.5	13.6	81.8	4.02*	.76
The demands of standards-based reform and accountability assessments have caused me to become more skeptical about including students with disabilities in my classes.	11.4	59.1	29.5	3.09	.83	36.4	15.9	47.7	3.14	1.27
Standards-based reform will enhance educational outcomes for non-disabled students.	2.3	59.1	38.6	3.34	.61	2.3	25.0	72.7	4.02*	.82
Standards-based reform will enhance educational outcomes for students with disabilities.	2.3	68.2	29.5	3.25	.58	2.3	18.2	79.6	3.98*	.70
Standards-based reform will have no impact on general education teachers' attitudes with respect to included students with disabilities in their classes.	38.6	45.5	15.9	2.68	1.00	61.4	13.6	25.0	2.55	1.28
The M^2ECCA framework is useful in generating ideas about lesson adaptations.						2.3	0.0	97.7	4.32	.71
Working in school-based teams on lesson adaptations improved my expertise in this area.						2.3	2.3	95.4	4.39	.75

derived by determining the number of categories from the M^2ECCA framework that were represented among items included in each teacher's map. The quantity rating was obtained by totaling the number of items

included. For example, if a concept map included two items that fell into the content category and three items that fell into the materials category, that concept map received a variation rating of two and a quantity rating of five. Paired t-tests were used to compare mean variation and quantity scores across pre and post administrations.

Questionnaires.

Teachers completed brief questionnaires containing questions related to standards-based reform and inclusion both before and after participating in the professional development sequence. These items are shown in Table 2. Teachers rated each item on a five- point Likert-type scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Pair t-tests were used to compare responses across pre- and post- administrations.

Results

Concept maps

Table 3 displays the percentage of teachers whose concepts maps included items in each of the six categories for both pre and post administrations. During the pre assessment, the majority of the participating teachers included items related to instructional methods and materials, with these two categories of items being the most commonly included, followed by items related to content, collaboration, assessment, and the learning environment. During the post assessment, the majority of teachers included items in each of the six categories, with the relative ranking of categories based on frequency remaining fairly stable.

TABLE 3
Percentage of concept maps including items in each category

	Pre		Post	
	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank
Methods	75.0%	1	93.2%	1
Material	61.4%	2	84.1%	2
Environment	22.7%	6	59.1%	4
Content	36.4%	3	61.4%	3
Collaboration	27.3%	4.5	54.5%	5.5
Assessment	27.3%	4.5	54.5%	5.5

The mean quantity and variation ratings for concept maps on pre and post-assessments are shown in Table 4. A significant difference was found between pre and post variation ratings and between pre and post quantity ratings. This suggests that the concept maps produced by teachers during the post assessment contained significantly more categories of items than was the case for the concepts maps produced during the pre assessment. Likewise, these findings also suggest that

teachers included significantly more items on concept maps during the post administration than were included during the pre administration.

TABLE 4
Variation and Quantity Ratings

	Pre		Post	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Variation	2.43	1.04	4.00	1.56
Quantity	5.64	3.24	9.52	5.50

<u>Questionnaire</u>

Questionnaire results are displayed in Table 2. As is shown, on the pre-assessment, there was no single item with which a clear majority of teachers agreed or disagreed. On the post-assessment, however, a clear majority of teachers did indicate agreement with three of the items included on the pre-assessment: the item addressing the feasibility of implementing both standards-based reform and inclusion; and the two items related to standards-based reform enhancing educational outcomes for students with and without disabilities. There was a significant difference between the ratings of these three items across the pre and post administrations of the questionnaire. An overwhelming majority of teachers also agreed that the M^2ECCA framework and the opportunity to work in school-based teams had enhanced their ability to make lesson adaptations. However, on the post-assessment, the majority of teachers disagreed with the idea that standards-based reform would have no impact on teacher attitudes about inclusion.

Limitations

One of the most significant limitations of this study is that it does not include actual classroom observations. Neither does it involve pre and post assessments of student learning, or random assignment of teachers and students to control and treatment groups. Consequently, this study provides only supporting evidence regarding a professional development practice that shows promise in enhancing teacher conceptualizations of differentiated instruction and teacher beliefs regarding the potential efficacy of standards-based reform inclusive settings. There was no systematic data collected regarding the impact of these changes on the teaching behaviors of the participants, or any resulting changes in student achievement. These areas would constitute next steps in this line of research.

Discussion

Teacher responses on the pre-assessment questionnaire suggest a high degree of ambivalence or uncertainty regarding some of the issues

examined related to inclusion and standards-based reform. This lack of teacher confidence in standards-based reform in general, and standards-based reform in inclusive classrooms in particular, is echoed in the literature (Defur, 2002; Edgar, Patton, & Day-Vines, 2002; Jones, 2001; Nevi, 2001). On the post-assessment, however, participating teachers generally expressed a more confident or positive view with respect to these issues. They were far more likely to agree that it is possible to successfully implement both standards-based reform and inclusion. They were also more likely to agree that standards-based reform will enhance learning outcomes for students with and without disabilities. These findings suggest that there may be a high degree of malleability associated with these teacher attitudes and beliefs, and further, that professional development may be key in bringing about these changes.

The concept maps completed by teachers during the pre-assessment suggest relatively impoverished ideas about differentiating instruction for diverse learners with disabilities in a standards-based context. Only two categories of items, methods and material, were included in the concept maps of the majority of teachers. Relatively few teachers included items related to the content of instruction, the instructional environment, educational collaboration, or assessment in their conceptualizations of differentiating instruction in a standards-based context. The total number of items included also was relatively low.

By contrast, during the post-assessment, each of the six categories of items in the M^2ECCA framework was included in the concept maps of the majority of participating teachers. These changes across pre and post-assessments were reflected in the variation and quantity ratings, which significantly increased during the post-assessment. This suggests that the professional development sequence may have helped teachers enrich their thinking about differentiating instruction in diverse, standards-based classrooms. Further, when specifically asked, teachers overwhelmingly agreed that the M^2ECCA framework and working in school-based teams were effective strategies in improving their expertise in this area.

The significance of these findings lies, at least in part, in the importance of teacher beliefs and teacher self-efficacy in the success of any educational initiative. If teachers have a limited understanding of the educational initiative that they are charged to implement, or if they feel that they lack the skills to do so, then the success of that initiative will be compromised—and children will be left behind, political posturing notwithstanding. This study provides one example of a professional development sequence that resulted in evidence of enhanced teacher conceptualizations of differentiating instruction in a standards-based context. This enhancement may have played a role in more teacher confidence being expressed during the post-assessment with respect to

the feasibility of implementing both standards-based reform and inclusion, as well as the general efficacy of standards-based reform in enhancing educational outcomes for students with and without disabilities. As teachers better understood what it meant to differentiate instruction in a standards-based context, and were given tools for doing so, they probably saw it as a more feasible undertaking. These changes in teacher conceptualizations and dispositions could potentially have a favorable impact on student learning, in that teachers would have both the will and the skill to enhance learning outcomes for students with disabilities.

The context of this study also adds to its significance. It focuses on a population of teachers who are often most challenged by standards-based reform—those who teach students with disabilities in diverse, urban areas. These teachers may arguably feel the most overwhelmed by the uncompromising demands of standards-based reform and the least supported in their efforts to meet these demands.

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Routing the Pipeline: The Structural Dilemmas of Urban Education

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Using a collaborative program evaluation of a bridge program at a state flagship university, the authors argue that contradictions in student perceptions of their literacy learning are endemic to the effects of the structure of urban schooling. Overcrowding and underfunding of particular schools, in contrast with successful academic magnet schools, result in an uneven playing field as college-bound students of color enter competitive programs. The authors argue that programs designed to enrich college-bound students' experiences cannot work in isolation: better university/public school partnerships need to be pursued in order to ensure that students from urban settings do not arrive at elite universities lacking skills in academic writing.

Introduction

This paper considers the effects of structural dilemmas specific to urban education. Drawing on an evaluation study of a recruit-and-retain diversity initiative, the authors detail the perennial and well-documented conflict inherent in widening the college pipeline for urban students. The tension between providing multicultural learning experiences geared toward enriching students' engagement in academic and critical literacy, on the one hand, and providing more technical skill-based exercises to supplement gaps in their high school education, on the other, seems a tension inherent to the structure of urban schooling. Routing the college pipeline, then, means addressing the effects of these structural dilemmas on students' college success. Here, we highlight the ways in which urban students of color speak to their schooling experiences; in doing so, we map how the students' comments illustrate the larger educational structures influencing their literacies.

Context & Background

In 1998 the University of Wisconsin-Madison entered into a partnership with Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS), as well as local and state businesses to create a bridge program, attracting secondary students of color from Milwaukee Public Schools to the flagship UW campus. This program, called the PEOPLE[1] program, set forth the goals of retention and recruitment as a directed response to the UW-System 2008 Diversity Initiatives, which targeted, in part, the dearth of racial diversity at UW-Madison. Specifically, the student population of UW-Madison does not reflect the racial and geographic demographics of the state. The small percentage of students of color at the university hail primarily from Madison and other small cities in Wisconsin, leaving African American, Latino, Asian American students in Milwaukee grossly under-represented on the campus by the lake.

The under-representation of Milwaukee students at UW-Madison poses several problems. Hosting the majority of the racial diversity of the state, Milwaukee is the largest urban center in the state of Wisconsin. Beyond altruistic notions of fairness and balance, Milwaukee students who leave the state to attend top colleges are more likely to remain out of state and less likely to return to their home city and develop careers. This means the city's most precious human resource is drained by its own public education system. Although Milwaukee students do attend a number of other UW System schools, Madison offers the system's best academic programs, scholars, library resources, and state-of–the–art-facilities. It captures the lion's share of the state's budget and brings together regional, national, and international students. Thus, by not attending UW-Madison, Milwaukee students limit or deny their access to various types of resources, experiences, and future opportunities that are paid for by their parents' and communities' tax dollars. Additionally, students at UW Madison are denied the opportunity to interact with students from the state's most populated and important areas for generating state revenue and job opportunities, making Milwaukee continue to appear as an unknown and unwelcoming city that is seemingly severed from the rest of Wisconsin.

Understanding the structural dilemmas of the urban school-flagship college pipeline is meaningful to all educators who attempt to alleviate harsh injustices in higher education related to the under-representation of urban minority students at elite institutions. We provide

[1] PEOPLE is an acronym: Precollege Enrichment Opportunity Program for Learning Excellence.

a brief synopsis of our data analysis in hopes that other educators will find it helpful in informing their recruitment and retention efforts.

Framework and Study

We draw the framework for this paper from the research on strengths-based approaches to evaluation research (Kana'iaupuni, 2004). Specifically, we conducted a collaborative evaluation (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2003), which means that various stakeholders helped to design the study based on their interests in understanding the facets of the program which might contribute to its success or failure.

Collaborative Evaluation

This small, mixed-method study was conducted over a two-year period. Data collection included material documents from the program, informal interviews with students attending UW-Madison, background information on Milwaukee’s high schools, and a student survey. Demographic data concerning the students who are currently attending UW-Madison was gathered. The researchers’ professional knowledge of the students and the program is also included in the discussion and analysis of the data.

The racial distribution of the students is commensurate with the racial distribution of students of color in Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS). Milwaukee Public Schools are 60% African American, 18% Latino, 17.3% white, 4% Asian American, and 1% Native American(Instruction, 2003-2004). Although PEOPLE does not host African American students exclusively, they are the primary stakeholders in the success of the program because of their high representation in the city of Milwaukee and the PEOPLE Program, as well as their low representation at UW-Madison.

The literacy curriculum was created with the various racial groups of students in mind, meaning that other components of the program reflected the cultures of the students. The programmers sought to make connections between faculty and Madison students from corresponding racial groups, to give students the opportunity to learn fine arts that originated in various geographic locations and cultures, as well as to encourage dialogues about race, gender, understanding, and equity across groups.

Program Curriculum

Sensitivity to issues of race, class, and gender was consciously embedded throughout the program and was reflected in the literacy curriculum. The curriculum for the two three-week workshops was built on the theoretical framework of critical multiculturalism, also labeled the

"action approach" for Banks (1995) and "social reconstructionist" for Grant & Sleeter (Grant & Sleeter, 1998).

In this approach to multicultural education, students are asked to move forward in their academic careers with critical thinking- and problem solving-skills that help them understand and question the multiple communities in which they live. The students are able to make relevant connections between their academic knowledge and their future goals. Teachers encourage students to become conscious agents of change in their everyday lives and future endeavors. Multicultural scholars (Banks, 1995; Gay, 2004; Grant & Sleeter, 1998; Nieto, 2000; Sleeter, 2000) would agree that the final levels of the various multicultural typologies for education are the ideal goals for pedagogical practice; they also would admit that few teachers and fewer schools have invested the resources and time necessary to meet the standards for teachers to work towards these difficult goals. Therefore, it was important to the curriculum planners to provide the students with a brief exposure to critical multiculturalism that they had likely not encountered in their urban classrooms.

In part, this exposure was provided through extensive multicultural literature that the students could read and use as writing models or foci for analysis. Grant affirms the importance of multicultural literature when he states, "Literature is one of the foundational subject areas of multicultural education. For more than twenty years, key questions, sources of evidence and support for challenges to multicultural education have been located in discussions of literature-..."(in Harris, 1997, xii). Through fiction, nonfiction, drama, and poetry, students encounter people and cultures they initially perceive as similar or dissimilar to themselves. The critical analysis of characters and situations leads to broader understandings of historical and societal contexts. The focus is not on the ethnic identity of the author, but on the text itself and the issues that are addressed in the body of the work. So long as the text can be used as an entry point for discussions of plurality and difference in society, the author may be from any ethnic and racial background. Through dialogues and interactions with multicultural literature, new realms of understanding occur, highlighting unfamiliar practices and beliefs, as well as examining how personal practices and beliefs are constructed and lived, resisted and accommodated. Multicultural literature was used to further acknowledge the values and experiences of diverse groups as well as provide ample fodder for discussions and writing activities.

In keeping with critical multiculturalism's focus on the individual and her or his place as an agent of change in society, the writing assignments asked students to reflect on issues of identity and society. The students were encouraged to investigate issues of family and

community relationship within the scope of broader issues of race, class, and gender in the U. S. and the world. Because of the limited time frame for the workshops, these were not focused on grammar and sentence structure. Although these areas of writing were handled through revision and rewriting and individualized teacher conferences, they were not specifically addressed as foci for the workshops.

Teachers were provided with readers and anthologies, which included such authors as Maxine Hong Kingston, Octavio Paz, Mark Mathabane, Chester Himes and Zora Neale Hurston. The program sequence provided a progression: moving from a critical reflection about one's self and community to a pro-social engagement with equity concerns beyond those that may narrowly affect only the self. While teachers were provided with a broad range of materials, the teaching teams were free to design the specific scope and sequence of their three-week courses based on these broader touchstones. The rationale of this approach, in part, was to honor teacher professionalism and personal style.

Findings: The Structural Dilemmas Emerge

Overall, the students stated that they enjoyed the program and the writer's workshop. The students felt that the program helped them to adjust to the UW-Madison climate that contrasted so starkly from their urban communities. Comments of students speaking about their general impressions of the PEOPLE program were generally laudatory[2]:

> AD: [PEOPLE] has allowed me to meet new people, explore the campus, and experience classes.
>
> AJ: I was given the chance to work and experience the college life before my college days had even started. I took courses that prepared me for things like the ACT or just classes that I may have encountered going into the next year of high school. I was able to form connections with people... I also had the chance to learn the campus. I had a good time being in the PEOPLE Program.
>
> DC: It helped me to learn things that I otherwise would not know. My summer experience in Madison has also been very beneficial in becoming familiar with the campus and resources available.

They also felt that the program had created a support network of adults and peers to sustain the their progress. Other researchers have documented the strength of these connections as successful practices to retain students of color (D. Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000{fix; D. Solorzano & Villalpando, 1998; Villalpando, 2003). The findings in this project parallel previously documented outcomes from other research. Specifically, a clear attention paid to the affective environments of students generally results in higher levels of student engagement and, consequently, retention. As we reviewed these responses, we felt ready to make certain claims about the program's success; however, we began to uncover contradictions among groups of students regarding their preparedness for college-level reading and writing. We attribute these

[2] Students are identified by initials of their pseudonyms here.

contradictions neither to confusion among the students, nor do we attribute them to a lack of quality programming in PEOPLE. Rather, we came to understand students' concerns as endemic effects of the structure of urban schooling.

The students' comments presented an array of perceptions about the PEOPLE literacy program. Themes beyond the overall positive effect and strong personal relationships with teachers emerged: there was confusion about the source of academic skill development (more basic skills versus more literary analysis). In terms of general effect, the following comments represent the mixed bag of reactions to the writer's workshop. Many of the students felt that they gained a better sense of themselves as writers or were able to work on some writing skill:

> AJ: I had the chance to take courses that enabled me to enhance my writing, especially college writing.
>
> CP: I learned new techniques and ways to memorize and how to write 3 page essays. The writing workshops helped me think critically and allowed me to question the authors' motives and movies' themes. Also, I learned about morals of short stories.
>
> DJ: As I remember my experiences with the PEOPLE Program writing curriculum, I remember a lot of free writing. This was of some help as it helped me organize my ideas and thoughts into clear, cohesive paragraphs. I also got exposure to journal research, which was of great help. I think that the program should emphasize the importance of it. Remembering my past summers, I remember doing writing samples without really knowing the objective of them. As I compare this to the IB English curriculum that I had in high school, I find that the workshops need more structure. Also, I think that not enough literature analysis was made. This is a skill that is very necessary as I had to master it in higher levels of English classes in high school and even now in college.

Others commented on the teachers in the program and the level of confidence or types of activities they conducted during the workshop. The strong personal relationships students and teachers built in the short time proved memorable, and likely led to better retention in the PEOPLE program:

> MX: I don't remember much about the Writing Workshops but that my teachers were awesome! I think I did two literary criticisms on two stories. Also, I was trained to "read the words" more than to "read the book." I thought that was something different and interesting. It is a very useful skill now.
>
> SG: There is not much that I can remember but I can say that I truly enjoyed [teacher's name]. She made the writing class that much easier to handle and made it a fun learning experience all together. I think if it wasn't for her I probably wouldn't have gotten a lot out of the workshop.
>
> WS: The teachers were always friendly, and they really seemed to actually care about the students' work. I also always loved the fact that the writing classes always had teachers from our own schools in Milwaukee.

Managing the academic potential of such a diverse group remains problematic for bridge programs that wish to provide academic stimulation without overwhelming some students or boring others. These concerns reflect the challenges documented by other predominantly white universities' attempts to recruit and retain students of color and low-achieving students (Kezar, 2000). The limited focus on issues of structure and grammar became a primary theme in our analysis. What we found in the qualitative component of the survey is in part a reflection on the program and the university, but more so a reflection on the urban schools these students have attended. Many of the comments gave us insight into what the students sought from their high school education.

In the qualitative component of the study, students critiqued the program for the lack of time spent practicing more basic skills for writing. Several students commented that they wanted more structure to their workshops and would rather work as a group with a lead teacher conducting the course. Others commented that they would have liked more work with literary analysis. Since the surveys are confidential and not anonymous, we were able to match student comments with the high schools that they had once attended. Not surprisingly, students arriving on campus from elite public high schools engaged more fully with the seminar style of the workshops. Students from schools in which rigid student-teacher relationships were the norm often indicated that more structure was necessary. To urban educators, these results come as no surprise: large, frequently underfunded schools which emphasize quiet behavior over the development of student autonomy create particular environments for learning. These environments, marked by an emphasis on managing large numbers of bodies, are not conducive to developing the independent curiosity of their learners. What this means is that urban students must make more significant adjustments in their learning dispositions than their suburban counterparts if they are to be marked as outstanding by flagship universities that follow a tradition of liberal scholarship.

More Basic Skills

In any given district, the quality of schools may vary greatly. In combination with magnet schools and choice programs in urban areas, where some schools have virtually been left to die a slow death, these variances in schools become even more pronounced. In Milwaukee, two college preparatory schools have maintained records of high achievement, graduation rates, and college graduates. Overall, the students from these two programs did not comment on the need for basic skill work. However, when asked, "In thinking about the PEOPLE Writing Workshops (the first two summer sessions), what areas (types of

skills and practices) did you need to concentrate on more?" many students responded:

> CP: Grammar and thinking more about the morals of stories.
>
> EG: Well for me I think that it was important to focus on all the skills and practices so that I could improve my writing.
>
> KR: GRAMMAR and critiquing literature.
>
> RM: Concepts, organization, and clarity.
>
> ShR: The correct forms of grammar and punctuation. Analyzing different works to find the hidden meaning.

Some of these comments were likely resultant from the due given by many PEOPLE teachers to students' home languages: when students employed home languages such as AAVE (African American Vernacular English) in their personal writings, instructors viewed this as a point of strength. It is unfortunately not entirely clear whether this is what students are indicating in their comments on "correctness." The teams of writing teachers certainly did emphasize correctness of grammar and punctuation in final drafts, even if they did not explicitly teach particular rules.

By contrast, other students wanted more literary analysis and conceptual thinking:

> AJ: I needed to focus more on how to analyze and interpret complex pieces of writing such as prose poetry.
>
> DJ: Free writing. I think that serves us well to get thoughts written out, but literary analysis is important too.
>
> KK: I think I would need to practice more on my creative writing as well as my style of writing. What the writing workshop did was allow me fully appreciate writing and, more importantly, make me work on my writing.
>
> The students were thoughtful about their individual needs during their high school careers. Clearly, they wrestled with different aspects of the writing process, all of which demand sustained practice and instruction in writing. Students who struggled with grammar and cohesion also wrote that they would have liked more directed instruction and more individual time with the teacher, for example:
>
> AD: More organization, one on one action with the students, ask the students if they need help in certain areas, and focus on that area with them and if change is needed, adjust.
>
> AJ: Add more writing instructors so that they can work with smaller groups of students and focus on individual needs instead of working with a big group of students with many different needs and concerns.

While a significant group of students were comfortable with individualized writing time and informal class discussions on literature and society, others had had limited exposure to these class activities. These students also wrote that they did not benefit from working on their own projects and found it difficult to complete their two assignments with this format. Students who were not familiar with a workshop format often found it difficult to manage their time and work independently. Still

others felt that they did not have enough time with the teacher, regardless of their ability level, to interact and share ideas and comments.

Literary Analysis

Almost all the students who made comments mentioned the need for more literary analysis in the workshops. The students quantitatively ranked this experience as valuable and wanted more chances for practice. This comment was made particularly by the college freshmen that were taking Composition 101 (which requires several analytic papers), indicating a kind of presentism in perceived needs. That is, the needs students perceived in the moment of the survey may not reflect accurately the needs they had as sophomores in high school:

> DJ: Reforming the curriculum to perhaps analyzing 1 novel during the 3 week (or segments of it) and writing papers that analyses the literary terms, authors purpose, and the effects of literary devices, focus on ethos, logos, pathos
>
> MX: Focus more on the actuality of writing the literary criticism and not so much if it's right or not. Write an argumentative essay.
>
> RC: writing an analysis for a paper and organizing ideas.
>
> SS: Analyzing the structure of academic writing.
>
> SG: Preparation for college writing styles.

These students felt under-prepared for the rigors of the freshman composition course and expressed a desire to practice this form of writing much more before they entered UW-Madison. Students frequently referred to their desire to have more analysis as college preparation for the course work.

Points of Discussion

The students' rankings and thoughtful comments lead us to consider several points of discussion. While we noted that the quantitative data placed the program in a favorable light, we recognize that the program will continue to struggle with some fundamental conflicts between the goals of the program, the students' expectations of the program, and the challenges of urban schools to meet the needs of all students. These issues are specific to PEOPLE, but also endemic to all bridge programs that seek to connect large populations of students of color living in urban centers with flagship universities that are committed to serving the educational needs of the state.

First, the breadth of the students' comments spoke to the challenge of creating a meaningful workshop that was not ability-tracked for all students from the eighteen different high schools. Even in a class of fifteen students, skill ability ranged dramatically, as did familiarity with academic English. The teams of teachers struggled to insure that all students completed the workshop with a valued final draft and a new understanding of their writing, literature, and even

society. Clearly, these are lofty goals for two three-week workshops. Yet, the choice to limit the curriculum means forsaking aspects of the curriculum that they may find useful at some other time in their academic or professional lives.

Second, the students' comments about grammar and sentence structure and analysis pointed to missing pieces of their high school curricula as well as issues to address in the PEOPLE program. Since the program was designed to facilitate the transition between high school and college by introducing youth to college-level thinking and assignments, and not as an academic skill building program, it cannot easily compensate for what the students do not receive in their high schools.

Last, the PEOPLE program is set in place for both recruitment and retention. The emphasis on multicultural literature and the discussions around societal issues concerning race, class, and gender served as a recruitment tools as well as pedagogical practices to engage the students. These classes were modeled from upper-level seminars that students would not take until their junior or senior years at UW-Madison. By not making explicit the model for the class, the program contributed to the culture shock experienced by the students when they entered a typical lecture hall of two hundred students.

Concluding Remarks

Our research indicates a few pointed suggestions for improving the writing program. First, there needs to be more explicit discussion about the goals of the PEOPLE program and how they may relate to the students' future experiences at UW-Madison. Students and parents should be given a conceptual map of the program that they can use to frame their experiences. The second suggestion, that the students start the program in middle school (Waller et al., 2002), is already coming to fruition. The early connection with the university allows students more opportunities to become comfortable in unfamiliar settings. Extended contact may also take the forms of after-school tutorials and other academic resources to boost the skill levels of students from less-rigorous schools. The final point is that the writing program may need to scale back its learning outcomes, focusing more on writing and reading, producing only one final draft rather than two. This may alleviate the burden of shifting from one type of writing to another, thus giving the advanced students the opportunity to take on something more challenging while the struggling students can concentrate on various elements of the writing process. These suggestions are provided for the PEOPLE program and other programs that want to enrich and expose students' academic opportunities without further marginalizing their chances for success.

Another, more complex concern points back to preparing students for success: better university-public school relationships need to be pursued in order to ensure that students do not arrive at elite universities lacking basic skills in academic writing. This dilemma cannot be solved by bridge programs alone: sustained partnerships which support public school teachers in increasing academic rigor and performance expectations for all urban students must be built. As perennial as this dilemma continues to be for urban educators, it is one that we cannot fail to address.

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Examining the Effects of Multiple intelligence Instruction on Math Performance

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The purpose of this study is to discern the effects of instruction type on minority students in urban schools, mathematics achievement. Two hundred thirteen third and fifth grade (136 African American and 77 Latino) students attending schools in low-income urban communities were provided mathematics instruction in one of two ways: multiple intelligence instruction (MI) or traditional instruction. Quasi-experimental results (Creswell, 2005) reveal that students exposed to multiple intelligence instruction score significantly higher on the mathematics posttest than students in the traditional instruction context. MI students also demonstrate significantly higher improvement from pre to post test than traditional instruction students do. Implications of these findings and future research directions are discussed.

Introduction

Many minority students from low-income urban backgrounds continue to experience considerable difficulty in mathematics performance (Bowman, 2004; Washington Update, 2004). To address this, many have suggested that teachers and teacher educators begin to build upon the cultural and intellectual capacities brought to school by the students who live in these urban communities (Boykin, 1983, 2002; Sternberg, 1997). The Multiple Intelligence (MI) Theory (Gardner, 1983) has provided a framework where such capacities are discussed. Specifically, his work has suggested that children's socialization experiences within their communities foster various forms of intellectual capacity. By maintaining similar experiences throughout children's formal learning activities and contexts, teachers and teacher educators can facilitate optimal performance outcomes (Kagan, 1997; Hickey, 2004).

While the Multiple Intelligence framework has been instrumental in the development of teacher and student-based instructional strategies that promote academic success (Kagan, 1997; Kagan & Kagan, 1998; Kallenback & Viens, 2004; Kornhaber, 2004), few studies have provided empirical data to support the notion that such strategies actually enhance

student performance outcomes. Furthermore, the data suggesting that multiple intelligence instructional strategies are more beneficial to urban student academic performance than traditional classroom instructional strategies is scarce (Hoerr, 2004). Moreover, few studies have investigated the effects multiple intelligence instructional strategies have on performance in specific domains such as middle school mathematics. Finally, there is a need to more fully understand the role that multiple intelligence instructional strategies has in the academic performance of urban minority students placed at academic risk for failure. The following study seeks to address these issues.

Multiple Intelligences Theory

While some literature has attempted to define and critically discuss a one-dimensional conceptualization of intelligence (Neisser, et.al. 1996), particularly as it relates to academic outcomes, others have sought to describe intelligence by identifying and operationalizing its various forms. Particularly, the early research of Howard Gardner (1993a), who defines intelligence as “a biopsychological potential to process information in certain ways, in order to solve problems or fashion products that are valued in a culture or community.” Shearer (2004) suggests that Gardner’s theory clearly distinguishes the difference in the terms *intelligence* and *creativity*. He advocates that multiple intelligence theory indicates that people have intelligent originality that can be displayed in any of Gardner’s eight intelligences, and that this originality is not only overlooked in the traditional academic setting, it is also overlooked. (Shearer 2004). Gardner (1983, 1993) identified eight forms of intellectual capacity. They include, but are not currently limited to, verbal/linguistic, visual/spatial, bodily/kinesthetic, intrapersonal, logical/mathematical, musical/rhythmic, interpersonal and naturalist.

Persons with verbal intelligence are thought to be able to learn by listening and are thought to possess strong written and oral skills. Persons with visual/spatial intellect typically learn best from visual presentations and stimuli such as movies, pictures and video demonstrations. They also have inclinations towards presenting knowledge through various art media including painting and sculpting. Persons with bodily/kinesthetic intellect are believed to process information through sensations felt in and throughout their bodies. Physical movement and contact with others is a central feature of this mode of intelligence. Intrapersonal intellectuals tend to have a heightened awareness of self that affords them the opportunity to be independent and self-motivated. Logical-mathematical intelligence is typically expressed by persons’ orientation and use of critical thinking skills. These persons are believed to prefer learning that involves data-based patterns and relationships. Musical/rhythmic intelligence is

manifested in persons' receptiveness to environmental as well as musical sounds. Persons with strong musical intelligence tend to sing, whistle or hum while engaging in other activities, including formal learning. Interpersonal intelligence becomes evident in the person who demonstrates strong preferences for intimate social interaction and engagement. It is believed that these individuals are more inclined towards working in groups and learning while interacting with others. Finally, naturalist intelligence is expressed in one's ability to observe and accurately discern elements of the natural world (Dunn et.al 2001, Denig (2004) & Shearer, 2004).

Based on Gardner's theory, intelligence becomes more than a score received on the typical paper and pencil tests administered in schools. These tests do not measure the unique talents of an athlete, musician, artist, or chess player. Gardner (1999) orates that these individuals exhibit intelligences that cannot be measured by these standardized tests. Gardner (1999, as cited in Denig, 2004, p. 98-99) identifies eight criteria that must be met in order for a potential to be identified as intelligence:

1. It must be rooted in the brain, so that an injury to the brain could rob a person of that specific potential (e.g., a blow to the head causing loss of linguistic ability).
2. It must be rooted in our evolutionary history, such that our early ancestors exhibited that potential 9e.g., early humans has the naturalistic ability to discriminate among the different species of plants).
3. There has to be an identifiable core operation or set of operations associated with that potential (e.g., pitch, rhythm, etc. are core operations of musical ability).
4. It must be susceptible to being encoded in symbols (e.g., mathematical symbols).
5. It must possess a distinctive developmental path to become expert in that ability (e.g. trained clinicians with strong interpersonal skills).
6. It is exemplified by the existence of idiot savants, prodigies, and other exceptional people (e.g. Rainman's mathematical ability).
7. There is evidence from experimental psychology that the ability is distinct from other abilities (e.g., a person can walk and talk at the same time because the two abilities evidence different abilities – linguistic and kinesthetic).
8. It is supported by psychometric findings (e.g., a major league athlete might score high in ability hit a ball but low in the ability to hit a note).

While many postulate that the theory of multiple intelligence is not supported by much experimental research, Gardner (1993b, p. 33) states that, "While multiple Intelligences theory is consistent with much

empirical evidence, it has not been subjected to strong experimental tests…. Within the area of education, the applications of the theory are currently being examined in many projects. Our hunches will have to be revised many times in light of actual classroom experience." Denig (2004, p.99-100) notes the existence of an acute amount of support for the concept of multiple intelligences. He also affords us with some strengths of the theory and it's relationship to the learning process:

- It serves as impetus of reform in our schools, "leading to a reevaluation of those subjects typically taught in school, with increased emphasis placed on the arts, nature, physical culture, and other topics traditionally limited to the periphery of the curriculum" (Armstrong, 2003, p. 4 as cited in Denig, 2004).
- It is child centered and develops children's innate potential rather than requiring them to master extraneous academic information.
- It encourages children to grow and to develop their potential as responsible human beings.
- It challenges educators to find "ways that will work for this student learning this topic" (Gardner, 1999, p. 154 as cited in Denig, 2004).

The theory of Multiple Intelligences provides a theoretical foundation for recognizing and acknowledging the unique talents and strengths of minority student in urban communities. This theory concedes that while all students may not be gifted in verbal or mathematical skills, they may be gifted in other areas, such as music, rhythm, art, spatial relations, or interpersonal knowledge. Affording opportunities for students to learn in these modes allows a broader spectrum of students to succeed in classroom learning.

Learning Styles Theory

Just as there are many proponents of multiple intelligences (Gardner 1993b, Shearer 2004, Kagan 1998) there are many proponents of learning styles (Denig, 2004, Snow, Corno and Jackson, 1996). The two terms are often used interchangeably, however they represent two different constructs. Ken and Rita Dunn have written several books and manuscripts describing the way in which individuals learn differently from each other and the other members of their families. Their research, conducted at the St. John's University's Center for the Study of Learning and Teaching Styles encompasses three decades of experimental research with the Dunn and Dunn Learning-Style Model. The data supports research on academic underachievers who were taught both new and difficult content utilizing instructional strategies that supported their learning style strengths. The results indicated statistically higher standardized achievement scores than they did when the approach did not

reflect their learning style (Dunn & DeBello, 1999). These results support the notion of curriculum being taught differently to individuals who learn differently.

The Dunns (1993, 1999) define learning style as how a person deliberates on the process, internalize, and retain new and difficult academic content. The model addresses 21 unique elements that are classified into five variables: psychological, environmental, emotional, sociological, and physiological.

Persons that are characterized as having a psychological learning style process academic information analytically, globally or as an integrated learner. They prefer to learn in a step-by-step sequence, through and understanding of the relationship of the content to themselves, or by having an interest in the topic. Those individuals preferring the environmental style focus on the type of lighting, sound, temperature, and physical seating while focusing on academic content. Emotional style learners are either persistent in completing a given task or rely on specific directives from teachers or peers to provide structure. Sociological learners are characterized as those that prefer to study alone, some with peers and others need an authority figure. Physiological learners are described as learners who prefer auditory stimuli, while others prefer visual cues, and still others prefer tactile constructs. Times of day, eating habits and movement from place to place are also characteristics of physiological learning styles (Dunn & Dunn, 1993). Each person can be taught how to study and concentrate on specific content structures by focusing on their unique learning style. (Denig, 2004). The Dunns have proposed Contract Activity Packages, Programmed Learning Sequences, Tactile and Kinesthetic Resources and Multisensory Instructional Packages that can be used by a variety of learners to capitalize on their particular strength.

Learning styles theory indicates that all learners not only have a primary learning style, they have a secondary style that is employed to emphasize initial learning (Denig, 2004). These learning styles are determined through various age appropriate instruments (www.learningstyles.net). According to Dunn et.al (2001) "the Dunn model focuses on identifying individuals' preferences for specific instructional environments, strategies, and resources, and the extent to which each approach either fosters or inhibits academic achievement." Learning styles theory emphasizes the importance of employing teaching strategies to accommodate the varied learning styles of the students they teach. This is an intricate charge that requires one to respond to 20-30 or more individuals with different learning styles.

Both Gardner and the Dunns suggest that educators should change the way they teach. Gardner stresses the importance of capitalizing on students' abilities or the product, while Dunn advocates for focusing on

students learning styles or the process in which they are taught (Denig, 2004). Multiple intelligences researchers advocate that methodology that effectively supports the intuitive way in which individuals learn during classroom instruction needs reform. Learning styles proponents concur, though suggesting that teachers use different instructional resources that support the various ways each individual learns best.

Multiple Intelligence Research

Research indicates that the theory of multiple intelligences has inspired hundreds of reform efforts that sought to infuse MI instructional strategies into elementary students' classroom learning structures and experiences (Campbell & Campbell, 1999). Much of this work was summarized in a special issue of Teachers College Record Journal (January 2004). Presented were several teacher/educator based initiatives that sought to expose students of varying developmental levels to multiple intelligence instruction. The papers contained brief descriptions of the multiple intelligence strategies used throughout the initiative. Also presented were descriptive and anecdotal results that were linked to the presence and demonstrated utility of multiple intelligences instructional strategies. For example, Hoerr (2004) explains that a large majority of students in his school "average many years above grade level on standardized tests". He goes on to report that many of the students exposed to multiple intelligence instruction throughout their elementary school years enjoy academic success at the secondary level as well. Additional work has shown how multiple intelligences were successfully incorporated into another school's organizational infrastructure (Shearer, 2004). The reported findings suggested that all educational stakeholders-students, teachers and parents-benefit from the use of multiple intelligence instructional and organizational strategies. Similar findings have been submitted in additional work (Diaz-LeFebvre, 2004; Kornhaber, 2004).

Several methodological issues are present throughout these works. A major concern is the ability to replicate the procedures used in incorporating multiple intelligence strategies in classroom instruction. In particular, it is not clear from these reports whether one or all forms of intelligence were used throughout MI based instruction. Also, the authors do not discuss teachers' training or experience using multiple intelligence instruction nor is there a discussion of how these instructional strategies were maintained throughout different class activities and with different academic subjects. Another major issue in those papers was the absence of empirical data to support the stated academic performance gains yielded by students exposed to multiple intelligence strategies. For instance, Kallenbach and Viens (2004) wrote that the presence and utilization of MI instructional strategies helped to

"make learning more meaningful or relevant to students." Similarly, Kornhaber (2004), in her report of a larger, longitudinal study of MI instruction, found that nearly 80% of the schools (in the study) reported improvements in student standardized test performance. Only half of the school personnel attributed change in test performance to students' exposure to MI instruction.

While the results of these studies show promise for many educators and practitioners, educational researchers are limited in their ability to draw favorable conclusions because of several statistical and internal validity concerns. For instance, in both research studies, there is no indicated performance baseline or control group to which performance under multiple intelligences instruction is compared. Without knowing-by way of quantitative measurement-students' conceptualizations of learning before they are exposed to MI instruction, researchers have no way of determining-with certainty-whether students' attitudes towards and conceptualizations of learning were a function of multiple intelligence instructional reform. Furthermore, that 80% of participating schools found improvement in student standardized performance does not allow one to confidently conclude that this was a function of exposure to MI instructional strategies. The fact that only half of the participating schools themselves attributed improvements to MI strategies suggests that other elements may have equally produced the said findings. Finally, it would be interesting to determine whether MI instructional strategies produced stronger academic performance effects among ethnic-, gender- and grade-heterogeneous student participants.

In all, the effects of multiple intelligence instructional strategies on student performance have been found across a variety of research investigations. Yet, researchers need to exercise more standardization and other control procedures in order to more accurately assess the effects produced by such instructional practices. That is, there is a need to employ rigorous methodological controls so that error variability will be minimized and a more reliable assessment of MI instructional effects on academic performance can be made. To address these issues, the present study uses a fully randomized, experimental design.

The present research study sought to discern any differences in mathematics performance resulting from two forms of classroom instruction. We expected participants to endorse multiple intelligence strategies significantly more than direct instruction. The transformation of multiple intelligence concepts to operationalize instructional strategies and learning tools in formal learning settings has already been made (Kagan, 2000).

Methodology

Sample

Two hundred and thirteen (N=213) low-income African American (N=136) and Latino (N= 77) students participated in the study. Ninety-four students were in the third grades and 119 in fifth grades. There were 108 female and 105 male students. Students were sampled from three elementary schools located in urban, low-income, communities in the Northeastern portion of the United States. Each of the schools was randomly selected for participation in the study. Ninety-five percent of the students across the three schools received free or reduced lunch and 70% were at or below basic in mathematics achievement standards. Two 3rd grade classrooms and two 5th grade classrooms (in each school) were randomly selected from a pool of four 3rd grade and four 5th grade classrooms. Each classroom in the study had approximately 17-25 students. Classrooms were randomly assigned to one of two instructional types, traditional instruction and multiple intelligence instruction.

To carry out instruction, twelve teachers (four at each school) were asked by school leadership to participate in the study. Teachers participating in the study were drawn from staffs that were 95% African American at both schools. There were ten female teachers and two male teachers. Ten of the teachers were African Americans, one was European American and one, Asian American. Eight of the teachers had less than three years of teaching experience, while four of them had ten years of experience in classroom teaching.

Instrumentation

A grade-level appropriate multiplication test was used to assess the effects of the type of instruction on student math performance. Items on the instrument were adapted from the Enright Computation Series (2002), which has been used by 3rd through 5th grade math teachers at the sites. Two independent, 20-item multiple-choice tests were created to examine performance before and after the intervention. Scores on both tests ranged from 0-20, with higher scores indicating more items correctly responded to. Content validity was established by administering the pre and post-test exams to two certified mathematics instructors. These teachers, who were not participants in the study, scored the items on both tests to determine if they were appropriate for third and fifth grade students. Inter-rater reliability for the measure was .89. Pilot testing of each grade level pre and posttest yielded internal homogeneity averages of .85 (3rd grade pretest) and .89 (5th grade pretest).

Procedures

The researchers teams obtained a letter of agreement to conduct research from the principal and bilingual consent forms were then sent to the parents of students whose classroom teachers were identified as

participants in the intervention. Teachers had no previous experience with multiple intelligence instructional strategies.

Intervention

The intervention was conducted over a seven-week period. Mathematics lessons were instructed daily using MI strategies or traditional instruction. Multiple intelligence lessons included the use of a variety of manipulatives, co-operative student simulations of mathematics scenarios, creating diagrams and illustrations of arrays and patterns, playing multiplication memory games, development of rhythms, songs, raps and chants that were implemented in the teaching of the mathematics content. Students were responsible for using these strategies to comprehend the content instead of being directed by the teacher (see Appendix A for sample lesson). Traditional direct instruction lessons included only teacher lead discussions, demonstrations and student practice using a variety of workbooks and worksheets. Individually, students were allowed to use manipulatives to assist with solving worksheet activities. Prior to the intervention, the researcher visited each classroom to become familiar with the students and the class routine. Classroom instruction was carried out in the manner that teachers would normally conduct class for a period of two weeks. In this two-week period, the researcher observed teachers' baseline instructional practices to ensure that they were not using MI strategies prior to the study. A checklist on multiple intelligence instruction was used to ensure that the researcher's judgments about the observed instructional practice were correct.

In addition, an outside trainer conducted a one-hour Multiple Intelligence workshop at each school and a 30-minute weekly follow-up training for the teachers implementing MI instructional strategies. During these sessions the teachers shared their lessons for the next week and were provided suggestions of additional MI activities that they could implement if needed. The lessons were written based on the mathematics curriculum as assigned by the school district and specifically covered the multiplication content to be covered during a three-week period. Discussions on effectiveness of activities were also discussed during this time. The trainer also met with the traditional instruction teachers for a 30-minute time period each week to discuss their lessons and verify that they were not using any other method of instruction outside to direct teaching. Three units on multiplying one digit by one and two digits with and without regrouping were taught by the third grade teachers, while the fifth grade teachers taught units on multiplying one digit by one, two and three digits as well as multiplying two digits by two and three digits.

Training of Observers

The researcher recruited and trained six graduate students (two at each school) to perform classroom observations. The purpose of the observations was to ensure that multiple intelligence instructional strategies were carried out in the same way during the intervention period. The observation training was a 2-hour training period, which consisted of viewing videotapes of classrooms and writing observations. The observers were trained on what to look for in the classroom and how to write the observation reports. Observers observed classrooms for 40-45 minute intervals daily. To assist with gathering information from the classrooms, observers also used audio tape recordings with the permission of teachers and parents. An inter-observer coefficient of .95 between observers indicated more confidence in reliable observations among the observers.

Week One. Both 3rd and 5th grade teachers were randomly assigned to a teaching condition, multiple intelligence or traditional instruction. The trainer conducted a one-hour workshop on Multiple Intelligence instructional strategies for the MI group. Concept specific mathematics lessons were created using either MI or traditional teaching methods.

Week Two. The teachers administered the mathematics pretest in each of their classrooms for a forty-five minute timed period.

Weeks Three – Five. Implementation of 3rd and 5th grade mathematics lessons in MI classrooms included using a variety of music, bodily / kinesthetic, visual / spatial, and inter and intrapersonal techniques demonstrated through visual drawings, simulated demonstrations, raps, chants, games and manipulatives. Third and 5th grade mathematics lessons in the traditional instruction classrooms included teacher lecture, demonstration, and student individual worksheet practice with the use of manipulatives if needed. Follow-up sessions by the trainer were conducted with each group on a weekly basis during this time as well.

Week Six. The teachers administered the mathematics posttest in each of their classrooms for a forty-five minute timed period.

Week Seven. At the conclusion of the study, the researcher conducted individual interviews with each of the teachers participating in the study, in an effort to gain in-sight of their perspectives of students' performance, participation and academic outcome. The researcher also hoped to gain insight on the teachers' ideals with regard to using multiple intelligences strategies in the future.

Results

A five-way repeated measure analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to determine the effects of grade (3rd and 5th), gender (male

and female), test (pre and post-test), ethnicity (African American and Latino) and instructional strategy (multiple intelligence and traditional) on math performance. Test served as the repeated measure in the analysis. A significant effect for test emerged F (1,197) = 353.03, p <. 01, eta squared = .64 with post-test performance being significantly higher (X=12.13) than pre-test performance (X=6.47). This effect was qualified by several interactions emerging from the data analysis. To begin, there was significant two-way interaction between time and instruction F (1,197) = 138.56, p<. 01, eta squared = .41. In an effort to understand why the ANOVA yielded a significant F, a Scheffe post hoc analysis was conducted. Huck (2000) describes the Scheffe post hoc analysis as a pairwise comparison, which makes adjustments in size of the critical values used to determine whether an observed difference between two means is significant. This analysis is the most robust post hoc analysis available. Scheffe post hoc analyses revealed no significant difference in performance between multiple intelligence and direct instruction experimental conditions at pre-test (X=5.41 and X=7.51, respectively). A significant difference, however, did emerge between student performance means at post test, with students in the multiple intelligence conditions scoring significantly higher than students in the direct instruction condition (X=14.56 and X=9.77, respectively). Further, a three-way interaction between test, ethnicity and instruction type emerged F (1,197) = 7.48, p<. 01, eta squared = .04.

TABLE 1
Descriptive Statistics for Three-Way Interaction (Instruction Type, Ethnicity, and Test)

Type of Instruction	Ethnicity	Pre	Post
Multiple Intelligence (MI)	*Total*	*5.04*	*14.56*
	African American	5.77	14.11
	Latino	4.83	15.30
Traditional Instruction (TI)	*Total*	*8.24*	*9.77*
	African American	6.98	9.42
	Latino	8.51	10.43

Scheffe post hoc analyses revealed that African American and Latino students in the MI instruction conditions performed significantly better on the math posttest (X=14.11 and X=15.3, respectively) than on the pretest (X=5.77 and 4.82, respectively). No significant differences between pre and post, test performance emerged for those students in the direct instruction condition. Significant differences also emerged between MI instruction and direct instruction posttest performance for

students in each ethnic group. Here, African American students in the MI instructional condition significantly outperformed African American students in the direct instruction condition. Similarly, Latino MI students significantly outperformed Latino students in the direct instruction condition. Posttest performance differences between African American and Latino MI students were negligible as were those between African American and Latino direct instruction students. Equally noteworthy is the finding that Latino students in the MI instruction condition demonstrated the strongest performance gains from pre to posttest. Specifically, posttest scores yielded for Latino students were almost four times higher than their pretest scores. African American students in the MI instruction condition also showed significant gains, although they were not as strong as those for Latino MI students.

Correlation analyses were also computed to determine the relationship between the identified student factors and performance on the math posttest. Although significant correlations did not emerge between posttest and ethnicity, they did emerge between posttest and instructional type ($r = -.46$, $p < .01$). These correlations reveal that the students obtained higher scores on the math posttest. Also, students in the traditional instruction yielded lower scores on the posttest. Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics; Table 2 presents the correlation coefficients and Figure 1 depicts the interaction.

TABLE 2

Correlation Matrix for Grade, Gender, Ethnicity, Instruction Type and Post-Test: All students

	Grade	Gender	Ethnicity	Instruction Type	Post-Test
Grade	-	-.08	-.02	-.04	-.01
Gender		-	.02	.01	.02
Ethnicity			-	-.04	.12
Instruction Type				-	-.46**
Post-Test					-

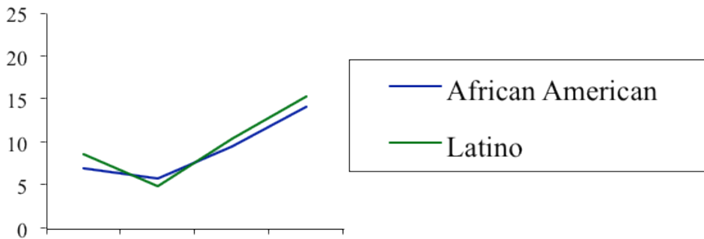
* = significant at .05; = **significant at .01

Discussion

The results of the present study suggest that students placed at-risk for academic failure greatly benefit from the multiple intelligence teaching strategies (Gardner, 1991). The performance findings mirror those obtained in other studies (Campbell, 1997; Hoerr, 2004; Kornbaker, 2004). For instance, Campbell (1997) found that students who were able to use multiple intelligences had little difficulty learning geometric concepts. Other research has produced similar findings (Clements, 2001). In the current study, students taught multiplication through multiple intelligence instruction significantly increased their

posttest mathematics scores by the end of the seven-week intervention period. The strength of this finding, yielded by the reported effect size of .41, also suggests that the interaction effect between these two variables was robust. The finding that students in the MI condition had the highest performance average on the posttest suggests the power of multiple intelligence instruction. The absence of gender or grade effects illustrates the utility of MI instruction for students of all grades.

Figure 1
Three Way Interaction Between Test, Ethnicity and Instruction Type



One reason for this enhanced performance is that the multiple intelligence math instruction provided students with an opportunity to use manipulatives, create diagrams and illustrations, play games, write and sing a variety of songs, and use their bodies to act out situations and mathematical scenarios. Students in this condition were also given an opportunity to work with partners and in small group settings where they could share ideas and learn with or from each other. By incorporating and building upon students' multiple intelligences-which are consistent with the cultural values this population of students are socialized to accept-a deeper and richer understanding of mathematical concepts emerged. Some researchers have even linked conceptually the various modes of Gardner's multiple intelligence to the specific cultural themes extant in African American students' home environment (Ford, 2004). For instance, Table 3 presents a comparison of Howard Gardner's multiple intelligences with A. Wade Boykin's conceptualization of the cultural value orientations permeating the out-of-school socialization experiences of many African American youth (see Boykin, 1986 for a discussion of the cultural themes). As Kagan (1998) and several others purport, academic motivation is enhanced when teachers begin to build on students' intellectual and cultural strengths during academic instruction. This can eventually lead to increased academic and personal self-esteem and heightened academic success.

TABLE 3
Culturally Responsive Teaching Strategies: Comparison between Gardner & Boykin adopted by Ford (2004)

Gardner	Boykin

Multiple Intelligences	*Afro-Centric Expression*	**Teaching Strategies and Products**
Bodily Kinesthetic	Movement Harmony Verve Expressive Individualism	• Creative movement (mime, drama, dance, tableau techniques—body used to communicate) • Hands-on thinking; manipulative (i.e. sculpting) • Role plays, simulations theatre • Field trips • Physical activity • Sports and games • Learning centers
Musical	Movement Harmony Verve Expressive individualism	• Singing, humming, whistling, chanting • Curriculum songs (creating melodies, songs, rap, cheers, jingles, etc.) • Background music • Playing instruments • Poetry/poems • Drama
Naturalist	Social time perspective Harmony	• Environmental issues • Social issues • Outdoor activities • Flexible assignments
Visual/ Spatial	Social time perspective Spirituality	• Graphic-rich environment (visuals and graphic organizers, pictures, posters, charts, graphs, diagrams) • Mind mapping (webbing) • Puzzles and games (i.e. Chess) • Patterns • Painting collages • Visual arts
Logical / Mathematical	Oral tradition	• Lectures • Socratic questioning • Scientific investigations & experiments • Logical-sequential assignments (reports, experiments, research) • Problem solving; problem-based lessons • Logical puzzles and games • Competitions • Analogies • Independent study projects
Verbal / Linguistic	Oral tradition Verve Expressive individualism	• Lectures • Seminars • Discussions/Dialogues • Oral presentations & speeches; speakers • Debates • Word games (i.e. idioms, jokes, puns, riddles, homonyms, anagrams, mnemonics) • Poetry • Storytelling • Drama • Reading (choral, peer, individual) • Journal writing • Visualizations
Intrapersonal	Spirituality Harmony	• Independent study • Self-paced, independent instructional assignments • Choices and options; interest-based assignments • Reflection time/opportunity (i.e. journals, poetry)
Interpersonal	Communalism Affective	• Social cooperative learning (i.e. clubs) • Service and community involvement • Conflict mediation • Opportunity to help others (i.e. tutoring, mentoring) • Simulations

Limitations and Future Directions

While the purpose of this study was to investigate the effects of multiple intelligence instruction on student math performance under quasi-experimentally (Creswell, 2005) controlled conditions, several observations limit the generalizability of the findings. For example, a history internal validity threat occurred where researchers were not able

to control for the amount of practice students had with mathematics performance during the intervention period. It is possible that heightened performance on the MI posttest may have been produced by additional practice time, by way of homework assignments or even additional clarification with parents or other family members. Future research should look to more fully standardize the amount of exposure students have to completing experimental tasks. Limiting the amount of mathematics homework students have would address this issue.

Another major limitation lies in the interpretation of the results. In addition to the rather negligible effect size for the time x ethnicity x instruction interaction, the average score for both African American and Latino students in the MI condition was not, by academic standards, optimal, even though they enjoyed significantly higher gains from pretest to posttest than their direct instruction counterparts. Specifically, the average number correct for posttest performance across student ethnic groups was 13 out of 20. When these numbers are converted into percentages, a score of 65 is produced. This, in most elementary school systems, equals a standard grade equivalent of a D (using a 10 point grade scale range). When the multiple intelligence performance scores are further disaggregated by student ethnicity, it is shown that African American students and Latino students did not fare well (14 out of 20 correct =70% =letter grade of C/D) and (15 out of 20 correct = 75% = letter grade of C). In the current study, one hour of in-class MI-instructed mathematics may not have been adequate time to produce academic success. More research is needed to understand how much exposure to MI instructional strategies is necessary in order to produce achievement gains that demonstrate mathematical proficiency and mastery. Additionally, math is but one of several academic subjects learned throughout the typical school day. It would be interesting to understand—through experimental means—the effects MI-based instruction has on additional school subject performance such as language arts, and the social and natural sciences. Finally, much like the Hoerr (2004) work, where the entire school curriculum was fused with MI instruction, future research needs to provide empirical evidence of the effects of such instruction on achievement, while observing a whole-day, experimentally controlled learning condition. Findings that emerge from this work will be able to more strongly speak to the effects of MI instruction on student performance.

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Appendix

Sample Lesson Plan

MULTIPLICATION FUN

Grade: 3rd

Time to complete lesson: 1 session (approx.1hr and 15 min)

Objectives:

The students will be able to:

- ❑ Identify and write products for factors of 6,7, and 9
- ❑ Express products using the order property of multiplication
- ❑ Write facts correctly

Multiple Intelligences

Verbal / Linguistic, Interpersonal, Mathematical / Logical, Visual / Spatial, Bodily / Kinesthetic, Intrapersonal

Materials:

Tag board, bean bags, cut out patterns of shirts, pants and skirts,

Warm – Up Activity

Place a cut out circle on the floor (use tag board to create) divide the circle in to equal sections labeling them from one to nine. Each student will take turns tossing a bean bag into the circle. The student has to say a fact that will equal the product of the number the bean bag landed on (i.e. the bean bag lands on 6; the student may say 2x3 or 1x6 etc). If the student is correct the game continues, if not the teacher guides the students to the correct response and then continues the game. The game continues until each student has had a least one chance.

Key Vocabulary:

Factor

Product

Order property of multiplication

Activities:

❑ Review vocabulary

❑ The teacher will model making arrays for various multiplication problems, discussing rows and columns (i.e. 3 rows by 4 columns = 12). She will write examples on the chalkboard and ask various students for their response.

❑ The teacher will also demonstrate how to find products of six by doubling products of three, asking various students to provide responses and she goes along.

❑ Divide the class into three groups according to ability (high, medium, and low).

❑ Group one: (low)

o Students will be given cut out patterns of pants, shirts, and skirts. They will organize the items of clothing in arrays (mixing and matching) to solve multiplication facts (three pants x three shirts) equal nine outfits.

o They will write their answers on notebook paper.

- Next, this group must draw funny facts for 6, 7, and 9

❑ Group two:

- Each group will be given a set of facts on sentence strips and a set of products on another; they are to match strips to find the answers to the problems, playing the game like concentration.
- The checker will check answers by discussing with the group and if needed use a multiplication table.
- Next, this group must create an “I am, who has” game using facts for 6, 7, and 9.

❑ Group three:

- Using a number cube and counters, the students will take turns rolling the cube, whichever number comes up first is the first number in the problem, the next person (pair) rolls and their number is the second number, the group is to now multiply the two numbers together and solve the problem. (5-10 minutes)
- Next, this group must create a song (to perform for the class) that explains how they solved the problems.

❑ Items that are not complete may be finished at the beginning of the lesson the next day or the teacher may assign various components for each person in each group to complete for homework.

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Preparing Urban Teachers to Integrate Technology for Instruction: Challenges and Strategies

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This paper focuses on the challenges faced by faculty in the urban teacher preparation programs, particularly in the area of technology integration by pre-service and in-service teachers in their classroom instruction. The paper discusses the issues of first-order barriers (access to technology, infrastructure support) and second-order barriers (perceptions and attitudes toward technology, motivation to integrate technology), that impede successful technology integration in an urban classroom. Strategies to overcome these barriers are further discussed in detail, which provide teachers with finding a balance between learning technology skills and applying these skills to fit their pedagogical beliefs of meaningful technology integration.

Introduction

This paper focuses on two faculty member's experiences related to teaching urban teachers to integrate technology within their instruction. To provide contextually grounded perspectives from the two faculty members, this paper first reviews literature on technology integration in the teacher preparation programs and describes the context of the urban setting, i.e., the Charter College of Education (CCOE) at California State University, Los Angeles (CSULA). The description is followed by pertinent information on an instructional technology course and characteristics of urban student teachers, focusing on their technology competencies and attitudes toward using technology for instruction. This paper then moves on to discuss instructional strategies employed by the two faculty members to overcome two types of challenges, and to offer perspectives within the context of relevant theoretical conversations and findings from other studies. This paper then concludes with recommendations and considerations for preparing urban teachers to use technology for instruction.

Technology Integration in the Teacher Preparation Programs

In order to understand the technology integration perspectives of the two faculty and their challenges, it is necessary to first examine the literature related to technology integration in K-12 schools as well as teacher preparation programs across the United States of America (U.S.A). One of the definitions given by the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES, 2002b) described technology integration

as "the incorporation of technology resources and technology-based practices into daily routines, work, and management of schools. Technology resources are computers and specialized software, network-based communication systems, and other equipment and infrastructure. Practices include collaborative work and communication, Internet-based research, remote access to instrumentation, network-based transmission and retrieval of data, and other methods" (p.75). In the last decade, computers and Internet technologies have become a common feature in the school landscape. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES, 2005), nearly 100 percent of public schools in the United States had access to the Internet in fall 2003. Public schools have made consistent progress in expanding Internet access in instructional rooms (classrooms, computer and other labs, library/media centers, and any other rooms used for instructional purposes) from 3 percent in 1994 to 93 percent in 2003. In 2003, 95 percent of the public schools used broadband connections to access the Internet. Studies have shown that K-12 schools have reached critical mass with regard to access to computers and the Internet (Morrison, Lowther, & DeMeulle, 1999; Tharp, 1997) and hence teachers and teacher educators are turning their attention away from the adoption decision (to use or not to use computers) to the implementation process (when and how to use computers in meaningful ways) (Ertmer, 1999).

The Preparing Tomorrow's Teachers to Use Technology (PT3) grants funded by the U.S. Department of Education is a large scale initiative intended to address the technology integration issue at a systemic level. This effort is also clearly evident by various national organizations, such as International Society for Technology in Education (ISTE) and National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) that have developed specific performance indicators to evaluate implementation of technology integration standards. All NCATE accredited teacher education programs must be able to demonstrate the ways in which they prepare teacher candidates to use educational technology to help all students learn (NCATE, 2000). Colleges of Education must provide a "conceptual understanding of how knowledge, skills, and dispositions related to educational and information technology are integrated throughout the curriculum, instruction, field experiences, clinical practice, assessments, and evaluations" (NCATE, 2002, p. 7). Similarly, the National Educational Technology Standards for Teachers (NETS•T) developed by ISTE define six standards areas for all classroom teachers as follows (http://cnets.iste.org/teachers/t_stands.html):

1. Teachers demonstrate a sound understanding of technology operations and concepts.
2. Teachers plan and design effective learning environments and experiences supported by technology.

3. Teachers implement curriculum plans that include methods and strategies for applying technology to maximize student learning.
4. Teachers apply technology to facilitate a variety of effective assessment and evaluation strategies.
5. Teachers use technology to enhance their productivity and professional practice.
6. Teachers understand the social, ethical, legal, and human issues surrounding the use of technology and apply that understanding in practice.

The ISTE NETS•T have served as the corner stone of educational technology curricula across teacher preparation programs in the nation, and attempts have been made to infuse these standards to fulfill the NCATE requirements. Despite these efforts, research has indicated a general lack of confidence among pre-service and in-service teachers with regard to their ability to effectively integrate technology into their classrooms or to be able to use technology in innovative ways (Office of Technology Assessment, OTA, 1995; Willis, Thompson & Sadera., 1999). According to the U.S. Department of Education (1998), only five percent of the K-12 teaching force is estimated to have effectively integrated technology within their everyday practice. A survey by the NCES (1999) indicated that approximately one-third of teachers reported feeling prepared to integrate educational technology into classroom instruction. Since most pre-service and in-service teachers today have had little experience with integrated technology classrooms, they typically have few images or models on which to build their own visions of an integrated classroom (Beichner, 1993; Ertmer, 1999; Hannafin, 1999; Kerr, 1996). These issues of inadequate technology integration models and lacking confidence among pre-service teachers further get magnified with urban inner city teachers that often have fewer technological resources, support, and training opportunities. The inequity in technology access and teacher preparation has a significant effect on urban students' future lives. It is therefore a pressing issue to prepare urban teachers to effectively integrate technology into their instruction.

Context of the Urban Setting

Since 1993, the Charter College of Education (CCOE) at California State University, Los Angeles (CSULA) has operated as the first Charter College of Education in the nation. Because the campus is located in the heart of metropolitan Los Angeles, the CCOE programs reflect concern with the problems and challenges of urban education with particular emphasis on linguistic and cultural diversity. The CCOE is accredited by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). This accreditation covers both initial teacher preparation programs and advanced educator preparation programs. One

aspect of the accreditation involves meeting the National (ISTE NETS) and State technology standards. The teacher preparation programs in the CCOE at CSULA provide single and multiple subject teaching credentials to a large number of teachers every year and is rated number one college in the state preparing bilingual teachers. A recent study (2002) published by the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing indicated that CSULA ranks as California's top public university in terms of the number of candidates being awarded a teaching credential—more than the combined total of the eight University of California Campuses and more than any of the other CSU campuses (a one-year total of 1080 teaching credentials and approximately 500 credentials for other education professionals).

Most of these teachers are either already employed or work for the schools within the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). CCOE has approximately 2500-2550 (each quarter, according to the 2004 NCATE report) student teachers comprised of various ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups. The school enrollment of students comprises of 70% women and 30% men and is culturally diverse, having a student population that is approximately 50% Latino, 21% Caucasian, 13% Asian/Pacific Islander, 6% African-American, and 2% international students. Almost 15% of the student population comes from out-of-state or foreign institutions.

Due to its urban setting, the CCOE's mission is to "enable educators to meet high standards and ensure maximum learning and achievement potentials of culturally and linguistically diverse urban learners". In its effort to fulfill the mission, the college provides resources and support to all the students in the College of Education that will enable them to be in the forefront of the technological era. There are seven computers labs within the CCOE, including five PC labs and two Macintosh labs. In addition, the college has recently wired all classrooms and wireless laptop computers are available to check out for instructors and students to use. One of the college's priorities in recent technology developments has been providing technology support personnel to its faculty. As a result, CCOE has its own technology support team and an instructional technology specialist to assist faculty in integrating technology for instruction.

Instructional Setting

All student teachers in the credential program in the Charter College of Education are required to meet technology standards and competencies as mandated by NETS and NCATE. The course, *EDIT 430 Information Technologies in the Classrooms,* offered by the Instructional Technology Master's Program within the CCOE, is designed to meet these technology standards required for California Level II teaching

credentials. The purpose of the course is to prepare pre-serve and in-service teachers to integrate technology into their (future) classrooms. The following are the some of the important performance standards that are required of the students enrolled in this class:

1. Promote effective use of technology that is aligned with national, state and school district technology and curriculum standards.
2. Use computer applications to manage records (use and manage gradebook programs, school record keeping software) and use technology as tool for assessing student learning and providing feedback to students and their parents.
3. Use computer based collaborative tools such as e-mail, online chats, and threaded discussion groups to collaborate with peers, resource specialists, and others to plan and implement instruction, engage in site-based planning, etc.
4. Use established selection criteria to evaluate electronic materials and resources and help their students to assess the authenticity, reliability, and bias of electronic information resources and data.
5. Design, adapt, and implement lessons that develop information literacy and problem-solving skills as tools for lifelong learning.
6. Use technology to increase students' ability to plan, locate, evaluate, select, and use information to solve problems and draw conclusions.
7. Use and evaluate electronic portfolios for professional growth and for evaluating their students' work.
8. Discuss technology issues for students with disabilities including IEPs, assistive technology, accessibility, and diverse student learning needs, legislation, and classroom applications.

Delivery Mode of the Class:

EDIT 430 Information Technologies in the Classrooms has been offered by the two faculty members in three delivery formats: face-to-face, online (80-90% online), and hybrid (40-60% online). The class is designed in a way to make it easier for the students to access information and understand the weekly classroom activities, readings, and assignments via WebCT, which is used as a course management tool with all three delivery formats.

Course Content:

EDIT 430 is taught over 11 weeks and hence the class is organized to include 11 weekly learning modules. All the weekly modules are carefully structured with step-by-step description of the tasks involved and a detailed process describing how each of those tasks would be completed (see Appendix A). Other resources such as project examples,

online resources, and detailed performance based rubrics are also provided. Communications such as e-mail, discussions, chat, and hosting of students papers and projects are all conducted via WebCT.

The Student Teachers

The student teachers in the EDIT 430 class are required to complete their level II technology competencies in order to get their teaching credential and hence many of the students take this class as a program requirement. Initially, many of these students come with mixed feelings toward the class and are very skeptical about what they will be learning in the class, how they will apply it to their classroom setting and whether the class will be difficult. They vary to a great extent with their prior computer experience, level of computer expertise, and attitudes toward computers. On the one extreme, there are a number of fluent computer users. They are usually independent explorers, actively experimenting on the various computer programs available in the labs throughout the course. On the other extreme, some students display little understanding in operating the computer. Some of these students even have little experience with keyboarding. They do not feel confident about their ability to learn about computers, and their endeavors and struggles to work with computer applications are especially apparent during the first few weeks of the class. Another characteristic that describes the student teachers in this class is their different levels of access to computers at work or home. Some students have access to a computer at home and at schools where they teach or are involved with their field experiences, whereas there are few students who still do not have access to computers at home or at work. Also those that have access to computers do not have the most current software installed.

Challenges and Strategies

Challenges:

The challenges faced by the two faculty teaching EDIT 430 have several commonalities, and hence both faculty collaborated to enlist the issues and find appropriate solutions, to help the student teachers integrate technology in a meaningful way during their student teaching and in their future classroom instructions. As described by Ertmer (1999), there are two types of barriers to technology integration: *first-order barriers* to technology integration are described as being extrinsic to teachers and include lack of access to computers and software, insufficient time to plan instruction, and inadequate technical and administrative support. In contrast, *second-order barriers* are intrinsic to teachers and include beliefs about teaching, beliefs about computers, established classroom practices, and unwillingness to change.

First-order barriers. On the surface, the challenges faced by the faculty with their EDIT 430 students were extrinsic, rooted in the first-order barriers. Such barriers often become more complicated by many technical problems encountered by urban teacher learners, such as improper computer operations and maintenance problems associated with sharing of computers, inadequate home/work computer memory capacity, insufficient computer access, outdated software technology at home or work, and inadequate technical support at work. Since many student teachers come from a low-income group and teach in inner-city schools of Los Angeles with inadequate access to current computers and software, they do not have adequate experience in troubleshooting computer related problems. The only time they have access to latest software tools and a computer is during their class time on campus or if they work in the open access labs at CSULA. Once they are home or at work the students have difficulty completing their projects due to lack of current software tools or computers per se.

Many students in the EDIT 430 still use 31/2 inch floppy disks to save their projects as many cannot afford to buy the high-capacity USB storage devices that approximately cost $ 30-40 along with the cost of the textbook (around $ 60-70) for the class. However, the class requires them to learn web design, create multi-media based PowerPoint presentations, download digital pictures and graphics, etc., which require large storage capacity. Since multi-media integration requires enormous storage space, it lends to several difficulties, particularly when students lack a clear understanding of optimizing graphics and other media with regard to their file size. Overall, inadequate computer memory capacity seems to be one of the major sources of problem, as most student teachers get very creative and excited about incorporating graphic images and other multimedia into their projects.

Another persistent challenge for both instructors in teaching EDIT 430 is for the students to acquire both a conceptual and working understanding of file folder management. Students do not understand the concept of organizing files into folders so as to make them easily accessible. This makes it difficult for them to work on different computers in various settings, since the files are not saved properly on their storage device or is lost within their storage device among many other files that are randomly saved with improper file names and extensions.

Second-order barriers. Technical problems compounded with the lack of resources at home or at work undoubtedly contribute to student teachers' perceptions of using computers for learning and instruction. Consequently, both the faculty agree that the first order barriers with the urban teachers manifest into second-order barriers as teachers get really frustrated with using technology and do not see the pedagogical fit of

integrating technology in their classrooms. They may be aware of the potential benefits of using computers for teaching and learning, but remain skeptical about the technological resources available to them to create meaningful technology integrated learning environments. The student teachers become even more frustrated and feel inadequate in class if they find their peers who can demonstrate excellent technical skills and have access to all resources within their school districts or at home. This schism between the haves and have-nots that exists in urban schools clearly brings out the issue of digital divide. This gap was recently identified under social economic descriptors, across ethnic backgrounds, education levels, languages, and demographic locations (rural, suburban, or urban) (Bowman, 2005).

Since second-order barriers are intrinsic to teachers and include beliefs about teaching and established classroom practices, the major challenge faced by the faculty is moving students to a higher level of learning with the technology which entails the paradigm of constructivist learning. Technology is merely a tool and effective integration is to move away from mimicking traditional pedagogy of using technologies as teaching machines (Cuban, 1968). The ways that we use technologies in schools must change from their traditional role of technology-as-teacher to technology-as-partner in the learning process (Jonassen, Peck & Wilson., 1999) and create learning environments that are meaningful and authentic for the learners. The following strategies were used by the two faculty to help the student teachers understand how to use technology tools to make their life as a teacher more productive and aligned with the skills required for the fast-paced technological era.

Strategies:

Several of the students' barriers to integrating technology stem from the first-order barriers to which the faculty has limited control. However, the two faculty teaching EDIT 430 have adopted several strategies to alleviate, if not all, at least some of the first-order barriers and consequently address the second-order barriers related to attitudes toward technology. It should be noted that the two types of barriers are interrelated and a more effective and practical strategy would be aiming toward second-order barriers, by inspiring teachers to be creative with new opportunities afforded by technology and use the technological resources at their disposal to encourage active learning in their classrooms. The following highlights some of these strategies:

Providing Teachers with a Conceptual Framework and a Vision. Not only there is an inequity in school computer access and teacher training for technology integration, studies have shown that schools with higher proportion of low socioeconomic status students tend to use technology for low level tasks (e.g., drill and practice) as opposed to student centered

applications used by more affluent schools (George, Malcolm, & Jeffers, 1993; Meyer, 2001). To encourage new ways of using technology in urban schools, it is important to provide teachers with a conceptual framework and a vision for integrating technology into their classrooms. The two faculty adopted Grabe and Grabe (2004) text "*Integrating Technology for Meaningful Learning,*" which provides an activity-based (project-based) model of technology integration. The key themes emphasized throughout the text include: (1) technology integrated into content-area instruction, (2) a tools approach, (3) an active role for students, (4) a facilitative role for teachers, (5) a multidisciplinary approach, and (6) cooperative learning. For both the faculty teaching EDIT 430, the emphasis is centered on shifting from the old paradigm of learning *from* technology to the constructivist paradigm of learning *with* technology, and making technology a partner in creating meaningful learning environments.

Using Peer Modeling and Coaching in a Community of Practice. Based on the concepts of distributed cognition (Perkins, 1992; Pea, 1993), community of practice (Brown & Duguid, 2000), and cognitive apprenticeship (Collins, Brown & Newman, 1989; Collins, Brown, & Holum, 1991), the authors (two faculty) believe that learning is embedded in rich cultural and social contexts. In addition to showing examples of best practices of technology integration, we encourage active sharing and modeling effective technology integration strategies among student teachers with their peers. It is not only effective to allow students teachers to make connection to real-life examples of what can be done in teaching contexts that are similar to their own, but it also helps them to transfer their learning from one situation to another and encourages them to brainstorm creative solutions to maximize the technological resources at their disposal. We also capitalized on peer coaching by inviting skilled computer users to be co-facilitators within the learning community of the classroom. This strategy was used to model to the student teachers how they can benefit from technology expertise of their own students (the new digital generation of learners) in trying out student centered technology projects in their classrooms. Peer modeling and coaching can be done face-to-face or online via email, chat, or threaded discussion. Support from human infrastructure (related to one-on-one help from peers or experts), in the absence of adequate technological infrastructure support (related to accessibility of computers and technical help), is one of the effective strategies used to overcome the second order barriers related to the attitude and beliefs toward technology integration (Javeri, 2003).

Extending Learning with Sustainable Technology Infrastructure Support. According to Ertmer (1999) and empirical evidences (Javeri, 2003), one of the biggest obstacle related to the first order barriers is the

lack of resources and time to explore technology integration practices. Both faculty have made strong endeavors to provide scaffolding to students teachers with detailed instruction of weekly activities, assignments, rubrics, projects, tutorials, and online resources (e.g., videos of best practices) via the use of WebCT as a course management tool. The extensive use of WebCT has extended students' learning while providing them with a strong sense of a learning community. The course is thorough with details and rich resources that could be taught in face-to-face, online (80-90% online) or hybrid (40-60% online) formats. By teaching the class in three formats students are able to choose their mode of learning, and thus addresses some of the first order barriers and enables the faculty to provide one-on-one support (face-to-face and online) to the student teachers.

The 11 week teaching modules includes several open lab times for students to work on their projects if they do not have access to computers or software at home. The faculty have directed them to websites where students can download thirty day trial versions of the software which gives them enough time to complete their class projects. Both faculty have directed students to writing technology grants and get funding for buying computers, and software for their classrooms. The use of WebCT as a course management tool further alleviates the problem of storage capacity. Students can upload their projects on WebCT in the presentation section or e-mail themselves huge files to continue working outside of school as WebCT is accessible 24/7. The students are provided with self-paced step-by-step instructions and tutorials on how to use particular software tool with screen shots (see Appendix A) so that they can learn the software at their own pace and time. As learners feel more in control of their learning, their beliefs and competencies in working with computers gradually increase. For some students, this increased confidence often contributes to a different perception about using computers and their potentials for learning and instruction.

Conclusion

Integrating technology into instruction with limited resources in urban schools is a challenge for most of our teachers in the teacher credential program. The student teachers find themselves in two different worlds when they take classes at CSULA and when they have to go back to their classrooms to implement what they have learned in their technology classes. This paper addresses the key issues associated with the first order and second order barriers and strategies that have been used and successfully implemented in the instructional technology class with pre-service and in-service teachers. Providing a vision, effective modeling, collaboration, human infrastructure support (from peers and faculty), sustainable technology infrastructure support via WebCT and

time to play with the computer tools, opportunities to reflect on their integration practices are some of the strategies that are effective in overcoming the first and second order barriers (Ertmer, 1999, Javeri, 2003). The strategies used by the two faculty in order to help the student teachers overcome their barriers in integrating technology have immensely helped the student teachers in understanding the pedagogical relevance to seamless integration of technology in their classroom instruction. The integration effort of these student teachers in turn will benefit a larger community of students (K-12) who are growing up in the new digital landscape. Preparing students to face the challenges of the dynamic and technologically astute workforce in the 21st century is one ultimate goal of teacher education program (Javeri, 2003).

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Appendix

An Example of a Weekly Module

Week 3: WebPages Assignment
Task: 1. Today you should have completed your brochure and paint assignments and posted them on WebCT on the Discussion/Post your assignment section. 2. Post your views on the discussion board. Reply to your instructor's post by replying to the message. Make sure you address all the questions asked by your instructor on the message. 3. You will learn to create webpages using Microsoft Word.

Process:
Instructions for creating Webpages:

1. There are many web authoring software that allows you to create webpages. For example, the two popular ones are: Microsoft FrontPage and Macromedia Dreamweaver MX 2004. However in this class I will give you instructions on creating webpages using Microsoft Word since it is available on most of the computers. However, feel free to use any type of software you have used before to create webpages (You should know how to use the software). Below is an overview of your assignment.
   - *Overview of the Webpages Assignment:* You will be required to create two webpages. The first one will be your homepage and the second page will be a resource page. On the homepage you could include description about yourself, any graphics (your own picture from webct), any other pictures, a link to the resource page and any other information you want to include. On the resource page include a list of your favorite resources, graphics, any other information, and a link back to your homepage. Details and instructions are provided on the PowerPoint as well as on the handout in the next section.
2. Before you start creating your own webpages, take a look at the examples below.

3. Click here to download the PowerPoint tutorial for creating your webpages (for novices). Click here to download the handout for students who are experts and do not need step-by-step instructions. I would encourage

you to look at both the tutorial and handout. (**Note**: When you click on the PowerPoint tutorial link or the handout link, you will see a pop-up window asking you whether you want to open it or save it. You can either click on open or save. If you click on open, the file will open in the browser and you can view it. However if you click on save, you could save it on your disk/harddrive and then open the file from your disk/hardrive. Please note that these instructions are for PC users and Microsoft office xp). Both the PowerPoint tutorial and handout are just the guidelines. Remember designing webpages is a highly individual and creative process.

4. Here are few examples of personal webpages designed by other students. Some students have gone beyond the minimum requirements. Feel free to try and be creative as long as you meet the grading rubric.
    1. Example 1
    2. Example 2
    3. Example 3
    4. Example 4
    5. Example 5
    6. Example 6
    7. Example 7
    8. Example 8

Evaluation:

Graded as follows:

Click here for the grading rubric. Copy and paste the rubric into Microsoft Word. Complete it and e-mail it to your instructor as an attachment via WebCT.

Total points possible: 24

Next Week Assignment:

1. Post your WebPages on WebCT before the next class (Week 4).
2. E-mail your instructor completed rubric for your webpages.
3. Next week your instructor will review software evaluation guidelines on WebCT.

Seeking Home: Portrait of a Changing Urban Teacher Education Program

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The value of teacher education is being questioned at the same time as schools are facing the challenges of budget shortfalls and unfunded mandates. Efforts to professionalize teaching are being undermined by overly authoritarian control of the curriculum and test-driven reforms. But schools of education do know how to stay the course. This article is a portrait of one teacher education program working with the local community schools to bring about change and to prepare teachers who are culturally competent discipline experts.

Portraiture is a method of inquiry that seeks to illuminate (Lightfoot,1997). It is a qualitative inquiry method with elements of ethnography, case study, and narrative--a blend of aesthetics and empiricism that aims to capture the complexity, dynamics, and subtlety of human experience and organizational life. What follows here is a portrait of the teacher education program at my university. This portrait was created as one of multiple teacher education portraits for an AERA session chaired by Patrick and Karen Jenlink (2005) in April of 2005. The session focused on the question of how teacher education programs are responding to the challenges of preparing teachers to teach in classrooms that are increasingly multiracial and multicultural at the same time as they deal with the politics of federal and/or state mandated accountability and testing. Specifically, the session organizers wanted to know how our urban teacher education programs attempt to prepare teachers to be culturally responsive, politically conscious, and pedagogically concerned with issues of social justice.

The following portrait starts with an exploration of the challenging context of our teacher education work because external forces compel us to do what Neilsen (2006) calls "seeking home." As a learning community, we continually ask "who we are in heart and mind" (p. 25) and right ourselves in relationship to disquieting influences, doing what we can "to be at home in the world." (p. 25) It is a challenge to be at home in this postmodern world where we can grasp the significant relationship that exists between education and the greater society and understand the importance of equity and democracy, but, along with our public school colleagues, experience constant compromises to systems of power and influence over which we have no control. The second part of the portrait highlights how we manage to claim a bit of solid ground in

this constantly changing landscape and create a space where we can help new teachers learn to interrupt the flow of cultural edicts and envision more just and democratic schools.

The Challenging Context of Our Work

Scene One: I am sitting in the audience at the annual conference of the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education (AACTE) and a panel of Washington consultants (Griffith et. al, 2005) warns that the current administration is interested in funding alternative routes to teaching. These insiders want to impress on us as teacher educators that our work is poorly understood and little valued by the current powers that be. They explain that many policy makers believe universities educate new teachers primarily for the tuition dollars, paying little attention to teacher quality or teacher shortage areas. Lacking any real understanding of what it takes to prepare and retain teachers, these decision makers believe in licensing teachers on the basis of content knowledge tests. The speakers challenge, "Where is the research that shows that teachers educated in your teacher education programs are adding value to the American education system?" And suddenly we are wondering ourselves why we have not focused more on making a case for the work we do.

Scene Two: I am writing a letter to the tenure committee at our university to help them understand why my colleague's collaborative, community-based research agenda is worthy of tenure and not an abdication of individual scholarship. In the School of Education, we have to make our decisions about research projects and significant work in coordination with the community and schools. Our work is also directly impacted by the bureaucratic constraints of licensing teachers. We are not free to make all of our own decisions, but rather must consider how our programs meet legal requirements that are subject to change at the whim of non-educators in the public arena. For instance, we now have to prepare our elementary education students to pass a "phonics" test put in place by our state legislators, and two years ago, we were given a year to implement an unfunded mandate to create a post-baccalaureate teacher preparation program requiring only 18 graduate credits to complete.

Scene Three: It is spring, and I am teaching preservice teachers a class at a local middle school. This school has changed since we first started working here. It has been impacted by the *No Child Left Behind Act*, largely an unfunded mandate (Karp, 2001), that has made testing the central focus of all efforts to improve student learning. Today the teachers are in the next classroom having a celebration because their students' test scores shot up. It is not much wonder. At a five day institute last summer, a team of teachers and the principal from this school were taught a variety of strategies for improving the school's

test scores. For the first six weeks of the school year, the entire school did nothing but prepare students to take the state tests in language arts and mathematics. The science and social studies teachers, even the art and the gym teachers, participated in practicing for these tests everyday for the six weeks. As a school, they solved the short term problem of not making Annual Yearly Progress (AYP), but the students lost six weeks of instructional time that would normally have been spent on more in-depth curriculum and despite the faculty's best efforts, the school scores took a terrible dip the following year.

We get our teacher education students off campus and out into the schools from day one of the program. But the value of this is questionable when even our most stalwart school partners, who have in the past operated from clear teaching and learning frameworks, are reshaping their teaching practices in response to this overwhelming pressure to raise test scores. They feel they have no choice given the authoritarian dictates coming from central administrators who believe that weekly test preparation exercises are more important than integrated units of study. They are being held accountable for these kinds of preparations rather than children's deep and insightful learning.

Our local Title I schools are the most beleaguered of all. They have lost the right to make their own curriculum choices and have to choose from programs based on Scientifically Based Reading Research. These programs focus on direct instruction rather than the reading process and provide the poorest students with unadorned and simplistic reading selections while students of privilege continue to learn from a wealth of interesting and content-rich reading materials. Supposedly, research shows these materials and methods are best suited to teaching low performing students. But this is not the research done by teacher educators, it is the research done by businesses and think tanks with a product or ideology to promote (Garan, 2002).

Unfortunately, our state and local policy context is no better. In 1992, the Indiana legislature established the Indiana Professional Standards Board as separate agency for "governing the preparation, testing, licensing, induction, and re-licensing of Indiana's education professionals." (IPSB Website) This agency took on the task of creating new professional standards and licensing framework for teachers in Indiana. This meant all of our programs in teacher education had to be redesigned to meet new standards, a process that took countless hours. In 2002, we made the shift to the new license framework which includes a two-year induction period for new teachers. These new teachers are to be mentored by specially trained mentor teachers as they complete portfolios in their second year, but the state has never provided the funding for the training of mentors or the scoring of portfolios. School districts have been scrambling to meet the provisions of the law as best

they could, but now in 2005, the House Education Committee is proposing that the Indiana Professional Standards Board should be rolled back into the Department of Education where it would no longer have any autonomy in setting policy. Clearly our efforts to raise the bar in terms of the new professionals entering the teaching field are in jeopardy of being for naught. High, performance-based standards get in the way of an agenda to get teachers into the field through alternative routes.

In the meantime, the mayor of Indianapolis has been given the right to charter schools and nearly a dozen charter schools have been opened in the city. The large school district with whom we partner is now losing about 500 students a year and because the laws have been written so that the dollars follow the child, this district will lose about $6 million through this funnel. (IPS Fact Sheet) This is especially damaging in face of the state budget for education which provides differential funding to school districts based on a variety of factors. Growing school districts get a higher percentage of the budget than shrinking districts. The district we work with would qualify as a growing district if it were not losing so many students to charter schools. The district is also supposed to get additional funds because it serves so many children at risk of academic failure, but the "complexity-index" does not cover the cost of services to these children. For example, it costs the district approximately $2 million more than it gets each year to buy the textbooks the students need and $4 million to pay for the services needed by ESL learners. The 2006-2007 biennium budget being provided by the state is going to leave the district with $17 million less than it needs to provide a basic education to the children it serves. The district is in the process of pink-slipping 200 teachers and letting everyone know they can expect class-sizes of 40 students when the budget goes into effect.

It is no secret that our city schools are failing. Seventy per cent of the students who enter our community high schools fail to graduate. The schools are not overcoming the effects of extreme poverty, homelessness, foster care, and limited English. But there is a growing community commitment to do something to make a difference. A local foundation provided a major grant to one of the small private universities nearby to provide leadership in creating change. A small think tank has been established, and they are providing technical assistance to the school district, looking to the small school movement in cities like Boston and New York for ideas. They have attracted the interest of the Gates Foundation and are in the process of converting five high schools into multiple small schools. It is an ambitious group, driven by moral commitment and the belief that only seismic change will disrupt the status quo. They are working with a new superintendent. The teachers are angry and uncertain, but twenty-five small high schools are being set up. And we meet and counsel and help

with instructional change as we try to meet the needs of colleagues in the schools as well as the needs of our student teachers.

The Ways We Are Changing

As a Teacher Education program, we have changed dramatically in the past decade. Ten years ago, the defining characteristic of our program was its attractiveness to part-time students. Our classes were taught in the evenings for the convenience of people who wanted to further their education while maintaining their daytime jobs. The campus was a commuter campus, but that is changing as the community looks more and more to us as a viable four year institution. In our early days, we worked with some exceptional elementary school faculties, helping them to create schools based on inquiry, democratic practices, and multiple intelligences. We wanted to take students with us to these schools, so we started to pilot daytime programs wherein certain professors and whole cohorts of students moved out to partnership schools. As we worked in these settings in new ways, we saw much more of our students' development and lack of development. With more experience in the schools, we could see that in many cases, our students--especially those who were not in these partnership schools--could have done what they were doing without ever taking classes from us. They were teaching school like they had seen it taught their whole lives. We took this to be the challenge. We had to interrupt the normative narrative that was far more powerful in determining what our students thought and did than our teacher education classes.

We are still struggling to meet this challenge, but ten years of dialogue, dialogue, dialogue and inquiry, inquiry, inquiry has brought us to a new place. We now claim that we are an *urban* teacher education program and that our graduates will be the best *urban* teachers possible. By that we mean they will understand how the concepts of inquiry, democracy, diversity, and social justice illuminate teaching and learning in the complex context of city schools. They will have the intellectual rigor and social networks to struggle against the numbing power of hierarchy, control, and anonymity that turn teachers into technicians and students into "objects to fear and coerce." (Ayres, 2004, p. 18) We make it our goal to prepare teachers who passionately reject the notion that teachers are technicians who work without thinking too deeply or caring too much. Instead, we are attempting to educate teachers who are trained to ask questions, cross boundaries, use community assets, foster democratic practices, and care about each and every youngster and family in the schools. We see teachers with these qualities as the cultural workers our city needs to make social justice and democracy a real part of the life of our

community.

This mission might seem unrealistic in the face of the all the detrimental forces at work in the world of schools and teacher education if we did not know the power of a functional inquiry community. In spite of all the obstacles, we have been changing and building a responsive program, and we believe it is our training in inquiry—our ability to ask questions, to seek out related knowledge and data, to design interventions, and to assess their value—that gives us forward momentum. We believe this is a critical time for us to embrace our role in building the community's future because we do have the capacity to learn from our own efforts, and we can teach others how to do so as well.

We recently invited Deborah Meier, past principal of Central Park East and author of *The Power of Their Ideas* (1995), to our campus and a faculty member who was reflecting on Deborah's comments remarked, "We really are a small school, aren't we. We have to work together to create the curriculum and to assess how well it's working. We have to find ways to know our students well enough to be certain they have reached our expectations. We have to walk the talk and practice democracy and social justice. And our students have to see us as educators they would like to emulate and work with on projects that we are passionate about."

This insight was helpful in that it framed our work in ways that valued what we have accomplished, but also pointed to the work that we need to continue to do. We have spent many hours in curriculum teams, teasing out the big ideas, the concepts, and the knowledge we need to teach. We have aligned our teaching to the standards so that our students can demonstrate that they have the knowledge, skills, and dispositions they need to teach. We have been at the table with our partnership schools, discussing the multifaceted work of educating new teachers and children simultaneously in classrooms and of designing professional development opportunities that will deepen the teachers' abilities to meet the needs of the children. We have hosted action research groups and taught courses onsite at the schools. We have also studied our own teaching and assessed our students' learning.

In essence, we have taken down the ivory tower and used the bricks to pave pathways into the community. We still have something significant to teach, but we also have new questions that are going to involve us differently in the community. For instance, how are we going to resolve the problem of classrooms where too many children are suffering from the effects of poverty? How are we going to address the issue of schools that do nothing but test prep for the first six weeks of school? Are we willing to sit in sweltering (no air-conditioning) classrooms like the children and teachers of the public schools? How

do our students teach art or incorporate technology into their classes when there are no supplies or computers? How do we create schools that teach all children what they need to know to live and work in the 21st century?

Our answers are tentative and subtle, but important. First, we have to interrupt the cultural belief systems that perpetuate inequities. These belief systems are omnipresent at every level of our context. They are at work in the minds of our School of Education faculty, and we have to continue to explore what we understand about diversity and social justice as a faculty. They are at work in the high schools where our student teachers teach. The failing African American high school students we have encouraged to consider our university as their next educational step tell us they are not prepared to pass the tests required for getting into the university because their teachers do not teach them. They are treated as if they cannot learn and have no value to the community. One of our elementary principals called this spring with the same concern. He wanted to know how he could change the attitudes of some teachers in his building who believe the children coming by bus from the poorest neighborhoods are incapable of learning.

Even though we are an urban campus, most of our students come from suburban and rural settings. They drive in from all directions and many of them have their first experience with an African American or Latino teacher in our program. Many of them believe in the American dream. They believe that everyone has the same potential to succeed and that the attainment of their own families is a sign that they are willing to work hard and make good decisions. In short, they believe their families have earned the right to their privilege and power, and that those who are disadvantaged are without the will to earn the same status. These deficit views include expectations that the schools in the city must be hopeless, unlawful places where no white person would be safe.

When we made a decision five years ago to claim "urban" as part of our mission, we phased in a plan to stop using suburban schools for field experience and student teaching placements. This shift has not been easy. We have had to recruit many new school partners, and these are not schools with the resources to make our lives comfortable and convenient. We have all sweated out the August heat and swatted the bees in September as we work in the old brick buildings with no air-conditioning or screens. We have informed students that they need to meet us at certain disadvantaged schools, only to have them report that their parents, boyfriends, or spouses forbid them to go there. They call and write the Chancellor to complain that we are irresponsible and that no one could learn to teach in "those" schools.

Our work is to change these attitudes and to open the students' minds to the assets that these schools draw on. We need them to internalize the importance of social justice and to see how teachers can make a difference in these contexts. This is not easy to do and we have some students, like Scott, who spent two days at the middle school where he was placed for student teaching and came back demanding that we change his placement to the suburban school where he already had a coaching position waiting for him. In the course of the conversation, he highlighted again and again that being up north would be the best thing for him. It would put him in position to get the job he wanted, and he was clear that should be our concern as well. He also argued that he could not possibly learn to teach in a school where the students were not ready to learn and the teachers don't teach them. We worked with Scott, giving him extra support. But we did not move him.

Fortunately, we are having successes as well. Students like Jean actually change significantly as a result of our program. She writes:

> As I move towards graduation, I think more and more about what type of school I want to teach in. If you had told me just one year ago that I would be considering teaching in the [City] Public School system, I would have told you "no way". But now, after my experience at [Edison High School], I cannot imagine teaching in any other district. I have worked hard to get where I am, and teachers are needed in schools like [Edison School] to teach kids that anything is possible. The children in this school are not that different from other kids. They just have a different kind of life when they leave school. They are just as intelligent, hard working, and talented as any other child in this state. But these kids do need a little something extra. They need teachers who care about them. They need the best teachers this state has to offer. They deserve to have this and much more. They deserve me, because I am going to be the best teacher I can be.

We know that it takes far more than a positive disposition toward students to work in an urban school, but this development is foundational to the work of becoming culturally competent. The classes and experiences in our program have to help our students rethink their own identities and see new possibilities. We accomplish this in part through a focus on critical literacy. We teach our students to be consciously aware of how texts and teaching practices position people and privilege some voices while silencing others (Leland & Harste, 2000). We help our students to understand how cultures and other systems of interaction position people and how everyone plays a role in culture making. And we teach about agency--no one has to be a helpless victim. There is always an alternative to the status quo if we are willing to take social action.

In addition to interrupting the cultural belief systems that impact the experience of all educational stakeholders, we aim at preparing our

teachers to be the most knowledgeable content teachers possible. We challenge them to discern the major concepts of each discipline and to plan backwards from those key constructs to create units of study that are engaging and meaningful. We teach our students to start with assessments of what the individual learner knows and to fashion instruction that connects to and extends that knowledge. As our students begin to grasp the nature of the diversity that exists in every classroom, they see that teaching is really not "teaching" at all, but rather a continuous process of providing meaningful support to learners who are doing the cognitive and emotional work of trying to understand the world and their place in it.

Again we are asking our students to make seismic shifts in their beliefs and ways of knowing. They push back and the faculty recognizes that we have to work as a team, as a program, to keep reiterating the same conceptual framework so that the students have enough connected experiences to build the mental models they need to be constructivist teachers. In the teacher education program, none of us works independently. We are a democratic community wherein decisions get negotiated and worked out for the greater good. Everyone has a voice, and everyone has responsibilities.

It remains to be seen what impact we will have on our community over time. We are in the initial stages of setting up a research network and developing urban masters, leadership, and doctoral programs. These initiatives will give us more ways to simultaneously interact with the community. We know we have no choice but to figure out how to do more with less, given the context of education that surrounds us. And we understand that we are clearly swimming upriver given the edicts that are being handed down to the schools. We cannot afford to totally exhaust ourselves or we will be of no use to anyone. So there are many fine lines to walk as we pursue our mission of social justice. Perhaps the best part of our situation is that we are not alone. We know that we are just one locality in a much larger network of teacher educators who understand the importance of public schools to the preservation of our democracy. We take heart in the words of Bill Ayres (2004, p 146) who writes:

> We can, of course, recognize and insist that the present moment –in spite of all we are told—is not the end of history. The present moment is not a point of arrival. It is as dynamic, contested, full of energy and in-play as any moment ever was or ever will be. History was not made in the 1960's or the 1990's or during the great wars. History is being made right now. What we do and what we don't do matters.
>
> As Martin Luther King, Jr. was fond of saying: "The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice." This is an invitation to fight for something better.

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Building a Innovative Induction Program for Urban Teachers Through a University and District Partnership

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In response to the challenges of new state-mandated requirements for teacher credentialing, a team of university faculty and school district representatives worked in a collaborative project to support beginning teachers. The outcome of the collaborative is an innovative program that provides support and formative assessment of teachers during their first two years of teaching, the induction period, while providing them with an opportunity to obtain a master's degree. This master's program meets the state induction standards and at the same time enhances the teachers' preparation for educating students in urban schools.

The Challenges of Beginning Teachers

Often beginning teachers are overwhelmed by the challenges of a first-year teaching assignment. Unfortunately, many new teachers do not make the move from student to practicing teacher effectively. New teachers have difficulty adjusting to their new roles as teachers in the climate of the public schools which contrasts to their previous experiences in the university setting. Studies indicate that new teachers are most likely to leave the profession during the first three years of teaching (Imazeki, 2002; Ingersoll, 2001; Urban Teacher Collaborative, 2000).

Nationally, there have been efforts to support beginning teachers. In California, the model for beginning teacher support began as the Beginning Teacher Support and Assessment (BTSA) program and was the initial effort to provide an induction, or support model, for beginning teachers. Initially, the program was district sponsored but was not related to the state teacher-credentialing processes

Findings from studies of California BTSA induction programs demonstrated that teachers who were well supported and mentored were more effective earlier in their careers (Bartell, 1995; Spencer, 2000; CDE, 2002). These findings had a major impact upon the members of the state legislature when new credentialing laws were drafted. Under new credentialing laws, the BTSA program for supporting new teachers was embedded into the credentialing law. The new legislation, Senate Bill

2042, required an induction component, a 2-year program of support and formative assessment (Alpert/Mazzoni, 1998).

The university and district partnership described in this article was a successful outgrowth of this new direction in teacher credentialing in the state.

Changes in Teacher Credentialing

Under the new California legislation, Senate Bill 2042, the university pre-service programs are seen as the first step in an induction sequence. Credentialing standards for the preliminary (Level I) and advanced credentials (Level II) are more clearly related and standards-based. The standards for both the preliminary and induction programs are based upon the California Standards for the Teaching Profession (CDE, 1997). Under the current legislation, universities recommend pre-service candidates for the preliminary credential. However, new teachers are now required to complete an induction program to earn an advanced or clear credential. All districts in the state are required to support the beginning teachers with district induction programs. This includes providing on-site support, formative assessment and classroom embedded work, specific content to meet specific standards as well as a reporting process that includes verification of completion of an induction (Level II) program. Districts, not universities, certify completion of the induction programs and recommend teachers for their clear credentials. As originally designed in the legislation, the majority of the induction work is completed at the school site. However, districts are also encouraged to enter collaborative agreements with universities as part of this process.

Building a University and District Partnership: The University's Role and Perspective

In an effort to meet the new legislation, support beginning teachers, and provide a seamless transition from university to public school classrooms, representatives from a university's college of education and a large urban school district, collaborated to create a joint induction program for beginning teachers. These two entities have a history of working effectively in urban environments. Located in a large, metropolitan area, the university has prepared teachers for urban environments for many years. The university's faculty took part in a reorganization of the college of education as part of the reform movement in 1995 in an effort to better respond to the urban schools in the area. This commitment to urban schools was incorporated into the college of education's mission statement: "Enable educators to meet high standards and ensure the maximum learning and achievement potential of culturally and linguistically diverse urban learners."

During that reform effort, university faculty determined that collaboration would be a major focus of the new organization. As such, one of the main tenets of the college's vision has been to support and encourage collaboration across the programs in the college and with the district partners in the area. Currently the university works effectively with over thirty-seven school districts. The partner district in this project is the largest local urban district in the service area. This district has a well established beginning teacher support system which was established in 1987. At that time, university's faculty joined district leaders in their effort to support their beginning urban teachers in the BTSA program and developed other partnership programs.

The initial design of the current project was developed to show the strong, seamless relationship between the university pre-service program and the district induction program. Representatives of the university and the district met for one year to collaborate and develop this program. Initially, faculty and district partners viewed this program as a continuation of the collaborative efforts that were already part of the university's reform efforts. As part of the reform efforts, university administrators and faculty developed an organizational structure, the "cluster," within the bureaucracy of the university to formalize collaboration efforts. A "cluster" was defined as an organizational structure that would house faculty, staff, and public school personnel who work collaboratively. The faculty members in the clusters often represent many departments within the college so that differing views and expertise can be shared. However, the major emphasis of the cluster design was to improve the interface of faculty with representatives of the public sector to ensure that the education offered at the university was relevant to and supported to work of the public schools. Since the conception of the cluster concept, cluster representatives have worked with district partners in reading initiatives, early childhood programming areas, and other projects including the DELTA project, a part of the Annenberg Initiative.

To respond to the new teachers and to respond to the legislation, faculty and district representatives initiated a new cluster, the Induction Cluster. As the discussions ensued, it was evident that the university and district representatives shared a common vision to support urban schools and to empower teachers to become change agents. The cluster team met for over a year to plan their goals, objectives and form a plan of action. They designed a program that incorporated the best elements of the university master's degree program and the district BTSA program. The members reviewed the relevant legislation and the master's degree options offered in the charter college. Representatives from the two organizations worked to create a program for new teachers that tapped into the strengths of both organizations. The new program was designed

collaboratively and was based upon the spirit of mutual trust and respect. It offered students the opportunity to complete a joint- sponsored university master's degree and a district induction program at the same time. The degree is a *Master's in Education, Option: Curriculum and Instruction in the Urban Schoo*l. To begin the project, the cluster representatives agreed upon the following goals for the program:

- Respond to the new legislation for induction (Senate Bill 2042)
- Provide beginning teachers with an opportunity to obtain a master's degree and meet the induction requirements
- Continue to engage in collaborative programs between school districts and the university
- Meet school district and university visions to empower teachers to become change agents in urban schools

Moving from Professional Development to Induction: The District's Role and Perspective

An important foundation of the new joint master's degree program was the understanding of and commitment to the support of beginning teachers and the principles and goals of the BTSA program. As stated in the BTSA Basics: (BTSA Basics, www.btsa.ca.gov, 2006):

> The Beginning Teacher Support and Assessment System (BTSA) was created by AB 1266 (Mazzoni, 1997). This grew out of legislation established in SB 1422 (Bergeson, 1992) based on research from the California New Teacher Project (CNTP). A central finding of this research identified the need to provide beginning teachers with focused induction support. To be useful, this support must be provided at a sufficient level of intensity to make a difference in the performance, retention, and satisfaction of beginning teachers. The 1997 Mazzoni legislation establishing BTSA encourages collaboration by local school districts, county offices of education, colleges and universities in the organization and delivery of new teacher induction.

The California Beginning Teacher Support and Assessment Program (BTSA) (E.C. 44279.2) is administered jointly by the Commission on Teacher Credentialing and the California Department of Education (CCTC, 2002). Upon passage of SB2042, BTSA transitioned from an optional professional development program for those who wished to become exemplary educators to a program for completing the requirements for a professional clear teaching credential. The Liu Bill, Assembly Bill B2210, further clarified the role of BTSA in the induction process as well as setting the final date for SB2042 candidates to choose to pursue a university 5th year program as August 30, 2004.

The transition period between the availability of former credential options and the new credential requirements for SB2042 candidates was

source of confusion for many new teachers, university advisors and district human resources divisions. The collaboration between the university and the district has been essential in facilitating the transition between institutions for our students. Representatives from both organizations grew to understand the eligibility requirements and options available to each category of candidate. This served as a foundation for collaborating to design a jointly administered program that allowed candidates to pursue a master's degree in conjunction with completing their induction requirements while maintaining the integrity of the intent of the legislation for candidates to have a field-based experience, which is a requirement for induction.

A Beginning Teacher's Eligibility for Induction

Teachers must hold a Ryan or SB2042 Preliminary Credential from an accredited teacher preparation program to be eligible for the induction program to clear their credentials. Clear Credential teachers in their first or second year of teaching as well as those with an education specialist credential may participate in the program to receive the benefits of a support provider and the professional development opportunities. In order to be eligible to participate in an induction program candidates must be employed as a register carrying teacher in a California classroom based on a Preliminary or Clear teaching credential. Although teachers working on their Tier II Education Specialist credential are welcome to participate for the advantages of the professional development and the assistance of a support provider they are unable to clear their credential through an induction program. Participants who wish to participate in the Joint Induction Master's Program must also meet all eligibility requirements to be accepted to university and the charter college of education as a graduate student.

Candidates who are not eligible for participation, such as substitute teachers or those who have not yet been contracted by a school district must wait until they are employed in a qualifying position. However, if they are certain that they wish to pursue a master's degree they may begin the non-induction portion of the program (i.e. the research class) pending employment. Each student selecting this option must assume the risk that they will not be employed by a district cooperating in the Joint Induction Master's Program in which case it is their responsibility to determine which classes may transfer into a different degree program (pre-advisement assists them in selecting appropriate courses).

TABLE 1

Pathways to Clear Teaching Credentials in California

Preliminary Issued	Credential	Options to Clear Credential
Out of State	Ryan	May complete University 5th Year or Induction (Candidates entering with National Board Certification are granted a Clear Credential)
California	Ryan	May complete University 5th Year or Induction
California	SB2042 before 8/30/04	May complete Induction or Approved SB2042 5th Year Program if given a release form from their School District
California	SB2042 on or after 8/30/04	Approved Induction Program only
Out of State or California	Education Specialist	Must Complete Level II (Clear) Credential at a University May participate in BTSA for Professional Development
Out of State or California	Professional Clear Credential	May participate in BTSA for Professional Development in first two years of teaching

Funding of Induction Programs

State and district funding provides for the costs of induction and support activities for teachers participating within the first two years of qualifying for the program. Although the legislation indicates that candidates must enroll in an Induction program within 120 days of receiving their preliminary credential and a qualifying teaching position, some participants are out of compliance and may be required to pay fees once they begin the program. Participants who elect to enroll in the Joint Induction Master's Program have all district level expenses covered but must pay any university expenses themselves.

In the district, a series of orientation days are held to advise all new teachers of the program requirements and assist them to determine whether they are eligible to participate and whether the program is optional or mandatory. Due to the ongoing collaboration more new teachers are arriving to the district with the understanding that they must enroll in the Induction program to clear their credential.

An Innovative Joint Induction Master's Program

The innovative Joint Induction Master's Program that was designed is based on the purposes and goals set out in the initial BTSA education code as well as the *Standards of Quality and Effectiveness for Professional Teacher Induction Programs* (Induction Standards) (SB2042, March 2003). The "innovativeness" of our program involves the following elements:

- the program was the first university-school district joint master's program of its kind in California
- the courses in the program were jointly developed by experts in beginning teacher programs from the school district and professors from the university
- academic advisement responsibilities are shared between university faculty and district personnel

The purpose and goals of Induction are to:

- Provide an effective transition into the teaching career for first- and second-year teachers in California
- Improve the educational performance of students through improved training, information, and assistance for new teachers
- Enable beginning teachers to be effective in teaching students who are culturally, linguistically, and academically diverse
- Ensure the professional success and retention of new teachers
- Ensure that a support provider provides intensive individualized support and assistance to each participating beginning teacher
- Improve the rigor and consistency of individual teacher performance assessments and the usefulness of assessment results to teachers and decision makers
- Establish an effective, coherent system of performance assessments that are based on the California Standards for the Teaching Profession
- Examine alternative ways in which the general public and the education profession may be assured that new teachers who remain in teaching have attained acceptable levels of professional competence
- Ensure that an individual induction plan is in place for each participating beginning teacher and is based on an ongoing assessment of the development of the beginning teacher
- Ensure continuous program improvement through ongoing research, development, and evaluation

The Induction Standards are in sections as follows:

1. Foundational Standards for All Multiple Subject and Single Subject Professional Teacher Induction Programs (Standards 1-9)

2. Implementation Standards for All Multiple Subject and Single Subject Professional Teacher Induction Programs which has three subsections:
    a. Program Design (Standards 10-14)
    b. Teaching Curriculum to All Students In California Schools Standards 15 and 16)
    c. Teaching All Students in California Schools (Standards 17-20)

During the planning meetings of the Induction Cluster, some critical decisions were made. They included the make-up of the collaborative team and the time set aside for working together. Key university and district personnel were included in the design team from the beginning and a generous timeline was designed to allow for an authentic collaborative process to occur. The process was aided by the history of previous collaborative projects that several of the committee participants had shared in the past. It was critical to clearly identify the needs of both institutions from the outset in order to facilitate negotiations around difficult and very important decisions. Understanding of needs, goals and expectations were discussed in order to be able to negotiate meaningfully. For example, organizational issues that are second nature to the personnel working in one institution may be taken for granted while representatives from the other institution may not recognize and understand the issues involved. The approval process and timelines for the university and the district as well as approval of the Program Modification at the state level needed to be considered as well.

Furthermore, the collaboration in the design from the initial development of ideas to the final product of the Joint Induction Master's Program maintained a focus and ensured that both the integrity of the district program design as approved by the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing and the rigorous master's degree expectations of the charter college of education. The Design Framework was also put in place to consider the following:

- Student Needs
- State Induction Standards
- Master's Degree Requirements
- University Policy
- District Policy

The program was designed to meet the needs of students who were dedicated to pursuing a master's degree and did not wish to delay for two years while completing the induction program. Committee members were thoughtful about designing a strong program while recognizing concerns regarding over burdening beginning teachers who should be focused on classroom instruction. The area of emphasis for the program included a focus on urban learning, curriculum and instruction and

teacher leadership. In the final program design both institutions shared responsibility for advisement and feedback for each student.

Induction Program Components

Core Induction Standards

The following are the Induction Standards that were addressed:

Standard 16: Using Technology to Support Student Learning
Standard 17: Supporting Equity, Diversity and Access to the Core Curriculum
Standard 18: Creating a Supportive and Healthy Environment for Student Learning
Standard 19: Teaching English Learners
Standard 20: Teaching Special Populations

Standards 16- 20 of the induction standards are met through core courses in the university program which meet SB2042 Professional Clear Credential criteria. (These courses will also satisfy Ryan credential requirements in these areas.)

Discussions over time generated a process where each induction program syllabus includes fieldwork assignments which are co-designed by district representatives and the faculty teaching the class to ensure that they maintain congruence with district policy and initiatives while not losing the level of academic rigor and research-based practice required of a university graduate level course. The willingness of university faculty to collaborate on course design is remarkable. Both the university courses and district level courses are enhanced from the collaborative process. The process also ensures that the legislative intent for students to have an induction program authentic to their teaching assignment is honored.

Additionally, Standard 15: K-12 Core Academic Content and Subject Specific Pedagogy are addressed through assignments woven throughout the other courses, mandatory district in-services and the formative assessment process.

Formative Assessment

The formative assessment process was built in as a component of the master's degree program. Formative Assessment within the induction program is a reflective assessment and support process designed to assist participating teacher's professional development through a structured series of critical thinking tasks that are completed within the context of the participating teachers' classroom with the assistance of a qualified Support Provider. The formative assessment course is designed to be taught in two segments which align with the end of the year reflective process for the approved formative assessment program used in the partner district and incorporates the process

completed throughout the year. In order to ensure that the program was flexible enough to include other districts that might wish to have an agreement to collaborate in the joint induction master's program, the formative assessment portion of the program was written to align with Standard 13: Formative Assessment System for Participating Teachers rather than to align to a specific program. As a part of this process participating teachers will also attend a year-end Colloquium. During which participants will celebrate and reflect on their accomplishments and professional growth throughout the year based on sharing the evidence of their growth which they collected in their Induction Portfolios.

Support Providers

Each participating teacher is paired with a highly trained Support Provider, an experienced, qualified teacher, taking into consideration the credentials held, subject matter knowledge, orientation to learning, relevant experience, current assignments, and geographic proximity. Support Providers develop a confidential relationship of support and assistance with the participating teachers they serve. The support provided includes, but is not limited to, weekly visits to observe teaching practice and provide feedback, demonstration lessons, assistance with planning lessons and assessing student learning, and release time to observe others. The support provider is assigned and supported through the partner district.

Induction Portfolio

Compilation and review of the Induction Portfolio, a comprehensive collection of authentic assessment activities compiled to demonstrate and document participating teachers' attainment of each element of Induction Standards 15-20, is also included in the master's program and is jointly administered. Teachers reflect on their practice and it is an integral part of the portfolio (Schulman, 1992; Zubizarreta, 1994).

Local Context

Participants in the Joint Induction Master's Program also complete 15 hours of professional development to ensure that they are informed of district initiatives and procedures which they are responsible for implementing.

Master's Degree

The Joint Induction Master's degree, the *Master's in Education, Option: Curriculum and Instruction in the Urban Schoo*l, developed by this collaborative effort meets the university requirements for advanced

studies. It has a strong pedagogical foundation, includes research courses in both qualitative and quantitative methods of inquiry, and as stated above, addresses the induction standards through coursework that incorporates classroom-embedded fieldwork in each instructional area. Students receive credit for their work in the formative assessment process completed in the district, the development and completion of a professional portfolio and for their reflective practice. Additionally, students may select two or three courses in advanced studies in early childhood, science or mathematics from a pre-approved list compiled by each division from the charter college. The courses are specifically designed to build a pathway for a student to obtain a second master's by completing an additional 24 quarter units. Beginning teachers' instructional practice is further enhanced through the themes of urban learning, curriculum and instruction, and teacher leadership in urban schools that are intertwined throughout the program. This is a unique university-district collaborative program that has been designed to benefit beginning urban teachers by jointly supporting their professional growth and development.

Program Evaluation

Continuous improvement based upon the on-going feedback from all program stakeholders is necessary to provide an exceptional program that meets the needs of its participants. With this in mind, all participants complete multiple program evaluations throughout the year in regard to the various program components.

A proposed evaluation program will include the following:

1. interviews and focus groups with participants in the program
2. interviews with school and district administrators and university faculty
3. review of the BTSA portfolios as part of the assessment plan
4. compare participants in the innovative joint master's program with non participants
5. pre and post survey of self report knowledge and attitudes about working in urban schools

The feedback and results of the assessment activities will be analyzed and shared with all stakeholders and improvements to the program will be made.

The Induction Cluster continues to meet on a monthly basis to refine the process of communication regarding the progress of the Joint Induction Master's Program students, consider additional options as submitted by other university divisions, and continue the monitor the implementation of the newly founded program.

Conclusion

The building of a partnership between a university and school district to address state mandates and changes in teacher credentialing provided a challenge as well as an opportunity for a team of university faculty and district personnel. The team worked together to meet their goals of supporting beginning urban teachers. They began the process of collaboration by building on their past history of relationships and cooperation and ventured into new ground by exploring and building an innovative Joint Induction Master's Program. The program was developed to meet the state guidelines for Induction and teacher credentialing and at the same time provide beginning teachers access to a higher education degree. The project was successful in that it strengthened the relationships of the persons involved and helped them meet their goals. The team's collaborative work was based on meaningful communication, and mutual trust and respect. They listened to each other's needs, made critical decisions, and remained focused on their central mission of supporting beginning teachers. It is important to remember that support for the program was also provided by caring administrators in both organizations that facilitated the process of collaboration and encouraged the members of the cluster to move forward with their ideas and trusted their judgment and decision-making.

The team will continue to build and refine their program to enhance and strengthen it as it begins its first year of implementation. The mission to address the growing needs of beginning teachers, especially those that teach in urban schools remains in the forefront of their endeavors as they realize that these teachers deserve a high quality support system that will help them to be successful in their careers of educating their urban students.

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Perceptions about Urban Schools: Changes in Preservice Teachers after Working in a City School

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The study reports on changes in beliefs and attitudes toward urban schools evidenced by teacher candidates when engaged in a five week summer tutoring experience in a city school district. Beliefs at pre and post testing are presented descriptively, while changes between the two measures are presented in a matched-case method. Among the most significant changes in perceptions by teacher candidates are those associated with the school environment, specifically the commitment to diversity and the resources necessary for effective education. Teacher intern concerns shifted from larger macro-level issues such as quality of building and adequacy of teaching resources to micro-level ones including students' learning abilities, general student health, parental involvement and support.

Introduction

The challenges facing urban schools are multifaceted, inter-related, complex, and set in large socio-political and cultural contexts (Truscott & Truscott, 2005a; Stone, 1998; Weiner, 1993; 2000). Urban schools, especially those that serve diverse populations, face a critical shortage of qualified teachers that is projected to reach monumental proportions in the very near future. Programs to recruit, prepare, and retain teachers for high-need schools have not sufficiently addressed current shortages, let alone those that are projected in the coming decade (Pflaum & Abramson, 1990; Urban Teacher Collaborative, 2000). Some demographic experts predict that the U.S. will require more than two million new teachers in the next ten years (Southeast Center for Teaching Quality, 2002). Urban districts need to hire 700,000 new teachers in the coming decade to maintain current class sizes, given projected enrollments.

Teacher retention in urban schools is a growing problem across the country that exacerbates teacher shortages (Truscott & Truscott, 2005b). For example, over one-third of the teachers in New York State leave their jobs within the first five years (Voell, 2000) and in urban schools nearly half of the teachers leave within three years (Strachan, 2001). In 2000, one in five teachers in Colorado left their teaching positions and one of ten left the teaching profession altogether (Basile, 2006). Teachers in high poverty settings face many challenges such as racial and cultural differences between the predominantly White, middle

class teachers and minority, poor students (Haberman, 1995), fewer resources, larger class sizes, and lower salaries (Kozol, 1991; Weiner, 2000). Schools with high-poverty and high-minority concentrations have attrition rates 9% higher than other schools (Basile, 2006). As a result teachers either take positions in school systems outside the metropolitan arena (Quality Counts, 2003) or leave the teaching profession (Quartz & TEP Group, 2003)

Academic achievement, a significant problem in many high need urban schools, ranks as the most pressing need by the majority of urban school leaders in the country (Lewis, Ceperich, & Jepson, 2002). However, recent findings suggest that access to qualified, certified teachers is the key to closing the achievement gap that exists for inner city children (Quality Counts, 2003). Studies indicate that students of well prepared, certified teachers outperform students whose teachers are not fully qualified or licensed (Darling-Hammond, 2002). Yet, urban districts have disproportionate numbers of uncertified teachers. Students in schools characterized as high-poverty, low-performing and with segregated minority populations are five times more likely than students in high-achieving schools to have a teacher who has not met minimum state requirements for teaching certification (Center for Future of Teaching and Learning, 2002).

Across the country, colleges and universities that provide quality teacher preparation programs have embedded situated experiences prior to student teaching as a crucial component in helping teacher candidates develop the knowledge, skills and dispositions needed for careers in education. Those institutions located in large urban areas also must respond to the need for supporting the school community by focusing preparation on the recruitment, specialized instruction and retention of qualified, certified teachers for the area. At the Center for Excellence in Urban and Rural Education at the Buffalo State College, one of the key objectives is providing teacher candidates with well planned and relevant experiences in high need urban and rural schools within the Western New York area. Supervising faculty and cooperating teachers have suggested that many teacher candidates begin their school-based experiences with genuine fears and apprehensions about the level of physical safety afforded and the potential for classroom management problems. Our belief has been that a variety of mentored urban school-based experiences can serve to de-mystify school settings that are different from those attended by many of our teacher candidates. Additionally, we wondered how well teacher candidates felt their coursework had prepared them to function in urban classrooms that are highly diverse, and described as high-poverty, low-achieving settings. Previous work in this area reports disconnects between teacher education curriculum, and preservice teachers beliefs and understandings. Research indicates that

"method courses and field experiences often introduced ideas and concepts that preservice teachers did not accept" but that fieldwork with children in educational settings can foster change in both preservice teachers beliefs and practices (Clift & Brady, 2005, p. 315). Our anecdotal experiences suggest that working for a time in an urban school left many teacher candidates with changed perspectives and stronger desires to consider working in a high-needs district, but we had not conducted any structured evaluation of these effects and changes.

Focus of the Study

The purpose of the study was to examine whether providing an extended, mentored teaching opportunity (in addition to any regular certification program fieldwork) for preservice teachers (K-12) would foster changes in beliefs and attitudes toward teaching and learning in urban schools. We focused on measuring the changes in beliefs and attitudes toward urban schools evidenced by teacher candidates when exposed to a five week summer tutoring experience in a city school district. Beliefs, at pre and post testing, are presented descriptively, while changes between the two measures are presented in a matched-case method. Our underlying perspective for this study was to support a non-directional hypothesis that spending time in urban schools may change attitudes about self and schools. We were also interested in candidates' interest in working in an urban school and their desire to remain in the immediate Western New York area upon graduation. This last area of inquiry was driven by our local educational job market which is oversupplied with certified teachers in a region with a declining and aging population base. For many candidates who wish to remain in the area, working in one of the urban or small city school districts in Western New York is one of the bright spots in an otherwise difficult job market.

Methods

For our initial study, we chose a large, in-school tutoring program run in partnership between the Center for Urban and Rural Education at Buffalo State College and a Western New York urban school district. In its fourth year, this program selects teacher candidates (college students), enrolled in teacher preparation programs (PreK-12) to serve as mentors and tutors during an intervention enrichment program for improving the academic achievement of struggling inner city students. Participating college interns were selected based on their academic standing (GPA, English and Math competency tests) and program status (juniors and seniors). A total of 84 teacher candidates participated in this program; 54 secondary education majors (42 females, 12 males) and 30 elementary/middle level majors (24 females, 6 males). Similar to national profiles of students interested in becoming a teacher (Roden &

Truscott, 2006), the majority of the interns in the sample were Caucasian females.

The 84 interns received six hours of training and orientation specific to urban education and pedagogical strategies in addition to the formalized teacher education courses and methods provided through their program. Intern tutors then worked in 10 public schools (6 high schools, 1 middle level, 3 elementary) across the city to provide assistance to a wide grade range of students who have been identified by the school as at-risk for not meeting state standards in math or English Language Arts. During the 5 week tutoring experience in the urban schools, the teacher interns were expected to plan and manage instruction (small group and individualized), work with supervising teachers and be observed by an experienced teacher. In addition to an observation rubric completed by the supervising teacher, candidates complete a self assessment and have a conference to discuss the results of this feedback.

During the initial orientation and training session, teacher interns were given an inventory to measure their levels of concern relative to their urban school placement, a self assessment of their degree of preparation and their desire to remain in the area and work in an urban school. At the conclusion of the 5 week tutoring experience, teacher candidates were given the same inventory, in addition to an instrument to assess their overall satisfaction with the program and their assessment of the degree to which the program impacted their beliefs.

Data Sources and Analysis

To measure the perceptions and beliefs about urban schools, we developed an instrument called the Urban Perceptions Survey. For our initial item pool, we selected items and a scale design from the National Center for Educational Statistics' (NCES) Schools and Staffing Survey for 2003-2004. Using a four point anchored Likert type scale, these questions used prompts that indicated possible items of concern such as "student possession of weapons" and included a scale response ranging from "not a concern" to "major concern". A total of two initial item screening and selection rounds were conducted with a panel of eight faculty members with extensive experience in urban schools. A draft instrument was shared with Education faculty who suggested the inclusion of additional items to address knowledge of New York State learning standards, classroom management issues and specific attributes such as ability to dress professionally. Some survey items may appear to have negligible worth (such as ability to dress professionally, ability to find the school, etc.), however, we included them because they have inferential value regarding the perception of the professional quality of an urban educator and misconceptions about neighborhoods and urban living. Questions related to interest in working in an urban environment

and staying in the Western New York area were added as yes/no response items. Additionally, a unique nominal identifier (last four digits of student ID) was used to match pre and post surveys.

During the late spring, a total of 84 junior and senior teacher candidates were given the Urban Perceptions instrument as part of their orientation to the tutoring program. They were placed in 10 schools within the same large city school district and began their 5 week tutoring experience, logging a total of 95 hours each. At the conclusion of the experience, the same Urban Perceptions instrument was administered, in addition to a post-experience inventory.

Results

After matching pre experience surveys (n=84) and post experience surveys (n=75), we had a total of 52 matched cases. In many cases, the ID numbers provided by the candidates for matching purposes were not consistent and required some "cleaning up" after the fact. This matching method will need to be revisited on subsequent administrations to support a higher match rate.

TABLE 1
Items with Significant Change from Pre to Post Survey

Item Text	Z	Pre "A major / moderate concern" Pct	Post "A major / moderate concern" Pct
My ability to find the school on the first day	-2.5 *	21.2	11.5
My ability to dress professionally for a school setting	-2.3 *	9.6	7.7
Student possession of weapons	-3.8 **	47.1	15.3
Not finding a supportive environment for people from different cultures / ethnic groups	-3.4 **	32.6	13.4
The school's ability to provide effective education despite budget problems	-3.4 **	53.9	30.8
The school's ability to make changes to support education	-3.0 **	42.3	26.9
The school's ability to provide resources for learning	-3.7 **	57.7	25
The school's physical plant and infrastructure	-2.1 *	21.2	9.6

* > .05; ** > .01

Of the matched cases, we noted that nearly 89% reported that they did not graduate from an urban high school. Nearly three-fourths of the respondents reported that they hoped to remain in the Western New York area after graduation. All, but one, of the respondents at post survey reported that they would consider working in an urban school district after graduation. Clearly, this suggested a group of candidates

who were motivated to explore the idea of teaching in an urban school, despite their lack of personal experience in this environment.

Differences between pre and post surveys were examined using the Wilcoxon non-parametric test for paired samples. Given the response patterns observed, we chose this non-parametric measure of change between pre and post survey rather than the use of effect sizes as a more conservative statistical approach given the ordinal scaling of these data. Results are presented in Table1, below. From the 20 items presented on the survey, significant change from pre to post survey were found for 5 items at the .01 level and 3 items at the .05 level.

Five of the eight items representing significant change referred to perceptions about the environment of the school and what they thought it had (or not) to offer children. The tutoring experience offered the college interns an opportunity to observe how urban classrooms work and changed their thinking about the support and commitment for diversity and academic achievement. One of the most significant change items related to the perception that weapon possession is a common phenomenon in urban schools. This perception changed the most based on the tutoring experiences in schools. Teacher candidates realized after working with students closely for five weeks that they weren't all carrying handguns around. Finally, the misconception that transportation within a city center is difficult to negotiate was challenged as interns realized that they could easily find their way to the school, even though it was located downtown.

Equally interesting are those items ranked as either a moderate or major concern for college interns at the beginning and end of the five week experience (Table 2). Three items remained constant as perceived areas of concerns by the teacher interns: 1) students coming to school ready to learn; 2) student respect for teachers; and 3) classroom management. Two new areas of concern emerged for teacher interns after the experience: parent involvement and students general health.

TABLE 2
Items Most Highly Ranked as Moderate to Major Concerns at Pre and Post Survey

" To what extent do you feel that the following issues will be of concern to you in your tutoring experiences at urban schools?"	Pre Survey	Post Survey
Students coming to school ready to learn	65.4%	57.7%
Student respect for teachers	53.9%	48.1%
My ability to manage student behavior	53.8%	48.1%
Parent involvement	50%	40.4%
Student's general health	42.3 %	34.6%

Discussion

We found these results interesting in that they suggested a change overall in how this group of young people viewed city schools. As is the case for many college students considering teaching as a profession, the majority of our interns were White females who did not come from an urban school. Interns held stereotypes about what they expected to see in an urban school including charged violent environments and deteriorating buildings. Prior to visiting the school the first time, nearly half the teacher candidates expressed concerns about students' weapon possession. However, after simply spending time in an urban school, interns were able to change their schema for the type of learning that could occur there. Interns' general concerns about the lack of resources for education and physical plant seemed to diminish over the course of the experience as well. It is important for teacher interns to experience this type of school-based teaching activity early on in their teacher preparation program because it establishes a type of cognitive set that yields greater learning potential. Helping potential urban educators, especially if they do not come from an urban environment, envision that positive learning climates can exist in urban schools paths the way for considering new pedagogies and possibilities during formal teacher training.

This study found that at the conclusion of the experience, many of the teacher candidates voiced new concerns, not related to their own well being or competence, but related to the students they taught including concerns about student readiness to learn, family support and general health. Teaching experiences in real urban schools afforded these interns opportunities to understand urban students a little better and to recognize the importance of a teacher's knowledge and application of strategies to meet the needs of students who enter school less prepared. In a sense, teacher intern concerns shifted from larger macro-level issues (building, resources,…) to micro-level ones (students' abilities, health, parents,…). It is unclear whether an increase in interns' concerns over parent involvement was the result of actual familial interactions or the result of discussions with the classroom teachers. Communication with parents during the summer tutoring was not among the responsibilities of the interns. Therefore, we suspect that concerns about parental involvement and their influence on academic achievement of the students were expressed by the classroom teachers and hence adopted by the interns; warranted or not. Indeed, previous research reports evidence that educator beliefs can change with training and experiential interventions, however, the direction of those changes may be unpredictable (Wideen, Mayer-Smith, and Moon, 1998). Helping teachers work with parents as educational partners is an ongoing area of professional development

and advanced graduate work. Teachers report that it is a major concern and often express frustrations that may be explained by a lack of understanding of culture and class differences. In addition, it is disappointing to note that respect for the teacher was a reported concern both before and after the intern's experience. This suggests some of the preconceived perceptions about teacher-learner interactions were reinforced based on the experience. Results of this study suggest that follow up training with college interns regarding these issues (parents, teacher respect) would be important in order for new teachers to enter schools with the confidence and attitudes necessary for working well with parents and building a respectful learning community in their classrooms.

Implications

National discussions continue on the need for recruiting more entering college students into the field of education and specifically becoming an educator and administrator in an urban school setting. Some strategies target recruitment efforts on large metropolitan areas in order to take advantage of the fact that many graduates return home to work after graduation and enter the program with greater understandings of urban schools and experiences. We, too, have observed this to be the case. However, results from this study, suggest that even when teacher candidates do not originate from a city center they can change where they envision themselves teaching after graduating—even in environments that are foreign to them. This implies that teacher candidates need to be required to participate in specialized teaching experiences in high-need schools in order to develop positive cognitive sets about teaching and learning in urban schools. Our study suggests that these experiences are powerful early on in the teacher preparation program in order to build the skills and strategies needed to feel more confident in supporting students in high-need schools and to help develop a teacher workforce that will stay in the area and not return to suburban home bases. We note, however, the problems of teacher retention in urban settings and that by helping new teachers commit to teaching in urban schools where there are no adequate quality teacher induction programs in place is problematic to say the least.

Another implication of the study is that school-based teaching experiences may have a greater effect if they involve personal interactions and directly work with students in the school rather than experiences where interns remain on the periphery (e.g., observations, simulations, analogues). Among the most significant changes in perceptions by teacher interns related to more positive attitudes about urban schooling. However, this change in perceptions may be attributed to the intensive, and somewhat personal, experiences with the students

and the classroom teacher during the process. The program in this study really focused the experience at the classroom level and the interns had limited opportunities to interact with the school as a whole. Interns perceptions of urban "schools" were changed because of their experience with urban "classrooms". However, as was the case with the development of new concerns over parental involvement and a lack of respect for the teacher, we strongly believe that the school-based experience needs to also contain a mediation component, perhaps back on the college campus, that helps interns thoughtfully process and reflect upon all that they have experienced directly.

Overall, results from this study suggest that school partnerships with teacher education programs in colleges and universities can effectively respond to the need for more qualified, certified teachers for metropolitan area schools. The impact of spending time in an urban school can be significant and provide young people with both personal growth as well as a better window into the world of a city school and its students. It also offers ways for teacher education departments to assess their current programs to ensure that perceptions, such as those found here, are discussed and that changes resulting from school partnership experiences are expanded upon and reinforced as appropriate.

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Impediments, Supports, and Suggestions for Effective Teaching of Mathematics: What Urban Teachers and Principals S

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This study rests on written statements made by New York City teachers and administrators. The study documents what a sample of urban teachers of mathematics and school principals in elementary, middle, and high schools state are: impediments of, as well as supports to, their productive teaching of mathematics, and their suggestions of what is needed to help promote the productive teaching of mathematics.

Introduction

This study of urban public and parochial teachers and administrators documents what a sample of teachers of mathematics and school principals in elementary, middle, and high schools report are supports, as well as impediments to the productive teaching of mathematics. They also provide suggestions on how better to promote effective teaching of mathematics. In an area of interest that has been extensively studied by quantitative methods, we believe the value of this qualitative research piece is in documenting the voices of urban teachers and principals across grades K-12 regarding the question of how to improve mathematics education for school children.

Discussion of the Literature

Since research shows that teacher beliefs strongly influence teacher instructional practice (Dougherty, 1990; Grant, 1984; Shroyer, 1978; Steinberg, Haymore, & Marks, 1985; Thompson, 1984), the results of this study provide information that might be used by all stake holders in mathematics education and buttress the argument for teachers, students, administrators, teacher educators, community representatives, and researchers to inform decision makers of what teachers identify as needed support.

Social teaching norms (Stigler & Hiebert, 1999) and the classroom situation (Raymond, 1997) are particularly strong influences on

mathematics teaching practices and contribute to inconsistencies between teacher beliefs and practice about effective mathematics teachings. Thompson (1984) suggests that such instructional barriers result in practice that is more traditional than the teachers' stated pedagogical beliefs. The classroom factors linked to these practices are time constraints, scarcity of resources, classroom management and standardized testing (Raymond, 1997). Briars (1999) also attributed the lack of ongoing staff development as an impediment to implementing reform-based mathematics teaching. Research also suggests that the most effective way to implement reform based mathematics instruction is to provide continuous professional development that focuses on changes in beliefs and practice (Ross, McDougall, & Hogaboam-Gray, 2002).

Methods

This study invited teachers and principals to respond to a qualitative instrument containing three open-ended questions: (a) What factors help teachers do a productive job teaching math? (b) What factors get in a teacher's way of teaching math productively? And (c) What do you suggest that would promote the productive teaching of math?

All written responses were transcribed and coded for source, position, and demographic variables. The qualitative analytical process (Riesman, 1993; Tesch, 1987; Wolcott, 1990; Ely, 1997) was then applied by studying statements, chunking, categorizing, re-categorizing, and grouping statements, in a search for themes, meta-themes, and unique cases. This resulting analytical system was further refined with the use of QualRus, a qualitative research program, that allowed us to disaggregate and illustrate the data by the demographic variables. The open-ended survey sampling included approximately 436 public and private school teachers and 26 public and private school principals. We sent the instrument to 18 New York City Public Schools that included six middle schools, and six high schools. In addition, we sampled eight private New York City Diocesan Schools of which three were K-8 s and five were high schools. The sample was randomly selected using free lunch statistics to obtain an equal distribution across three socio-economic groups. A total of 324 surveys were distributed in the New York City Public Schools and 138 surveys sent to private Diocesan Schools.

Findings

Forty teachers and 14 principals completed and returned the open-ended questionnaire. This was a return rate of over 61% for principals and over 9% for teachers. Our instrument required more time and effort than instruments such as forced choice and Likert scale surveys. Perhaps teachers had just too much on their plates. Perhaps they may have felt

their voices do not matter. Principals on the other hand may have felt it more professionally important to speak for themselves their entire faculty. The respondents were evenly distributed between public and parochial schools, approximately 47.5% versus 52.5%, respectively. Close to two thirds of the respondents were female. Total years of teaching experience varied widely, ranging from one to 35 years. The distribution of years teaching tended to be predominately new teacher with 1-5 years of teaching experience (41%). The group with the fewest respondents (7.7%) had 11-15 years experience.

Question 1: What factors help you as a teacher to do a productive job of teaching math?

Forty teachers wrote responses to this open-ended question. These responses provided a total of 111 items that fell into 6 broad factors that were considered helpful: pedagogy, administrative and system support, materials, teacher characteristics, teacher preparation and education, and students. Response distributions to this question can be found in Figure 1.

Fourteen principals wrote responses to the question: What factors help teachers do a productive job of teaching math? Their responses were chunked into 43 items that were placed into six categories (administrative and system support, ongoing professional development, materials, teacher characteristics, teacher preparation and education, and teacher's math understanding).

By far the greatest number of responses from the teachers (39%) were related to teaching methods or pedagogy. These consisted of relating math to students' lives, using manipulatives or visuals, and doing cooperative group work. Principals did not mention teacher pedagogy as a factor in teaching mathematics productively.

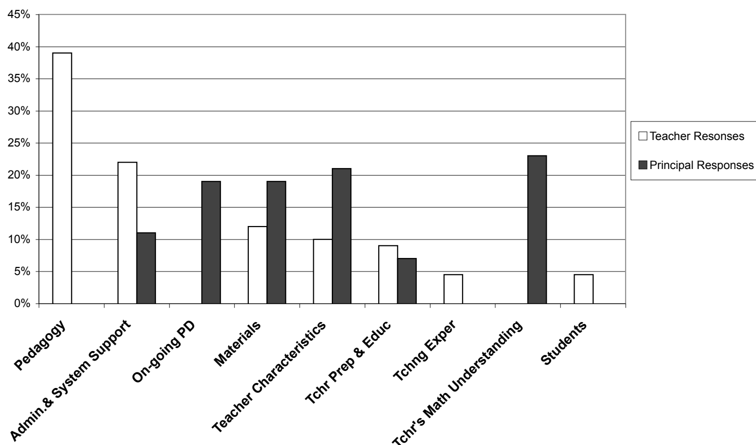
Twenty two percent of the items from the teachers' perspective fell into a category we called "Administration and System Support. These referred to support from other teachers and building administrators. Six percent of the principals responded with comments about giving teachers time and four percent of the principals specifically mentioned administrative and system mentor support. We put these sub categories into the category of administration and system support. While the teachers' comments referred specifically to support by other people, the principals' comments referred to such people support to a much lesser extent.

Ongoing teacher professional development was a reply given by principals (19%). Teachers did not cite ongoing professional development as a factor that helped them teach more productively.

FIGURE 1

What Factors Help?

Question 1: What Factors Help?



Twelve percent of the items given by teachers were about materials and resources such as use of manipulatives and technology. Principals also saw materials and resources as helpful for the teaching of mathematics (19%).

The category of "Teacher Characteristics" emerged in both teacher (10%) and principal (21%) responses. Comments referred to: (a) teacher interest in or love of mathematics, (b) organized or logical persons, and (c) belief in the value of drill.

There was a similar response distribution for the category, "Teacher Preparation and Education." Nine percent of the teachers and seven percent of the principals noted the importance of teacher preparation and education.

A few teachers also mentioned previous experience and students as contributing to their mathematics teaching success (4.5% each). Interestingly, only principals noted the importance of a teacher's mathematical understandings (23%) as an important factor in the productive teaching of mathematics. Their comments included teacher ability to understand concepts and misconceptions.

In comparing responses of teachers and principals to this question, teachers emphasized the importance of teaching strategies. Both groups cited materials, and teachers' characteristics, with principals giving more voice to teacher characteristics. The teachers described these characteristics as closely related to math strategies while the principals noted more person-related items. The teachers gave recognition to their peers in helping them to do a good job in math. The principals did not mention other teachers as a means of support. Nineteen percent of

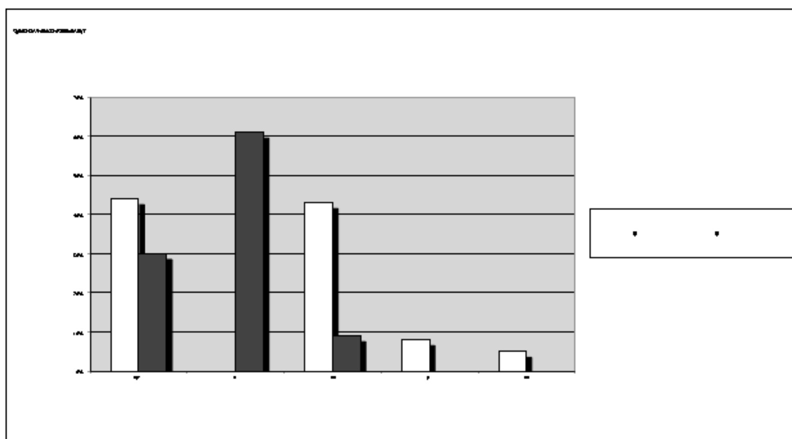
principal responses were about the value of ongoing teacher professional development. The teachers never mentioned this as a factor, nor did they report content knowledge and understanding, as stated above, as important.

Question 2: What gets in the way of you doing a productive job of teaching math?

The forty teachers responded by providing 74 items. These were grouped into three categories of the system, students, and teaching issues. The principals provided 33 replies to this question that also fell into three categories: teacher related, the system, and students. The distribution of responses for question 2 can be found in Figure 2.

The system getting in the way was reported by teachers in comments such as: "Given the demands of time and syllabus there is no chance of nurturing an appreciation of the beauty of math." And, " Curriculum is designed very pragmatically to best prepare students to get high grades on standardized tests." System-controlled factors such as: (a) time constraints, (b) being given clerical and non-teaching assignments, (c) curriculum constraints, (d) inadequate resources and texts , and (e) too many students were also noted by the teachers (44%). Principals reported system factors to a lesser extent (30%): (a) improper teacher placement, (b) interruptions, (c) time limits, (d) textbooks, (e) test scores, (f) repetition of curriculum, and (g) inadequate manipulatives and other materials.

FIGURE 2
What Factors Get in the Way?



Percentages of teachers who blamed the system by teacher characteristics of school system, years teaching, professional

development activities, gender, and grade level were also computed. 61% of the New York City and 70% of the Diocesan teacher respondents blamed the system. 75% of teachers with more than five years teaching and 46% of teacher with less than five hears blamed the sytem. 68% of teachers with some professional development compared to 40% of teachers with no reported professional development blamed the system. 62% of the female and 61% of the male teacher respondents blamed the system. When comparing grades taught, 71% of the K-2 teachers, 50% of the grade 3-5 teachers, and 60% of the 9-12 teachers blamed the system. Grade 6-8 teachers are not reported because in the public schools they are in a middle school setting and in the Diocese they are part of a K-8 school.

An inspection of these results reveals the system cited as a problem by all demographic variables. However, teachers with less than five years teaching experience were less likely to blame the system than more experienced teachers. Teacher frustration with the system over time may well be responsible for this difference. Also, teachers with no professional development were less likely to blame the system. It may be teachers with some professional development blamed the system because they could not implement practices learned during the professional development sessions. Early childhood teachers, perhaps because they are more child centered, were most likely to blame the system.

Teachers viewed students as a negative factor in the teaching of mathematics (43%) much more frequently than principals (9%). Teachers identified inappropriate behavior (19%) that was described as uncooperative, disruptive, lacking motivation, and poor attendance. They listed a plethora of negative student comments that included poor academic skills and attitudes such as: (a) not making connections; (b) inadequate study habits; (c) not understanding concepts, uses, or purposes of math; (d) being below grade level; (e) not doing homework; and (f) lacking skills they should have learned previously. Also included in the "students get in the way" category were statements about student makeup of classes, such as having four or five special needs students who struggle to follow the majority of the class, as well as having such a wide range of abilities in classes.

Similarly, percentages of teachers who blamed students disaggregated by the same teacher characteristics of school system, years teaching, professional development activities, gender, and grade level were computed and compared. 62% of the public school teachers and 55% of the Diocesan teachers blamed the students. 62% of teachers with more than five years teaching and 66% of teachers with five years or less of teaching experience identified student characteristics as a negative factor. 65% of teachers with some professional development and 60% of

teachers with no professional development identified student characteristics as a negative factor. 76% of male teacher respondents and 59% of the female teachers identified student characteristics as a negative factor. When comparing grades taught, 42% of the K-2 teacher respondents , 65% of the grades 3-5 teachers, and 69% of the 9-12 teachers blamed the students.

An inspection of these results also indicates that groups in all categorizations identified student characteristics as a negative factor. Public school teachers were more likely to identify student characteristics as a negative factor. This may be related to the higher incidences of disciplinary actions in public schools. Higher grade teachers were more likely to cite student characteristics as negative and this probably is due to the fact that older students are expected to have more advanced study habits, higher levels of mathematics knowledge, and more responsibilities. The higher percentage of male teachers sharing this view is probably due the fact that more males teach at the higher grade levels.

Responses of principals that referred to students were much more limited. Their descriptors were about students with poor math skill; students who cannot find help with homework; and students who do not complete their homework.

Eight percent of the teachers responded with teaching related issues. They stated problems such as not grouping by ability, teaching to the state tests, being too textbook dependent and the results of institutional pressures on students. One such comment appears below:

It is very unfortunate that even most of those competitive, goal oriented students who succeed by these criteria do not grow any fonder of the subject or develop an aesthetic sensibility for it. This is especially true because most students fear and/or loathe math to start with, and the rigors and pressures of test preparation only increase this effect. It's too bad.

The principals did not address teaching issues identified by the teachers. They did however, point to teachers as the biggest obstacle to teaching mathematics effectively (61%). Specifically they complained about the teachers' lack of skills in mathematics. One principal wrote: "An unskilled teacher is definitely the worst thing you can give a child." Other teacher shortcomings were being: (a) too dependent on the textbook; (b) a poor classroom manager; (c) unable to teach more than one level of math; (d) boring; (e) ill-prepared; (f) unfamiliar with alternative methods of problem solving; (g) unrealistic about expectations about students; (h) reluctant to implement innovative and new teaching techniques and skills to address individual needs; (i) weak in motivational skills; (j) poor lesson planners; (k) inadequately trained; (l) accustomed to doing too many activities of the same type

when it is evident students have the concept; (m) impatience with children who just don't get; and (n) fearful of math.

In their replies teachers did not emphasize the need to advance their own teaching strategies. While teachers mentioned students positively five times in replies to the first question about productive teaching of mathematics, they gave 32 negative mentions about students to the second question in which they targeted factors that impeded productive mathematics instruction.

In their replies to question 2 about impediments, principals overwhelmingly pointed to the teachers (61%) and the system (30%). They did not mention their own roles. Also, while principals did not cite reform based mathematics teaching as a factor that supports good mathematics teaching, they were vocal in saying that the lack of such reform based mathematics pedagogy in their schools was a factor that has hindered school mathematics instruction.

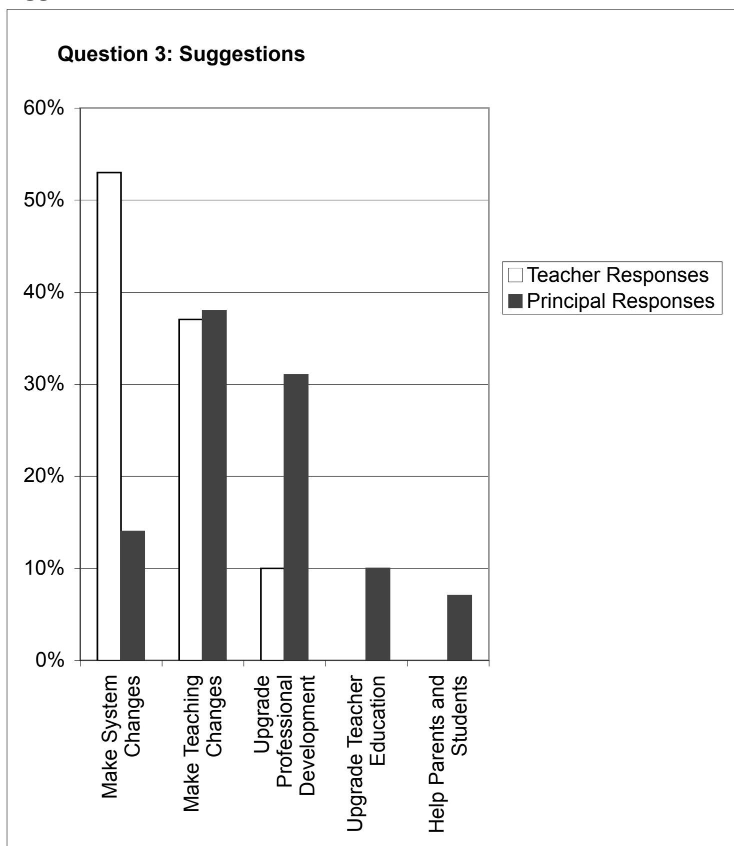
Percentages of principal responses were computed and compared by school system and years of experience. 88% of the Diocesan and 80% of the public school principals identified inadequate teacher skills and knowledge as a factor that inhibited effective mathematics teaching. 90% of principals with 10 years or more experience reported deficient teacher knowledge or skill inhibited good mathematics teaching. However, no principal with four year of experience or less reported this.

While both the public and parochial school principals made high percentages of negative statements about teachers, the Diocesan principals, may have based their opinions in part on the combined effects of the shortage of licensed mathematics teachers and the higher salaries in public schools. This often results in mathematics teachers working out of licensure. While more experienced principals overwhelmingly cited teacher knowledge and skills as a problem, new principals did not claim this. Perhaps being so new, they may still identify with the teachers' perspectives.

Question3: What ideas do you suggest to promote productive teaching of math?

Forty teachers provided 59 items in response to this question. These were grouped in the following way: Make Changes in the System (53%), Make Changes about Teaching (37%), and Upgrade Professional Development (10%). Principals responded to question three with 29 suggestions to promote productive teaching of math. These were grouped into the following categories: make Teaching Changes (38%), Upgrade Teacher Professional Development (31%), Make Changes in the System (14%), Upgrade Teacher Education (10%), and Help Parents and Students (7%). These findings can be found in Figure 3.

FIGURE 3.
Suggestions



Make Changes in the System

(Teachers 53%; Principals 14%). Teacher comments in this category included the need for: (a) smaller classes, (b) more time to teach math, (c) ability grouping, (d) more time to interact with colleagues, (e) less administrative work, (f) more qualified math teachers on lower levels, (g) tutoring for "at risk" students, (h) paraprofessionals in each class, (i) removing discipline problems, (j) eliminating interruptions and paper work, (k) assigning specialists on lower levels, (l) having more interaction between high school and middle school teachers, (m) finding better texts, (n) paying teachers to mentor other teachers, (o) hiring more math specialists, and (p) seeking corporate sponsorship of tuition assistance for math teachers. Principal suggestions included: (a) hire more teachers who were math majors, (b) upgrade materials, (c)

departmentalize lower grades, and (d) purchase necessary manipulatives and equipment.

Make Changes about Teaching (Teachers 37%; *Principals 38%)*. The following are teaching recommendations offered by the teachers: (a) integrate math with subject areas, (b) make math meaningful, (c) have freedom to teach in your own style, (d) incorporate fun activities, (e) teach less to tests, (f) use manipulatives, (g) stress basic skills at the lower grades, (h) know your students and their learning styles, (i) stress fundamentals, (j) use technology, (k) take more field trips and group activities, and (l) help teachers boost their confidence. Principal recommendations called for teachers to develop: (a) well-designed lesson plans tailored to the ability levels of the class; (b) lessons that spiral the teaching of math; (c) ways to have more fun teaching math, relax and take chances; and (d) cross curricular approaches. They also wrote that teachers should include more (a) cooperative learning activities, (b) daily drill of basic facts, (c) focus on rules; (d) use manipulatives and (e) memorization of times tables.

Upgrade Professional Development (Teachers 10%; Principals 31%). Teacher professional education responses included needs to : (a) know more content knowledge, (b) integrate math in other subjects and real world, (c) create better learning environments, (d) better prepare primary teachers, and (e) have more ongoing professional development. Principals recommended that professional development include more: (a) constructivist, hands-on workshops; (b) more frequent teacher development activities; (c) use of trainers in buildings to reinforce workshop models; (d) teacher opportunities to take graduate courses free of charge, (e) information on good Internet sites; and (f) professional conferences. It is interesting to note that percentage wise, principals gave three times as many mentions for the need to upgrade professional development than did teachers.

Upgrade Teacher Education (Principals 10 %). The focus of the principals' comments was on having colleges (a) excite future teachers of math, (b) share research, and (c) provide more training in teaching math.

Help Parents and Students (Principals 7%). Here principal suggestions were to help parents change the attitude of "I can't do math….that's why my child can't do it" and to improve student attendance.

In providing ideas to promote productive teaching of mathematics the teachers focused heavily (53%) on making changes in the system, while principals provided a less weighty set of suggestions (14%) about changing the system. Both teachers and principals wrote of the need to change teaching (38% of the items to 37%, respectively. It is interesting to note that teachers suggested interactions with other teachers as a way

of improving mathematics instruction, but principals made no mention of teacher dialogue as recommendation.

Discussion

Our discussion centers on support for teaching strategies suggested by national mathematics standards, “the blaming syndrome,” and different perspectives of teachers and principals about professional development and peer collaboration.

National Mathematics Standards

Teachers and principals expressed the belief that teaching strategies were an important factor in the teaching of mathematics. Similarly, the use of manipulatives was strongly endorsed; a strategy that relies on both resources and pedagogy. Though some, teachers appear to support a constructivist philosophy of the teaching of mathematics that is aligned with the teaching strategies called for in the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics Principles and Standards for School Mathematics (NCTM, 2000), many still emphasized the need to drill basic facts.

The Blaming Syndrome

Nowhere in the three open-ended questions did we use the term “blame.” However, blame seems to be at the heart of many responses. When asked, teachers blamed the system and students equally (45 % & 43 %) for what gets in the way of their doing a productive job of teaching mathematics. Principals blamed the teachers (61%). Neither group pointed to their own responsibilities in replying to this question. There were no statements such as, (a) “I need to learn how to teach to different children’s needs,” (b) “I need to support my teachers more,” or (c)“more content knowledge or more effective teaching strategies would help me better meet the student’s learning needs.”

Professional Development and Peer Collaboration

Both teachers and principals acknowledged the need to provide further professional development for implementing practices advocated by reform based mathematics. This finding is consistent with Briars (1999) and Ross, McDougall & Hogaboan-Gray (2002). Teachers underscored the importance of cooperation and support of their peers, and guidance from administrators. This was not referenced by the principals. This study confirms Raymond’s (1997) and Thompson’s (1984) findings that teachers and principals reported time constraints, scarcity of resources, problems with classroom management, and standardized testing to hinder effective mathematics teaching.

Although the teachers and principals did not delve deeply into high stake testing, the lock step syndrome, skill and drill messages, and teacher development seen as a means to pass tests, all cast a pall on the promise of reform based mathematics. Imbedded in the blame syndrome were many stake holders need to cast blame elsewhere and to protect themselves professionally.

Further Research

Though much of the response was expected, and while some of it was encouraging, it was disheartening to acknowledge what was not said. That is, there was no acceptance of one's own responsibility for improving mathematics teaching and learning. This needs further study. In the course of this work, we concluded that the voices of parents and students also needed to be sought, as well as those of rural teachers and principals, and the perspectives of newly graduated teachers.

Finally since there were such disparate findings between principals new to the job and those with more than ten years experience, we recommend longitudinal studies of principals over time. We reason that unless we make all stakeholders partners in mathematics reform discussions, all understanding about the state of mathematics education in urban schools will have little impact on the children in classrooms. Teachers and principals are the link, the all important resource that cannot be left out of the mathematics reform equation. A current strategy in teacher development is to empower teachers to work together in teacher support groups. Of interest to the researchers is, what happens over time when teachers are given the opportunity to collaborate on strategies to improve the teaching and learning of mathematics as exemplified by Jim Stigler's lesson study work? Had teachers been more actively involved in their own professional development, would their responses about factors that promote good mathematics teaching mention professional development more frequently? Also, how would teachers and principals respond in interviews that probed the same questions investigated in the current study? We recommend these questions be studied in future research as well as replication of the current study in other urban areas.

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Integrating a New Urban Teacher Education Center into a School and its Community

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A new Sacramento State University Urban Teacher Education Center (UTEC) is located at Jedediah Smith Elementary School, a highly diverse urban school whose students come entirely from two federally subsidized housing complexes. This paper documents the integration of UTEC into the school and its community, including descriptions of the initial set-up of the center, the incorporation of UTEC into its basic structure, how UTEC has expanded its realm into overall school functioning, and UTEC's movement toward learning about and becoming involved in the community agencies, community groups, and neighborhood efforts to provide support for children, their families, and their school.

An Urban Teacher Education Center (UTEC) was created in the Fall of 2004, in collaboration between California State University, Sacramento (CSUS) and the Sacramento City Unified School District. The two key components of UTEC are its field-based and community-oriented approach. Moving away from the traditional approach to teacher preparation, which holds courses on the university campus and puts students in the field only for student teaching, UTEC is based in Jedediah Smith Elementary School. Jedediah Smith School is a very low-income, highly diverse urban school whose students come entirely from two federally subsidized housing complexes. The school's demographics are as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Demographics of Jedediah Smith School

Demographic Characteristic	Percentage of Student Population
African American	53%
Hispanic	23%
Asian	14%
Mixed Race or "Other"	7%
White, Non-Hispanic	3%
Free and Reduced Lunch	100%
English Language Learners	25%

Jedediah Smith School is in "Program Improvement" status, which means that they have not met federally-mandated targets for test score improvement. The school is currently under "watch" for test score improvement, with a list of structural changes such as change in

personnel and curriculum as possible outcomes of not meeting the targets.

This paper documents the first year of the Urban Teacher Education Center's efforts to integrate with the Jedediah Smith School and community. It describes the initial set-up of the center, based in part on the results of student surveys. It lays out how the school incorporated UTEC into its basic structure and how UTEC has expanded its realm into overall school functioning. And finally, it documents UTEC's movement toward learning about and becoming involved in the community agencies, community groups, and neighborhood efforts to provide support for children, their families, and their school. The paper describes some of the outcomes for student teachers in terms of their perceptions of and activities undertaken within this setting, using data from surveys, interviews, and journal reflections of UTEC student teachers as they begin and complete their program.

Creating the Urban Teacher Education Center

One of the long-standing centers for teacher preparation at CSUS was called the Sacramento City Center, which placed student teachers in schools within the Sacramento City Unified School District. This center was traditional in that it offered its university courses on the university campus and then placed student teachers into 12-15 elementary schools for their student teaching experiences. The schools utilized for student teaching placements ranged from low income through to upper income. In the Spring of 2004, a group of faculty and administrators from the Sacramento City Unified School District and CSUS collaboratively created the Urban Teacher Education Center (UTEC). This center replaced the traditional Sacramento City Center, moving the program and the university courses into Jedediah Smith Elementary School and its community.

Student Teachers' Perceptions of Urban Schools

A major concern with teacher education programs, however, is that student teachers will be resistant to placements in urban or multicultural schools and communities (Zimpher & Ashburn, 1992; Valli, 1996; Zeichner & Melnick, 1996). Some studies have attempted to determine how the placement of student teachers in urban schools impacts students' attitudes toward urban schools in general. Several studies have found that student teachers placed in urban settings show a greater skills (Cook & Van Cleaf, 2000) and greater desire (Mason, 1999) to teach in urban, low-income areas. Delgadillo and Haberman (1993) studied urban placement through the lens of teaching student teachers about the available resources and service agencies available for

connection with urban children, and found that knowledge of such agencies did increase future teachers' willingness to learn about and utilize such assistance when teaching, showing increased sensitivity to the needs of those in poverty. Some studies show mixed results regarding the outcomes of placing student teachers in urban areas. Pagano, Weiner, and Rand (1997) found an equal number of future teachers increasing and decreasing (four each) their motivation to teach in urban areas after an urban student teaching experience. And Guyton (1994) found that placement in a school of high poverty resulted in poorer practicum performance but greater student teaching performance.

Surveys of Sacramento City Center and UTEC Student Teachers

A survey of 153 student teachers at nine different teacher preparation centers connected with CSUS was given in 2002 to determine what factors helped student teachers select the center in which they were receiving their teacher preparation program (Noel, 2002). The survey included a frequency checklist, which allowed students to mark every factor that impacted their decision to select their center. It also included an open-ended question that asked for narrative responses to the question "Why did you select the _____ Center?" A subset of 48 of these surveys was analyzed from students who were in the traditional Sacramento City Center.

TABLE 2
Responses on Checklist of Factors: Students' Selection of Teacher Prepa ration Center

	Traditional Program	Urban Teacher Education Center
Diversity	60%	73%
Poverty	33%	65%
Location close to home	88%	60%

The additional open-ended narrative section helps to clarify the responses given on the checklist. For while students may have indicated a number of factors that impacted their decision, they only chose to write about those factors that were most critical to them.

The responses on these surveys were then compared to 21 surveys taken from UTEC students in the Fall of 2004, after the program description had been written to focus on the urban, community-oriented nature of the program. The following table lists the percentage of students in the previous and revised current programs who indicated that the three characteristics of the Sacramento City Unified School District of diversity, poverty, and location close to home, were important factors in helping them to make their decision about which program to enter.

TABLE 3

Narrative Responses: Students' Selection of Teacher Preparation Center

	Traditional Program	Urban Teacher Education Center
Diversity/urban/poverty/inner city/multicultural/low income/in need/disadvantaged	35%	67%
Location close to home	54%	10%
A chance to work with the community	1%	15%

The results of the survey in the Fall of 2002 helped to shape the direction of the new center, resulting in a new description of the center that would give entering students a more realistic picture of the program which they were entering.

UTEC. The Urban Teacher Education Center (UTEC) is a community-oriented, field-based program designed to prepare future educators for urban schools and communities. Student teachers in UTEC will spend their teacher preparation program in schools and communities in order to better understand the realities of urban education, including the social, political, and economic conditions impacting the lives and education of urban children and their families. To this end, student teachers will learn about the community agencies, community groups, and neighborhood efforts to provide support for children, their families, and their schools, and will take part in the important work of these groups.

Integrating Structurally into the School: A Classroom, a Mailbox, a Nametag, and a Refrigerator

Jedediah Smith School immediately incorporated UTEC in the structural functioning of the school. We were given Room 7 for our classroom, in which we currently teach 75 student teachers on a weekly basis. To make us feel at home, the school also donated an old refrigerator for our program. We were given a mailbox within the set of teachers' and staff mailboxes, in which we receive copies of everything that the teachers and staff receive. This allows us to keep up on both the most important school events and the most mundane daily operations of the school. Faculty and student teachers each semester are given Jedediah Smith nametags, letting staff, students, parents, and the student teachers themselves know that they are part of the everyday operations of the school.

And crucially, every teacher in the school, including the Special Education teacher, has a pair of student teachers in their classrooms for at

least two hours each week while student teachers are in their first semester of their three semester program. Faculty have become integrated into the functioning of the school by serving as members of the school's Multicultural Committee and of the School Site Council.

Expanding into School-Wide Events:
A Library, MESA, and a Family Resource Center

As we have become more integrated into the school's educational efforts to improve the achievement of students, we have proposed and have been successful in initiating three major school-wide efforts: the opening of the school's library, teaching the MESA program, and opening the Family Resource Center. While the school's library has been open with a functioning librarian in previous years, the Fall of 2005 saw the withdrawal of funding for the librarian, thus the library was not open to students. With school district approval, UTEC student teachers now open the Library for free reading time for the schoolchildren. While not allowed to check-in and check-out books, opening the Library for one hour per day has allowed children access to enjoy reading the books in the library for an open period of one hour per day.

Student teachers in the Urban Teacher Education Center are also the teachers for the MESA (Math, Engineering, and Science Achievement) program, under the guidance of one university professor and one teacher at the school. While we were originally told by the district MESA office that we could expect only about 20 students to be involved at Jedediah Smith School, we are pleased that there are 60 students from 2nd-6th grades in the program, and that three of our MESA students recently won awards at the regional MESA math competition.

Jedediah Smith School and the Urban Teacher Education Center have created a Family Resource Center in one of the previously unused classrooms at the school, with student teachers serving as the coordinators of the new center. We have been operating with a consciousness of the research and theoretical literature on parent and community involvement. Our perspective is that parents in urban communities have been misunderstood regarding their desires to help their children in school, and that it is often a mismatch between what schools and parents understand to be supportive parental involvement (Noguera, 1999; Chavkin & Gonzalez, 1995; Cotton & Wikelund, 1989; Epstein, 1997). With this in mind, we wanted to be very careful to not impose our own ideas on the families who will utilize it, but rather to incorporate the community's ideas equally with our own. To this end, we held a community opening during which time the parents came in to help decorate and organize the room. They gave us their suggestions for what they would like to see and have available in the center. The center, still in its early stages, is providing computer and internet access, information

about job openings, applications to local colleges, and will eventually offer adult education courses. We also serve coffee and tea to parents who walk their children to school in the mornings.

Integrating into the School's Community:
Tutoring, Mentoring, and Talking to Community Members

Several urban educators have proposed as part of their overall work on urban education that involvement with community should be an important part of teacher education. Howey (2001), for instance, in describing "The Great City Universities Urban Educator Corps Partnership Initiative," lays out 10 general attributes of a good urban teacher education program, including attribute #8: "The involvement of prospective teachers in a host of urban community and community agency activities" (p. 13). The CREDE (Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence) group, which includes educators such as Roland Tharp and Catherine Cooper, identifies a key theme within the research that they have conducted as "Schools, Family, and Community," which entails "methods and principles for local contextualization of instruction through school interrelationships with families and community agencies." Murrell (2001), as another example, proposes a particular framework for effective urban teaching that he calls "The Community Teacher." He presents a model of a community teacher that connects and engages teachers with the communities where their urban students live. And finally Luis Moll has advocated for teachers to become engaged with the families of their students, conducting home visits with an ethnographic eye. Teachers who learn the community's and family's "funds of knowledge" will be better able to connect to the daily lives and values of the children in their classrooms.

Student teachers and faculty from the Urban Teacher Education Center have begun to learn about and become involved in the community's social service and educational activities outside the school. Perhaps our most important connection to the community has come through our involvement with the Paul Robeson Acceleration Academy, an after-school tutoring/ mentoring program held within the housing complex across the street from Jedediah Smith School. It was founded and operated by two men (Tony Whitehead and Malcolm Floyd) who grew up in the complex and now give back to their community through this program. Following three years of operating the program alone, Tony and Malcolm now draw on the student teachers in the UTEC program to be the tutors/mentors. This has created a sense of consistency for the program. It has also enabled student teachers and faculty who volunteer to learn more about the lives of children, as it is held within the housing complex rather than on

school grounds. Student teachers in UTEC also have adopted the program and provide for the school supplies needed by the currently un-funded program.

Community Studies

The culminating project for student teachers in their first semester of the UTEC program is a "community study," in which they get to know the community, the neighborhoods, and the public housing complexes in which the children and families live. Prior to re-locating this program into the elementary school, when the program was still taught on the university campus, four students chose to do their community study on Jedediah Smith School. Two of these students did not visit the school or community, doing their research on-line, while one visited the school's pre-school and one visited the Head Start program in the community.

However, with the creation of UTEC and the location of the program on the elementary school campus and with work in the neighborhoods, the students now all do their community studies in the Jedediah Smith School-community. New approaches to this community study undertaken by student teachers include:

- interviewing the director of the social service agencies complex on-site at one of the housing complexes;
- interviewing and spending time on the job with the "crosswalk lady," and with the "playground aide," who both live in the neighborhood;
- surveying the children in their classes about their views on whether the library should be re-opened;
- talking with the workers at CalWorks, the agency that assists in job searches by residents of the housing complexes;
- riding public transportation to meet parents; and
- talking with members of a nearby church that has adopted the school to provide service to children, families, and teachers.
- student teacher interviews

The first group of student teachers in the program was interviewed regarding their experiences in UTEC. While many responses described learning about how to teach, three types of responses were especially oriented toward being in a school on a daily basis, rather than in the university setting. As student teachers stated:

> We get to know the life of the school outside of the classroom.
> We get to know the teachers and children in many different settings.
> We become constantly aware of ourselves as teachers and mentors.

Final Notes

Since the university courses for UTEC were moved into Jedediah Smith School, we, for the first time, learned how to become part of an

urban elementary school and its community. The process of learning about the school's surrounding community has been a slower process than expected; yet deeper relationships have also been created than originally expected. We are most gratified that we have been asked to be major contributors to the Family Resource Center and the Paul Robeson Acceleration Academy. We hope to continue to develop and create further and deeper connections with community, benefiting our student teachers, the K-6 students, and the families who live in the Jedediah Smith community.

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Talk among student teachers in an urban high school: Questioning dimensions of difference

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Race and other forms of difference are socially constructed concepts, continually reproduced and redefined in interaction. It is important to focus on how race and class are constructed by future teachers, because the ways in which they perceive their students may affect their interactions in the classroom, including having lower expectations for certain minority groups. This study focuses on how a cohort of interns – predominantly White (European American) and middle-class – make sense of racial and class differences while teaching in an urban, low-income, minority-race high school. Ethnographically oriented discourse analysis was employed to examine the interns' representations of difference. Findings include the rarity of explicit discourse about race and class, the functions of various discourse strategies to circumvent explicit discussions, and a deficit model approach among interns toward educating low income, minority students.

"Teaching and student teaching are recognized as fundamentally political activities in which every teacher plays a part by design or by default."
(Teacher Education Program Handbook)

Inequities based on race and socioeconomic status pose a serious problem in the US public schools. According to Kozol (1991), it is predominantly students of color and poor students who do not have access to high quality, public education. He further described public schools as reproducing the current racial and socioeconomic stratifications seen in society. Beane and Apple (1995) espoused a different view of the public educational system as a means for change away from the current structure of White, middle-class privilege.

Schools serve as a major institution for the socialization of youth. As authorities in the classroom, teachers may unwittingly privilege White, middle-class norms for conversational interaction and non-verbal behavior (Ferguson, 1999; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Students who talk and behave according to majority norms are praised as good students. Those who talk or act differently may be identified as rude, disrespectful, or disruptive. Schools can function to reproduce current race and class stratifications in society by giving preference to the current dominant norms for interpretation and interaction.

On the other hand, schools and teachers can help to re-center current norms to include other racial, cultural, and economic groups. One way to accomplish this is to teach minority or lower-income students

about the “culture of power” (Delpit 1995) – the rules for conduct in social situations, dictated by those in power. With a teacher’s guidance, students can find a balance between honoring their culture and becoming versed in the culture of the White, middle-class community, including the use of standard (White) English.

The Teacher Education Program in this study strongly espoused the view of teachers and schools as agents of change (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1992; Noordhoff & Kleinfeld, 1993). The interns in the program, all pre-service teacher candidates, were expected to critically reflect through conversational interaction upon current problems in American society, propose remedies, and make a difference in their field placements (Acosta-Deprez, 1995; Davis, 1995; Khera, 1995). As more programs attempt to incorporate diversity education into their curricula, both students and faculty struggle with varying degrees of success in holding critical, reflective discussions on socially taboo topics (Bruna, 1999; Noordhoff & Kleinfeld, 1993; Ravitch, 1999).

This study involved a rigorous examination of the conversations of a cohort of 44 interns in a one-year, Masters-level, urban teacher education program. The research focused on the ways in which this cohort utilized conversational interaction to make sense of their teaching experiences in an urban high school serving low income, minority students. The majority of interns were White (European American) and middle-class.

Scholars have come to understand race and other forms of difference as socially constructed concepts, which are continually reproduced and redefined in interaction (Omi & Winant, 1986). According to Lave and Wenger (1991/1996), the world is socially constituted, and learning and knowing arise in relation among people engaged in activity. In the present study, this referred to interns engaging in conversational interaction about issues of race and class in their schools. The interns "formulate(d) linguistic representations of their understanding(s)" of the issues they encountered daily in their field experiences and offered them as contributions to the discussion of the cohort (Wells & Chang-Wells, 1992). The cohort members then responded verbally or non-verbally, providing feedback to the original speaker, as well as input for the other listeners. In this way, the speakers' and hearers' linguistic representations of issues related to race and class might be modified through interaction.

Researchers in many fields have postulated that the construction of knowledge within a community of learners via oral communication can greatly facilitate intrapersonal and interpersonal growth and learning (Henson, 1993; Knights, 1995; Lave & Wenger, 1991/1996; Rogoff & Gardner, 1984; Shor, 1980; Vygotsky, 1962/1969). Following this theory, the teacher education program in this study sought to address

issues of urban education through the formation of a "community" of interns and supervisors who met to talk about how best to teach the high school students. The following excerpt is taken from the program's Teacher Education Handbook:

"With cooperating teacher(s) and Teacher Education faculty, interns participate in group seminars that become intellectual communities wherein they can discuss and critique current theory and research, reflect on their own practices in light of these, and share and revise, through writing and talking, their ideas about teaching and learning."

The present research examined how the interns utilized conversation to make sense of the differences they encountered in their student teaching experiences. The research questions were as follows:

1) What was the nature of the talk among the interns in an urban teacher education program?

2) How did the interns use conversational interaction to make sense of the racial and class differences encountered while teaching in an urban high school?

Ethnographically oriented discourse analysis, or interactional sociolinguistics, was used to examine the representations held by interns regarding the dimensions of difference they encountered. This method involved the context-sensitive microanalysis of language in interaction (Tannen 1993). Attention was given to the examination of speech situations (Hymes, 1972, 1974), interactional sociolinguistics (Goffman, 1981; Gumperz, 1982), social rules governing speech communities (Wolfson, 1989), politeness strategies and face-saving (Brown & Levinson, 1978/1987; Richards, Platt, & Platt, 1992), and the form-function relationships of laughter, back-channeling, and silence (Schiffrin, 1994). The texts were taken from audio-taped transcripts of the interns' weekly meetings with supervisors and semi-structured interviews conducted over the course of the program. Entry- and exit-interviews were conducted with a representative subset of ten interns. Initial interviews focused on philosophy of teaching, expectations for the program, and experiences with people who were different from them. Exit interviews asked interns to compare their initial philosophy and expectations versus their current views. The exit interviews were also used to share initial findings and request feedback.

Ethnographic understandings of the contexts for interaction were drawn from field notes recorded in interns' university classes, interns' own classrooms at the high school, and other places where the interns met to talk. The researcher was initially introduced as a currently certified high school teacher, conducting research on urban teacher education programs. As a White, middle-class female of similar age, the researcher blended well with the community of interns. The researcher was never in

the role of instructor or evaluator, and instead sat alongside interns in their classes.

The Teacher Education Program

The Teacher Education Program (TEP) was based in a large university in a major metropolitan area. According to the program literature, interns were expected to examine the political, social, and economic forces which shape US education, particularly the factory model of education, schools as reproducers of the social order, and the place of race, class, and gender as important social constructs. These goals became important in the analysis, because examples of interns examining constructs of race and class were not as prevalent as expected.

Of the forty-four interns in TEP, approximately 60% were female, and almost 25% were students of color (African American, Asian American, Latino, or biracial). I studied the whole cohort of 44 interns and focused in-depth on a representative subset of ten interns placed at Coventry High School (CHS). CHS was a comprehensive public school, serving close to 1800 students. Its student population was 90% African American and 99.5% minority in terms of race or ethnicity. Since an overwhelming majority of its students were eligible to receive free or reduced lunches, the school made meals available to all students at no cost.

Results

Data was drawn from ethnographic observations of the whole cohort of 44 interns and from audio-taped transcripts of weekly meetings and interviews with the subset of ten interns at CHS. Data from the transcripts and the field notes were initially analyzed separately. When both sources showed similar trends, the final analysis combined the data points. Across a year of observations and audio-taping, I found very little explicit talk among the interns in the program. During 200+ hours of data collection, approximately 80 explicit comments were recorded. From the data, the following definitions were operationalized:

- *Explicit references* in discourse were those which named or described the race or class of a particular person or group of persons using unambiguous terms such as “Black,” “White,” or “middle class.”
  - “As a White woman, I will never truly understand what it means to be Black in this society.”
- *Implicit or indirect references* in discourse were those which referred to a person or group of persons and could be traced through a series of assumptions back to a particular racial or class-delimited group. Examples include “urban learner” and “ghetto school.”

− “I let her sleep in class because sometimes her little girl keeps her up all night.” (A White intern described a Black, single mother in her classroom.)

• *Extra-linguistic references* referred to discourse which only made sense when paired with visually explicit information, such as the skin color of the speaker or the skin color of other individuals in the immediate physical setting.

− “Women clutch their handbags when they see me walking towards them on the sidewalk.” (The speaker is a Black male.)

These definitions should not be considered distinct categories; rather they provided a framework for analyzing the data. They can be considered as signposts along a continuum of explicitness in talking about race and class.

Since the original goal of the research had been to examine the explicit talk found within the program, the next stages of analysis focused on the nature of the discourse. Specifically, I sought to understand where the explicit discourse did and did not exist, and to explore possible explanations for the paucity of explicit discourse in a program that espoused open examination of the challenges involved in educating students in an under-resourced district.

Major Assertions for Explicit References to Race and Class

First, majority and minority-race interns initiated explicit race- or class-related comments in similar proportions (see Table 1). In this table, both race and gender were evaluated to determine if any patterns were observable in terms of who initiated explicit comments. In Rows 2 (% of interns in TEP program) and 3 (% of explicit comments made), the percentages are closely aligned. Although there was no observable pattern in looking solely at race or gender, patterns were observable in terms of who spoke at different times in the program in different contexts. This idea, along with examples, is explored later.

TABLE 1
Number of Interns by Race and Gender vs. Number of Explicit Comments Made

	Minority male interns	Minority female interns	White male interns	White female interns
% of interns in TEP program	11.5%	11.5%	25.5%	51.5%
% of explicit comments made	10%	12%	24%	54%
Ratio of interns to comments made	1.15	1.04	1.06	0.95

Given the small number of explicit comments found in the data, I analyzed the interactions surrounding each comment, specifically what kind of responses these comments were receiving, either from a peer or instructor. Of all explicit references made, only half were followed up by a related comment. The other half of the time, there was either no response or simply an affirmation from the professor such as a nod or “OK,” before moving on to another topic. The following two vignettes provide examples of explicit references to race and class.

In the first example, the class was discussing the excessive publicity surrounding Princess Diana and how the media contributed to the commercialization of females. Lee, an Asian American intern, shared the example of a professional woman who married a Japanese prince, and how the media dropped her story after one week. He asked, “What culture and race do we hold up in the media?” No one responded to his query, and the discussion turned to other topics.

The second vignette took place during a whole group meeting of the CHS interns. This group met weekly at the principal’s request to keep him informed on their experiences in the school.

One intern shared a recent lesson plan from his English class, in which students used Jerry Springer’s talk show format to debate the dilemmas in a book they had read. In concluding his description, the intern commented, “The students see me as an awkward, geeky White guy, but they like me anyway and go along with my crazy ideas” (he laughed and rocked back in his chair). There was no response, and the next intern who spoke proceeded to share his own classroom story.

If social reality is largely constructed through conversation with others, then the response to a comment or the lack thereof can be a powerful tool in shaping a joint construction of a shared reality. If a speaker receives no response or a response to only part of his or her comment, the speaker may learn through negative reinforcement to withhold certain comments (see Philips, 1972, for discussion of response ratification). Reactions to explicit comments included changing the topic, ignoring the speaker, or responding only to the non-racialized part of the comment. These discourse strategies can be used by listeners to reinforce group norms of interaction regarding sensitive topics.

The content of the explicit comments was examined next, to determine if the content had any relationship to the lack of responses. The content of explicit comments can be divided into two major categories: (a) insider knowledge about a particular culture and (b) an active stance towards societal and personal racism. The former engendered no discussion; the latter were made by both minority and majority students and received responses about 50% of the time.

In the first instance, insider comments refer to those made by a member of a particular racial group. For example, a White person might comment on their unique perspective, or a person of color might make a comment about racial discrimination they experiences. In one example, the interns were discussing *The Education and Killing of Edmund Perry*, a book about a Black youth who attended a private, predominantly White school through the ABC (A Better Chance) program. An African American intern shared that most of the minorities in his school had been ABC students. Silence followed for several seconds. The professor finally spoke and asked, "Can anyone make a connection between this book and *Guns, Germs, and Steel* [another course text]?"
The second category, an active stance towards racism, received responses approximately 50% of the time (see Table 2). When a White intern raised the question, "Does anyone have any thoughts about the School District's lawsuit claiming racial bias in State funding…," another White intern responded with a lengthy discourse about the Superintendent. The only reference to the bias aspect of the initial question was, "The claim won't work." This pattern of not responding or selectively responding to parts of someone's contribution without mentioning the explicit aspect(s) was seen in both university classrooms and meetings at CHS. In both vignettes, the interns as a group did not pursue topics related to race which were raised by their peers.

TABLE 2
Type of Comment vs. Response Frequency

Comments by Topical Category	Comments Made	Responses Received
Insider comments about a particular race/culture	7	0
Active stance towards racism	30	14

These kinds of discourse strategies – silence or a selective response – can potentially be face-saving for the person providing the response. If the topic is generally considered to be sensitive in nature or even taboo, then the listener may attempt to provide a response which recognizes the speaker's statement while at the same time diffusing the social tension surrounding the topic. This strategy on the listener's part can allow for resolution of a potentially uncomfortable situation, but the opportunity for critical reflection in a guided academic context is lost.

Finally, I explored the context in which the explicit talk occurred. A number of factors appeared to contribute to or foster explicit dialogue. In particular, a task focus on race or class, use of small groups, and limitations on feedback all co-occurred with increased frequency of explicit discussion. Table 3 highlights the findings for one type of task –

student presentations. All examples of explicit discourse within student presentations across several TEP classes were sorted according to assignment instructions. When a focus on race/class existed in the assignment, six times as many interns included explicit talk in their presentations.

TABLE 3
Nature of the Activity and Explicit Comments Made

Activity Structure	Explicit Comments Made
Student presentations; race-/class-related assignment	20
Student presentations; topic open, no specific race-/class-related focus	3

Similarly, across all major activity types found in the TEP program, the number of explicit comments was greater in contexts where there was a specified focus on race/class. Professors established the focus verbally or in writing. One example occurred during a text-sharing activity in English Methods. The instructor asked interns to share a brief passage from their portfolios and no comments would be allowed. An Asian-American intern who rarely spoke shared, "I feel like I'm in a museum of minorities, with majority members looking in, taking notes, and congratulating themselves on being multiculturally aware." It is possible that, by limiting the responses of the listeners, the nature of this activity removes some fear of having to defend or explain a potentially

TABLE 4
Number of explicit comments initiated according to classroom activity and focus

Classroom Activity	# of Explicit Comments Initiated	Race/Class Focus for Task or Course
Questions asked during lecture	8	100% occurred in lecture with specific race/class focus
Whole group, open discussion	24	50% occurred with race-/class-focused topic
Whole group, no response allowed	3	no specific race/class focus
Whole group, on-line discussion	2	no specific race/class focus
Whole group, student presentations	23	87% occurred in task with specific race/class emphasis
Small group report out to large group	4	75% occurred in context with specific race/class emphasis
Small group discussion	7	71% occurred in task with race/class emphasis

offensive or otherwise misconstrued comment. It is important to note that in this form of activity, critical reflection through conversation was not fostered. Table 4 displays the number of explicit comments initiated according to classroom activity and focus on race/class.

Circumventing Explicit Talk

In the context of this study – relatively affluent, predominantly White interns teaching in local schools serving predominantly low-income, African American students – it would seem difficult to ignore issues of economics or race. However, in the US, talking about issues of race and class is generally considered taboo, especially in mixed race or all-white groups (Tatum 1997). The following is a list of ways in which the interns circumvented the need for explicit talk:

- back-channeling as a form of active listening, and as a form of avoiding active engagement in the topic
- changing the subject
- silence or no response to explicit questions, and no participation by White interns in explicit classroom discussions between minority interns
- laughter in uncomfortable moments and to express co-membership.

Given that the interns rarely used explicit language to talk about issues of urban education and were quite adept at utilizing a range of discourse strategies to talk indirectly about these issues, I decided to examine how the interns were portraying their high school students through this indirect language, and how the interns were constructing images of themselves as urban teachers. Previous research found predominantly negative representations of urban students: rowdy, apathetic toward school, and disrespectful (Gilbert 1997). The data in the present study yielded similar findings. Across a year's worth of audio-taped on-site meetings, the dominant picture of the students at Coventry High School included the following:

(1) not being on grade level
(2) not wanting to do work in school or home
(3) chronically poor attendance
(4) low reading levels and unwillingness or fear of trying to read
(5) neediness in terms of teacher's time and attention
(6) illegal activities, including drug use and weapons possession.

These images constitute a deficit model approach to understanding the issues facing these students. The problems were situated within the students themselves, which allowed the interns to leave the responsibility for possible solutions with the students as well. In contrast to this

negative picture, there were some positive examples of students who had potential or were succeeding in this difficult environment. However, these examples were isolated and represented an alternative discourse, not the interns' dominant discourse.

The words, intonations, pauses, and gestures which encapsulate ideas can also shape, constrain, or expand them. In the case of the present research, the majority of talk contained negative representations of CHS students. It might have been very difficult, in the face of so many negative messages, to find, listen to, and believe the alternative discourses of achievement, success, and hope (Trinch, 2005). This research has specific implications for teacher educators and teacher education programs, particularly those which seek to prepare teachers to effectively serve students of color in diverse settings.

Implications and Recommendations for Teacher Education Programs

The following recommendations are taken from the findings of this study, and are supported by current literature in the field of anti-racist, multicultural education (Delpit, 1995; Derman-Sparks & Brunson Phillips, 1997; Henry, 1997; hooks, 1994; Kivel, 1996; Richard-Amato & Snow, 1992; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995; Weis & Fine, 1993; and Zeichner, Melnick, & Gomez, 1996). Given that racism is a socially constructed and maintained concept which is continually reproduced in social interactions, it is important for interns and faculty to examine their own role as raced individuals in these interactions and to examine their perceptions of those with whom they interact (Chubbuck, 2004; Thompson 2006). Faculty need to talk among themselves and with interns about issues of race and class – not as experts lecturing on abstract, theoretical concepts, but as individuals who have a certain racial classification (according to society's constructs of race) and a specific socioeconomic status (Cochran-Smith 1995; Racial Legacies 1999; Wing Sue, 1997). The results of this study suggest that individuals at advanced stages of racial awareness are more likely to have explicit discussions about race and class than less racially-aware individuals (Bakari, 2005). Helms (1990) suggested that active engagement with racial issues can take place in groups of mixed levels of racial awareness, but this requires effective facilitation by a group leader who is aware of his or her own racial identity as well as being aware of the various stages of racial awareness of the group members.

In order to prepare interns to be effective educators of diverse populations, it is important for both White and minority interns to understand that the White legacy in America is not solely one of racism and classism. Teacher education programs can include workshops on the history of White allies in America's struggle against racism, covering

Viola Liuzzo, Michael Schwerner, Morris Dees, and others who have fought for the cause of anti-racism (Lindqvist 1995; Tatum 1994). If professors are not versed in this history, then the learning can be shared by both interns and faculty in a collaborative context. To extend beyond the boundaries of race, curricula can include the histories of social activists across the spectrum of diversity.

For interns of any racial background, who are from the middle or upper classes, it is important for them to examine the boundaries of social class which constrain their worldviews. The minority-race interns in the present study made reference to the disconnect between their backgrounds of privilege and the backgrounds of the students they served. Teacher educators must be careful not to reduce discussions of diversity to Black/White issues, or to assume that skin color alone will make minority teacher candidates into effective urban educators. Diversity education must include discussions of broad interpretations of difference – including race, ethnicity, social class, gender, sexual orientation, religion, language, and disability. Differences in cultural frames of reference can affect the dynamics of the classroom – how the teacher's authority is regarded, how homework is handled, etc. When misunderstandings arise, the student most often suffers, because the teacher's (and the school's) worldview is upheld.

As part of preparing interns to effectively teach in urban schools, teacher education programs should consider providing literacy training to all interns, regardless of their subject matter area. Schools of education can also make interns aware of the community-based health and social service organizations which are available. The interns can be encouraged or required to complete volunteer service in such organizations, to further understand the dynamics of racism and classism in the daily reality of urban life.

The faculty and administration can also examine their own ranks and consider how to foster diversity within their own groups. Both interns and faculty can encourage the administration to recruit, retain, and graduate students of color and to hire, retain, and promote faculty of color. Some teacher education programs have explored specifically recruiting interns who express a clear interest in working in urban schools with minority students (Ladson-Billings, 1994).

Additional ideas include providing interns with cultural guides or anti-racism mentors, observations of schools successfully serving minority students, and observations of master teachers using culturally relevant pedagogy (Lipka, Hogan, Webster, Yanez, Adams, Clark, & Lacy, 2005; Navarro, 2005; Pollock, 2006).

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Urban Legend in Teacher Education

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Many European American pre-service special education teachers participate in activities and coursework to prepare them to engage with diverse students in urban settings. This qualitative study explores the experience of two teacher candidates taking part in one such program. Specifically, the interactions and perceptions of the participants' first urban teaching experience are examined. Interviews and observations were conducted to reflect on the way participants interpret and implement their special education and multicultural education preparation as a means to better understand how to prepare teacher candidates for border crossing (Giroux, 1992) and urban teaching experiences. The need for addressing preconceived notions and expectations about urban education within teacher preparation is discussed.

The United States has experienced a growth in ethnic and cultural diversity for quite some time (Howard, 1999; Murrell, 2001; Schroth et. al., 2001). This growth in diversity has caused significant changes in public education. School corporations and administrators seek more support and resources to better serve their changing communities (Fowler, 2004). Teachers request more professional development to address the special needs of these students and parents look for ways to better connect to schools that will prepare their children for a better future (Compton-Lilly, 2000; Kalyanpur & Harry, 1999; Wang et. al., 2004). At the university level, teacher education institutions address these challenges by trying to prepare their mostly European American middle class students to teach in these changing communities (Artiles et. al, 2000). Programs such the *Diversity and Learning Block* offered as part of the teacher preparation at Indiana University-Indianapolis (Morrone, et. al, 2002) and the *Chicago Experience* offered at the University of Iowa (Wade & Raba, 2003) seek to help European American students think critically about difference, diversity, and students with special needs.

The majority of teachers currently teaching are of a “different race, ethnicity, class, gender, and linguistic dominance from that of their students” (Gay, 2003). Special education teachers are specifically challenged by a variety of racial and ethnic issues as they enter their classrooms (Artiles et. al, 2000). In an age plagued with the overrepresentation of students of color placed in special education programs, it is important that preparation programs within the field of special education devote attention to notions of deficit thinking. According to Ford (2003), deficit thinking exists when teachers hold negative, stereotypical, counterproductive views about diverse students

that change their interactions and expectations of these students. The information on deficit thinking pushes educators to think more deeply about what they expect from students and why (Valencia, 1997). In order to prepare pre-service special education teachers for their teaching experience, border crossing experiences may play an extremely valuable role in their preparation.

Some scholars have addressed the benefits of cross community experiences for pre-service teachers (Bennett & Jay, 1997; Cooper, Beare, & Thorman, 1990). This body of literature utilizes the term "border crossing" to identify a teaching experience that takes place in an environment unfamiliar to the teacher. Researchers examining such experiences have discussed their effectiveness in creating culturally competent European American teachers (Wade & Raba, 2003). Transformations emerging from this type of questioning and reflecting, including self-awareness and cultural empathy, were just a few of the documented manifestations of this type of experience (Bennett & Jay, 1997; Cooper, Beare, & Thorman, 1990). These types of cultural renovations in teacher preparation did not come without caveats. Giroux (1992) notes that there may be unforeseeable limits to such experiences and Murtadha-Watts (1998) also discusses the inability to "project that these initial cultural border crossings will represent full transformations for the students" (p.63).

The challenges that pre-service special education teachers encounter in a border crossing experience are the focus of this study. This project seeks to explore how two European American middle class females implement and interpret their teacher preparation, as well as formulate their understanding of teaching special education in an urban setting. The information gained from the first interactions of the participants with urban schools and students of color with special needs has implications to inform those preparing teacher candidates for teaching in urban settings. Specifically, this work also seeks to provide insights on how to better prepare pre-service special education teachers for an urban teaching experience and engage with students diverse from themselves.

Methods

An emergent qualitative design was utilized to address the research questions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Merriam, 1998; & McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). It was the intent of this project to have conversations that led to a better understanding of the degree to which teacher preparation impacted a border crossing experience. Given the complex nature of the issues addressed in the research questions, a case study format provides the most promise to allow for better understanding, as well as greater opportunity to connect the experience of

the participants to theory (Stake, 2000). A small sample was randomly selected from a large cohort to allow for more in-depth interviews and observations. In order to capture the complexity of information available and gain insight, multiple data collection was used to safeguard the representation of disparate views and broaden the context. By analyzing various personal portrayals, this research relies on inductive reasoning to document emerging themes.

Participants

Annie and Sarah are two pre-service special education teachers interested in teaching in an urban school community. They are juniors receiving dual licensure in elementary and special education. Both women expressed an interest in eventually teaching in an urban setting and took part in this study as a way to enhance their urban practicum experience.

Annie grew up in a small town about an hour outside of a large metropolis in the Eastern part of the US. She and her younger brother grew up in a middle class European American family. She reports that she always wanted to be a teacher and that a few experiences with kids with special needs influenced her decision to pursue a degree in special education. She is curious about cultural issues and discovering whether teaching in an urban setting is something she might like to do.

Sarah grew up in a small town in the Midwest. She and her brothers grew up in a middle class European American family. She began college as a physical education major, then switched to secondary education. Her interactions with a family member with a disability led her to pursue a degree in special education. Sarah is concerned with making a difference in the lives of children. She is also interested in possibly living in an urban setting after she graduates.

Program

The participants in this study were enrolled in a program for undergraduates that prepare them to work with a wide range of students. The university, in which the program is located, is nestled in a midsized town located in the Midwest. The program allows its students to attain a state license in elementary and special education. Upon entering the program, students are put into cohorts during their sophomore year. During the spring semester of this first year in the program, students engage in two special education courses while finishing up basic requirements. The fall semester of their junior year focuses on curriculum and instruction. This semester includes elementary content area courses, a special education course, and a field experience component in math and science.

The focal point of the spring semester of their junior year is assessment. Students take two courses in assessment, one course in special education, two content area courses, and have a special education practicum within an urban setting (i.e. border crossing). To fulfill their border crossing requirement, the entire cohort is transported as a group an hour north to a nearby metropolis one day a week over the course of a semester. The fall semester of the senior year encourages students to examine their roles as teachers. This final semester of coursework for the program includes three special education courses, a course on culture, a course on research, and a final field experience. Once students complete their course work, they spend their spring semester during their senior year student teaching. Half of their student teaching takes place in an elementary school and the other half takes place in a variety of settings with a special education focus.

Procedures

The researcher and both participants were European American with middle class origins. Additionally, the researcher had previously taught in an urban setting prior to beginning post graduate work. Initial interviews ranged from forty five minutes to over an hour in length, and were conducted face-to-face using a discussion format in order to create the opportunity to explore meanings (see Appendix A). Interviews were audio-taped and transcribed in their entirety. Interview transcriptions were returned to the interviewees to be checked for accuracy and to seek additional response. Once initial interviews were completed, a field observation was conducted. Participants were observed during their first entire day student teaching in a large Midwestern urban public school district. At the end of the first day, a small focus group was held with both participants. This final interview lasted for an hour and was also transcribed and member checked utilizing the same procedures as the initial interview (see Appendix B). After collecting data from the initial interview, observational field notes, and final interview; emerging themes were selected from the data and coded according to prevalence and frequency (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Merriam, 1998; & McMillan & Schumacher, 2001; see also, McIntyre, 1997).

Results

Analysis of the data gathered over the course of interviews and field observations uncovered three emerging themes. Throughout the experience, both Annie and Sarah seemed to be exploring their preconceived notions of urban schools while formulating an understanding of teaching special education in an urban setting. Each of the themes provides a glimpse into the connections Annie and Sarah are

making between their teacher preparation and their professional development.

"I want to be PC."

In the initial interview, Annie and Sarah both described their experience with people of different races and ethnicities. These data are utilized to establish the foundation from which the women are building their perceptions of race and ethnic diversity for their border crossing experience.

> *Annie:* I want to be PC. Do you think they like to be called black or African American? I don't hear them calling themselves African American. There weren't very many people of color in my high school. I don't have many relationships with them, but in high school I went to prom with a group of people and one of the guys was black, but he wasn't really part of the black culture. His friends were all white and he acted white.
>
> *Sarah:* I don't have a lot of friends from different races. Like in high school we only had 3 or 4 African Americans and no Mexicans or anything.

Prior experiences left both Annie and Sarah with certain racial expectations of the students they would encounter in the urban school. Unfortunately, even after taking course work in multicultural education, both women still struggle with deficit views of the urban setting prior to the border crossing.

> *Annie:* I am worried about one stereotype I think I hold. I am expecting all the students will be black and the majority will be poor. I don't know why, but that's what I think.
>
> *Sarah:* We went to an urban school for one day. I was unaware how many black students went to the school. The school was run down and stuff but people were still able to teach and stuff.

Both women were placed in a newly renovated urban elementary school. The school had recently received awards of excellence from their district and the state for improvements in student achievement. In discussions after their initial border crossing, both women discussed the impact this initial border crossing experience had on their definition of diversity.

> *Annie:* I thought I saw a lot less black kids than I had expected. I saw a lot more Hispanic kids and that's a minority I've been exposed to a lot less….. I don't know that my idea of diversity has changed though.
>
> *Sarah:* I don't think my opinion has really changed. I saw a lot of African American kids and I thought that was expected. Diversity isn't just race and color though.

"I saw some kids show their frustration."

In initial interviews, both Annie and Sarah described their experiences and interactions with people with disabilities. These responses are included to depict the conceptions they have developed

about people with disabilities from their previous lived experience and how those conceptions may be informing their pedagogical development.

> *Annie:* I had an experience with a girl with CP but she wasn't mentally affected.
> She was normal; she just had a physical disability.
> *Sarah:* I have a cousin who has Downs and another who has ADHD and LD. I'm very supportive and everything. I try to help out.

Throughout the observation both women engaged with students with disabilities. On the first day of their border crossing, both Annie and Sarah identified a student with special needs that they felt a special connection with. Through the course of the day, both women tried to engage with the student on numerous occasions. Neither woman appeared discouraged when the student did not respond to them in a reciprocal way. At the end of the day, both women discussed their interactions with these students.

> *Annie:* He is so turned off to education. After I prompted him like twelve times he would do what he was suppose to be doing. There's something in there, a button that needs to be turned on. I think that's a lot more of the challenge you get with urban. The kids who think learning isn't cool.
> *Sarah:* They (students with special needs) didn't act much different from the other students…. I saw behavior problems more. I saw some kids show their frustration. The two who had been identified were just as bad as the others.

"I just want to help people, fix things, and make a difference."

Prior to the border crossing experience both women were asked to discuss some of the challenges they perceived for urban special education teachers. Both women shared insights about their expectations of what it might be like to be an urban special education teacher and what they thought may be the personal challenges of teaching children with special needs from urban settings.

> *Annie:* I would probably bring their problems home with me. I would have to realize that I couldn't fix everything. I do think being involved with parents and the community would be easier in a city because things are close.
> *Sarah:* A lot of family issues like divorce, maybe gay and lesbian parents. Students may go home and not have food. They may be dealing with poverty and wearing the same clothes to and from school weekly. Being loved, they may go home and their parents may not care about their homework and teaching them right from wrong. Just being a parent and showing love and support.

During the observation, both women interacted with the students and teachers they were placed with in positive ways. Both women engaged with students by talking with them, helping with class work, and playing games during recess. Both Annie and Sarah were attentive to their assigned mentor teachers. They had lunch with their mentor

teachers and often completed tasks around the classroom as requested. In interviews, they described their perceptions of the teachers they saw in the urban setting.

> *Annie:* I think I was expecting (the urban setting to be) a lot worse then it really was. The faculty was really nice, they had a lot of resources around them. The teachers were dressed really professionally. I just thought they'd be dressed down a bit.
>
> *Sarah:* I saw some burnt out teachers. I don't want to be one of those teachers who knock kids for their behavior. I'm not gonna sit there and talk about them.

During the recruitment phase of this project both Annie and Sarah expressed a desire to participate as a way to enhance their border crossing experience through reflection and dialogue because they wanted to become urban teachers when they graduated. After the initial border crossing, both women were asked how they felt about possibly becoming urban special education teachers.

Annie: I definitely want to go urban. Today confirmed it. I just enjoyed being there and working with the kids. Especially working with the one kid, he was like my little pet for the day.

Sarah: It made me realize I still want to be a teacher and I'm in it for the right reasons….I think those (students with special needs in urban schools) are the kids I'd be more geared toward to help. That's just the kind of person I am. I just want to help people, fix things, and make a difference.

Limitations

It is important to initially note the limitations of this study. This study was designed to provide a snap shot of the initial border crossing experience of two European American middle class women. All interviews took place within a two week period. Initial interviews were a week or two prior to the experience, the observations took place on the first day of the experience, and the final interviews took place directly after the first day of the border crossing. The findings of the study reflect this time span and are not meant to reflect a longitudinal growth process displayed by the women. This research should be examined for relevance in preparing pre-service teachers for their first border crossing experience. Findings should be discussed as a means to build on this initial experience to allow for optimum growth over the duration of a border crossing.

Discussion

This research brings up a variety of questions about the preparation of special education teachers engaging in a border crossing experience. The importance of expectations brought into the experience emerged as a powerful frame of reference for both Annie and Sarah.

Their preconceived notions, not academic course work, were something that they both relied heavily on when preparing for and reflecting on the initial experience. This aspect of their experience should be explored more deeply to inform how teacher preparation programs could effectively utilize the expectations of pre-service special education teachers preparing for their first border crossing experience. The current design of this study did not allow for further exploration of the underlying assumptions and indications of deficit thinking that emerged in the findings. Future research in this area might explicitly examine pre-service special education teachers' preconceptions about diversity and teaching special education in an urban setting.

In addition to their expectations of the experience, the conceptualizations of diversity and teaching special education in an urban setting that the women walked into the experience with are enlightening. In 1997, McIntyre developed the term "White Knights" to describe a detrimental characteristic of some of the European American participants in her study of the role of whiteness in teaching. These participants described feelings of wanting to save students of color from perceived deficits of their lifestyles and environment. Years later, the challenge of "White Knights" still persists. The information obtained in this study exposes a need for additional examination of this area to fully understand any professional transformations that may be taking place for Annie and Sarah. Future research should consider the experience of these women as a place to begin asking deeper research questions about the preparation of pre-service special education teachers as a means to begin to combat the variety of racial and cultural issues currently confronting the field of special education.

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Appendix A

Initial Interview Questions

1. Where are you from? Describe your hometown.
2. Did you travel while you were growing up? (Where?)
3. How do you think your background/upbringing informs your teaching?
4. Do you think you would ever like to live in a big city? (Why or Why not)
5. What are your relationships like with your friends, relatives, classmates, dates, family members that are people of color or have special needs?
6. Why did you want to be a teacher?
7. Why did you want to work in special education?
8. Where are you currently in your education program?
9. How many special ed/multicultural ed courses have you had so far?
10. How many practicum placements have you had so far in your program?
11. What makes you most anxious, nervous, or excited about the placement?
12. Is there anything specific that you have done to prepare you for this placement?
13. Have you read any books on multicultural issues in class or on your own? What did you learn from them?
14. What impact do you think media or news media has on how you think about diversity or urban settings?
15. How do you feel about going to the metropolis?
16. What do you know about urban school settings or (the public school) specifically?
17. What are your expectations of yourself and the students you will meet in the experience?
18. If you were a teacher in an urban setting what do you think some of your challenges may be?

Appendix B

Post Interview Questions

1. How was your first day?
2. What did you see around you?
3. What did you think of the school, teachers, and students?
4. What was something that surprised you?
5. How have your teacher education courses prepared you for this experience?
6. How do you think this experience will inform your growth as a teacher?
7. What are your thoughts about your next visit?
8. What are thoughts on students you encountered?
9. After this experience, what are your thoughts about teaching in an urban setting? Please explain.

Retaining Urban Teachers: The Impact of Mentoring

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This study explores urban teachers' perception of their mentoring experience in an alternative urban teacher education program. Fifteen teachers who had been teaching in urban schools for at least three years participated in focus groups. The findings support the need for continuing the development of new teachers through utilizing mentors in the induction years. The mentoring relationship is of primary importance in developing self-confidence, competence, and collegiality during the first year.

Over the next ten years more than two million new teachers will join the teaching profession. Many will come from alternate route programs. These programs allow individuals who typically (but not always) possess an undergraduate degree in a field other than education to participate in a shortened training and/or on-the-job learning experience that leads to full certification. McKibbin and Ray (1994) stated that the purpose of developing nontraditional alternative certification programs is to offer a way to expand the pool of qualified teachers with individuals who might not otherwise become teachers. Shoho and Martin (1999) reported that participants in nontraditional alternative programs are more likely to be older, a member of a minority group and male, who have had past experiences in other occupations. Nontraditional students tend to remain in their own communities, once certified, and have a better knowledge of the local culture and makeup of the community (Eifler & Potthoff, 1998).

Mentoring has a special importance in alternative certification programs because the teachers have little or no prior coursework or field experiences. However, the mentoring amount and quality differs across programs. The task of supporting this remarkable number of new teachers has generated widespread interest in mentoring, since high quality induction and mentoring programs have been reported to increase teacher retention and to improve the quality of their teaching (Feiman-Nemser & Parker, 1993; Odell & Huling-Austin, 2000).

Currently, 28 states require school districts to offer induction programs and eight more states plan to implement similar programs in the next few years (Sweeney & DeBolt, 2000). Such programs provide an array of assistance to new teachers, ranging from help with policies and procedures, to guidance on classroom management, to feedback on instructional strategies and other aspects of professional practice. They

also connect new teachers to a network of colleagues and resources, and reduce the isolation that too often characterizes teachers' early professional experiences.

Most often, the central strategy within these programs of support is mentoring by a veteran teacher. Most of the research that seeks to investigate the practice of mentoring focuses on the programmatic and administrative aspects of mentoring, or defining the qualities of good mentors (Carmin, 1988; Kram, 1986; McIntyre, Hagger, & Wilkin, 1993; Rowley, 1999). The literature, however, does not clearly specify those aspects of mentoring that facilitate building skill and self-confidence in new teachers, which may impact their decision to stay in teaching. As Feiman-Nemser (1996) pointed out, "The education community understands that mentors have a positive effect on teacher retention, but that leaves open the question of what mentors should do, what they actually do, and what novices learn as a result" (p.1).

This article goes beyond the published work on this topic by reporting the inner core of the mentoring process. Drawing on results of a exploratory case study of the Compton Fellowship Program, an alternative teacher certification program, this study documents how first year urban teachers who worked with mentors described the impact of the mentoring experience on their development as teachers and how it influenced their decision to remain in the teaching profession. Current research reports on the critical need for recruiting, training, supporting, and retaining emergency credentialed teachers in urban districts. So for the purpose of this study, the researcher focused on one such program in the Milwaukee Public Schools.

Program and Setting

The preparation, recruitment, and retention of teachers is an on-going problem for school districts across the country to varying degrees. However, urban districts are facing unique challenges due to increased student enrollments, reductions in class size, and accelerating retirements (Darling-Hammond, 1997; Archer, 1999). Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS), located in the southeastern section of Wisconsin, is no exception to the problem.

Two very important areas, however, are considered when viewing the problem in MPS. First, attrition data shows that 50% of the new teachers (1-3 years of service) in MPS will leave the district within three to five years of being hired. Second, hiring and retaining teachers of color is another on-going problem in MPS. Approximately 20% of MPS teaching staff are teachers of color, compared to approximately 80% students of color. Several partnership programs, which focus on preparation and recruitment of teachers of color, exist in MPS. This article focuses on one such program.

A collaborative effort among MPS, Marquette University, Alverno College, and Lakeland College resulted in the development of the Compton Fellowship Program. The program is grounded in the INTASC standards and it uses fulltime mentors to help Compton Fellows to meet the standards. The purpose of the program is to offer a high quality teacher preparation program to approximately fifty individuals a year who have completed a bachelor's degree in an accredited institution, but who have not completed a certification program.

Each participant is assigned to a Compton Fellowship mentor, a veteran MPS teacher, who is released full time to coach the fellows. At the end of the year, the fellows are required to successfully defend a portfolio demonstrating their knowledge and competency of the INTASC standards. Upon successful completion of the program, teachers are guaranteed a contract in MPS and recommended for grade 5-8 certification by one of the three randomly assigned participating colleges.

At the time of this study (March, 2001), 136 fellows had successfully completed the Compton Fellowship Program and 124 (91%) were still teaching in MPS. The question remained as to what extent the mentoring relationship impacted the fellows' decision to remain in teaching. The purpose of this study, then, was to illuminate fellows' perspectives on the impact of their mentoring experience on their decision to remain in teaching.

Method

A descriptive, exploratory case study was used to study mentoring in the Compton Fellowship Program. This method is used when one wishes to "shed light on a phenomenon, be it process, event, person, or object of interest to the researcher" (Leedy, 1997). The exploratory case study draws on data for fellows in the first three cohorts to complete the Compton Fellowship Program (1996-1999). Research by Haberman and Rickards (1990) and Odell (1990) have reported that within the first three years of teaching 50% of urban teachers leave the profession. Therefore, for this study Compton fellows were selected who remained in teaching in MPS for at least three years.

The study was driven by the following research question. How does mentoring positively influence teacher retention? A survey was used as a guide to construct focus group questions. It was only used to get some general information about the fellows' perceptions of working with a mentor teacher. It was sent out to 85 former Compton Fellowship graduates in an effort to get their perceptions on the mentoring experience. Some descriptive statistics will be shared from it.

Teachers who responded to the survey were invited to participate on a voluntary basis in one of two focus groups. The focus group discussion is particularly effective in providing information about why

people think or feel the way they do (Krueger, 1994). The interviews included six open-ended questions designed to elicit detail about the nature of their experiences as first year teachers and the support (or lack of support) they received from their mentors. Fifteen participants were involved in the focus group sessions.

Data Analysis

The researcher used a constant comparative method of data analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Data were continuously compared with each other and units of data were sorted into groupings that had common themes. As the data were analyzed and compared, the information was coded. As more data were collected, further comparison of the information was coded.

Once all the data were collected, they were analyzed and synthesized allowing both positive and negative findings to be substantiated or reviewed. The data were then searched with particular attention to anomalies, to alternative explanations, or to competing conclusions. The process of developing categories was one of continuous refinement. Excerpts were selected to capture the context and support conclusions so that readers might judge the transferability of the meaning and interpretation of the data.

Results

Analysis of Compton fellow graduates' perceptions of their first year experiences with a mentor generated specific aspects of the mentoring role that contributed to the fellows' satisfaction with the mentoring experience, which may impact new teacher retention. They included three major categories: (1) building self confidence in teachers, (2) developing competence in beginner's ability to teach, and (3) engaging with collegial networks to support teaching.

Building Self-Confidence in Teachers

Survey data showed that 84% of the fellows reported that their self-confidence increased as a result of having a mentor. The way confidence was built amongst the fellows varied but two areas were mentioned most consistently in the focus groups: emotional support and professional support. To illustrate the emotional support one fellow said:

> That first year was rough! My mentor listened to me cry, watched me fall apart, and then helped me to get on my feet again. I wouldn't have made it if I had to deal with everything by myself.

Another fellow shared a similar experience. She explained:

> I'll still be teaching for quite some time. My mentor boosted my confidence in teaching. When I said it was too much, she said I could do it. When I said I'm never coming back, she said I'll see you

> tomorrow. She gave me that pat on the back that I needed when no one else was around.

Other fellows explained that they didn't really need the "pat on the back." They wanted their mentors to offer them professional support. In this regard, fellows said that modeling in the classroom was beneficial:

> My mentor literally took me by the hand and used baby steps with me. She would do a one on one lesson with me so that I could see exactly how the lesson was going to be taught. Then, she would teach the lesson to one group of my students. The next hour I would teach the lesson and she would watch me. We did this for about a week. This routine really helped me to develop some effective teaching strategies. Eventually, I gained confidence in my ability to teach.

Lack of sufficient professional and emotional support is believed to be a primary challenge for beginning teachers (Chubbock, Clift, Allard, & Quinlan, 2001). All the participants interviewed indicated that interaction with their mentor resulted in improved feelings about themselves in relation to teaching. Their self confidence was improved and they believed that was a factor in them staying in teaching. Support for new teachers is now known to be crucial to their retention and professional success (Odell and Huling, 2000).

Developing Competence in a Beginner's Ability to Teach

The survey data revealed that 95% of the fellows believed that their teaching competence was improved because they had an opportunity to work with a mentor. In the focus groups, the fellows described specific ways that their mentors helped to develop their teaching competency. Most of them mentioned how their mentors feedback helped them to develop their skills while others focused on how their mentor was helpful in establishing classroom routines and helping them to create and implement better lesson plans.

Several fellows made comments related to the value of getting feedback on a regular basis. Observations and feedback promoted critical reflection that aided professional skill development. One fellow said, "My mentor was always in my classroom and she really challenged my thinking about instructional strategies. She was honest with her feedback and she really moved me forward." Another fellow commented:

> In the beginning my class was driving me nuts! I didn't know what to do. My mentor came in and observed me and gave me some immediate feedback. He suggested that I put something on the board like a journal writing assignment or a brainteaser that the kids could work on each day while they waited for me to start class. It made a big difference with my classroom management! That's when I started to believe that I had the ability to teach.

Another fellow offered a different perspective on the topic. "My classroom ran smoothly, but I really wasn't teaching in a way that I felt

good about." She admitted that she needed a lot of help creating and implementing effective lesson plans:

> My mentor didn't just look to see if I wrote a lesson plan; she sat down with me and we talked about what I was doing and why I was doing it. Often times, she would ask me to videotape a lesson and then we would walk through the tape together.

Another fellow drew attention to the fact that while she didn't give her mentor all the credit for her staying in teaching, she did give her credit for improving the quality of her teaching. She explained that her mentor helped her to try new strategies that reached beyond the traditional textbook curriculum. When her students wouldn't write in class, her mentor suggested that the students write letters to the local television station about its cancellation of a popular television show. "The students had plenty to say and I was finally able to teach them how to write a business letter."

The aspects of teaching competency in which the fellows considered their mentors to have had the greatest influence were: providing feedback, establishing good classroom routines and providing assistance in lesson planning. The importance of the teacher mentor in helping achieve this level of competency is that they can help new teachers translate their academic knowledge into meaningful instruction. Consequently, improving the quality of teacher performance is a viable and important strategy for increasing teacher satisfaction and retention of teachers who can effectively teach in diverse urban contexts.

Engaging with Collegial Networks to Support Teaching

Collegial support fostered experimentation and risk taking. One fellow emphasized, "I had a very positive first year because of my mentor teacher. She would schedule a weekly meeting with all of her fellows. This was a very positive experience because it allowed us to share together and learn from each other." Another fellow echoed this response:

> Sometimes my mentor would set up a meeting with her group of fellows as well as the other new teachers in the building. Eventually, it became easy for us to share our struggles, concerns and successes in the classroom. If I didn't have this group, I may have quit.

Yet another fellow explained that his mentor coordinated meetings with him and other support staff like the librarian and the learning coordinator. "It is amazing how many people in your building can really help to make your load easier. My mentor taught me to work smarter not harder."
McLaughlin and Talbert (1993) found that teachers' professional orientation is a function of their social and professional relationships with other teachers. Relationships with mentors and other colleagues were critical during the internship year for the Compton Fellowship graduates.

Their stories emphasized that their learning and retention in teaching was linked to their personal and professional relationships with their mentor.

Conclusion

Studies like these can tell educators and policymakers a great deal about the impact of mentoring on new teacher retention, especially as it is carried out with beginning teachers who have not participated in a traditional teacher preparation program. It is not uncommon for studies of mentoring to focus on retention rates. The numbers, however, do not tell the entire story. Individual stories shed light on the complexity of teachers' decisions to stay in the profession. This study provides some evidence that having a mentor was a critical factor for the Compton fellows as they reported on their first year experiences.

It would seem reasonable to consider that if school districts, especially urban ones, could select and train mentors who had an in depth understanding of teacher development, professional teacher standards, strategies for classroom observation and a variety of coaching techniques, then they could prepare beginning teachers for more than resilience in schools but nurture their development at the start of their careers. The stories of these urban teachers who have completed at least three years of teaching and who have chosen to remain in the profession in challenging urban settings offer personal perspectives that can inform decision-making about program development.

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Creating Community Through Mentoring

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This research studies a doctoral program that includes a cohort component. Candidates engage in active learning and in the skill of mentoring. Research on peer mentoring has shown to support graduate students as they progress in their study (Luna & Cullen, 1998). Analysis of the data found themes relating to mentoring and community: candidates identify the act of mentoring with leadership development; candidates see mentoring as a form of social as well as emotional/psychological support; candidates build community within own cohort but not necessarily across cohort lines.

The doctoral program being studied is graduating its first cohort in the spring of 2006. Designed with a focus on educational leadership, students move through a coherent curricular sequence of leadership and research classes while completing their dissertation. Students progress through coursework in a cohort model. The program also embraces learning activities designed to strengthen the candidates' skills with the anticipation that those competencies will become an essential component of their ability to create a sense of community in their places of work. By building community within the doctoral program, students spend time together, have a safe space in which to exchange ideas, and have the opportunity to practice mentoring skills.

Related Literature

Descriptions of mentoring can be traced back to Greek history. Mentor was a Greek figure in Homer's Odyssey who was Ullysses' wise, old friend. Mentor was entrusted to teach Ulysses' son Telemachus and assist him in his growth toward adulthood (as cited in Edlind & Heansly, 1985). Mentoring continues to be explained as a process where a person of greater expertise guides a person of lesser expertise. Kram's work (1985) revealed two primary functions that mentors provide: career development, including coaching, sponsoring, and providing challenging assignment; and that of psychological and emotional support, including friendship, acceptance, counseling, and role modeling. Research on mentoring revealed that the act increased scholarship, improved leadership skills, enhanced collegiality and developed networking systems (Bass, 1985, 1996; Bass & Avolio, 1990; Blasé, 1990; Brenden, 1986; Burns, 1978; Caruso, Rice, and Schwartzkopf, 1988; Fullan, 2001;

Good, Halpin et al. 1998; Greenleaf, 1996; Johnson 1996; Kouzes & Posner, 2000; Leithwood, 1992; Packard 2003; Sergiovanni, 2000; Starratt, 1995). Although mentoring programs guided by faculty provide useful insights on mentoring protocol, it is often limited. A richer and deeper understanding of the mentoring process can be experienced when graduate candidates volunteer to mentor and to be mentored. This experience allows the candidates to focus on aspects of community, collegiality, and leadership that are most important to them.

Research Variables

As mentioned previously, students move through the doctoral program in a cohort model. Coursework is coherent and sequential and provides support to the dissertation process. All coursework is related to two themes: educational leadership or research. Professors teaching the educational leadership strand exhibit a strong philosophy of active engagement in the learning process.

Cohorts are heterogeneous: there is a mix of genders, ethnic backgrounds, and ages. Members are not necessarily from the K-12 setting; indeed, there are community college educators, non-profit agency staff, military, and university administrators in the program. There are also varied levels of leadership experience among cohort members.

The Question

In practitioner programs, it is easy to lose students to the rigors of their profession coupled with family responsibility. Dorn and Papalewis (1997) found that doctoral students are more likely to persevere in programs that rely on the cohort model, which provides for community support. The work of Luna and Cullen (1998) found that graduate students were more likely to be successful when engaged with mentoring. Based on this work, the emerging question became: How do doctoral candidates experience being a mentor? The researchers also questioned whether given a certain set of assignments and introductions, will the doctoral candidates build their own community as a result of the learning?

Description of the Innovation

In the cohort model used by the university, during the third year of coursework candidates are required to take a class in organizational change and development. Doctoral candidates are given the opportunity to decide how they might approach mentoring first-year candidates. The works of Kram (1985), Cullen and Luna (1998), Dorn and Papalewis (1997), and Mullen (2005) are studied. Kram's work discusses the impact of life and career stages on mentoring relationships. Peer mentoring relationships provide a range of functions, including those of career, psychosocial, and special attributes.

Within the contexts of these relationships, peers provide confirmation to each other through sharing of perceptions, values, and beliefs related to their lives at work, and through discovering views they have in common. Secondly, peers provide emotional support by listening and counseling each other during periods of transition and stress. Third, by providing feedback in areas that extend beyond the job-related concerns in career functions, peers offer each other a personal level of feedback that can be invaluable in learning about one's leadership style, the impact one has on others in the organization, and how one is managing work and family commitments. Finally, peer relationships provide friendship, encompassing concerns about each other that extend beyond the work. This function reduces the sense of alienation or stress individuals experience at every career stage. (p.136)

A survey of graduate students completed by Cullen and Luna (1998) found that 83% of the respondents indicated that it was important for graduate students to have mentors. Fifty-three percent stated that mentors provided important "role modeling, guidance and support, listening, and building [of] self-confidence" (p. 326). Dorn and Papalewis (1997) cited their findings that the cohort group structure was a factor in retention: doctoral students who "feel committed to each other, and to the group, who share common goals, are more likely to meet group goals, such as earning a doctorate" (p. 4). They also found that evidence to indicate that peer mentoring provided critical support to members of the cohort.

The work of Mullen (2005) discusses the idea of the mentoring mosaic, which enables the individual to access multiple figures for learning, feedback, and support (p. 82). Mentoring mosaics include informal networks that provide community, a sense of family, and resources. Within this structure, members interchange roles in a mentoring community, wherein support becomes a form of mentoring-in-action (p.91).

In addition to studying the works of the aforementioned authors, candidates learn how to use the conferencing techniques of cognitive coaching (Costa & Garmston, 2002). Cognitive coaching includes establishing and maintaining trust, facilitating mutual learning, and reflective practice. Candidates also discuss how they might use strategies found in modules designed by the Association for the Supervision of Curriculum and Development (2004) in the mentoring process. Candidates practice the Tuning Protocol used as part of the California School Restructuring project (Allen & McDonald, 1993). The Tuning Protocol uses a structured process to discuss a critical incident in which one of the participants was involved with and agrees to share. Participants practice listening skills, coaching, and facilitating reflective practices techniques.

After participating in these learning activities and discussions, candidates were assigned to provide some form of mentoring to a first-year doctoral student. A doctoral colloquium was held during the fall semester to introduce the members of Cohort One and Cohort Three. Time was given during the colloquium for members of Cohort One and Cohort Three to discuss research interest and program expectations. At the end of the colloquium each member of Cohort One gave the researchers the names of three people they would want to mentor and the members of Cohort Three gave the researchers the names of three people they wanted to be mentored by. The researchers, according to research interest, assigned mentor/mentee pairs. The expectation of the assignment was for the mentor to make contact with the mentee on a regular basis during the semester. There were no further mentoring assignments; however, the researchers hypothesized that the mentor/mentee relationships would continue into the next semester and beyond.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data was qualitatively collected from the doctoral candidates in three forms: a class assignment, a focus group, and an electronic questionnaire. All data was collected at the end of the fall semester and prior to the beginning of the spring semester. The first data was collected through an in class writing assignment that was collected as an electronic journal. The assignment was given the week before final exams. The assignment asked the participating doctoral candidates to encapsulate their mentoring experiences.

The second method of data collection was a focus group with a maximum of 14 doctoral candidates during finals week. A research assistant conducted the focus group. She asked two multi-part questions regarding mentoring. The questions were (1) "What have been the strengths of the mentoring project so far and in what ways might the project be improved?" and (2) "Has the mentoring project helped create community in your cohort?" The candidates' responses were tape-recorded. The taped responses were transcribed by a different research assistant to ensure all the doctoral participants complete anonymity.

The final method of data collection was an electronic questionnaire sent to the 14 members of the doctoral cohort. Thirty-five percent of the doctoral candidates returned the electronic questionnaire. The questionnaire was sent during the semester break and asked the following questions: 1.) The number of times the mentor met with their mentee. Of the 35% who responded, 60% met with their mentee one to two times and 40% had never met with their mentee. 2.) Method of communicating with mentee. The preferred method of communicating between mentor and mentee was by e-mail. All of the respondents had

used e-mail as their primary form of communication. 3.) 60% of the respondents felt being a mentor was a valuable experience and 40% remained neutral to the mentoring experience. 4.) All of the respondents learned more about themselves through the mentoring experience. Questions 5-8 on the electronic survey were reflective and elicited qualitative responses; "Do you see this mentoring process helping you in a future leadership role?", "Were you provided with enough information to be comfortable in your role as mentor? What additional information and/or training would be valuable to you?", "Would you like additional formal setting to meet with your mentee and/or other cohort members?" and the final question asked for suggestions to improve the mentoring process.

The data responses were color coded and organized into emerging themes. The theme approach to analyzing data is common to qualitative research. According to Bogdan and Biklen (1982) there are three major types of research focus. They are thesis, theme, and topic. This data analysis was based on the themes focus. Merriam describes themes as "an overarching concept or theoretical formulation that has emerged from the data analysis" (1988, p. 191). Analysis of the data found mentoring and community themes that related to leadership, professional growth, communications, convenience, emotional support, and social support.

Our data suggest that there were four primary sub-themes related to mentoring. The first sub-theme found was that candidates identify the act of mentoring with leadership and professional development. Responses to opened-ended questions regarding mentoring included the following quotations about leadership development: "…this responsibility will assist me in a future leadership role." "Being a mentor is a responsibility that I embrace and an opportunity I appreciate."

A second sub-theme that emerged under the category of mentoring was communication. Twenty-one percent of the coded segments were concerned with mentor-mentee contact. "…I crafted an introduction email and sent it off. After two weeks of not hearing from him, I crafted another and sent it off. As of today no response has been received." Another mentor responded:

> I contacted my mentee as soon as I got her email address, offering whatever I thought she may need, as much or as little, in whatever contact form would be best for the mentee. I was surprised when I didn't hear anything back.

The final sub-theme that emerged under the category of mentoring related to communication, that of convenience. While the mentors recognized the importance of mentoring to their professional growth as leaders, their comments were sometimes in conflict. "I suggested that I might meet with her at her work, which is on the way to the university

and therefore convenient for me." "I was not in favor of having one more thing to do." "…thinking back to my first semester and the toll it took on me, I expect I will hear from him when his time frees up."

Within the theme of community, sub-themes of social and emotional support were found. Candidates saw building of community as a form of social support and of value. "Having the other cohort members together on occasion provides a broad range of support for everyone." One candidate responded:

> …it would be a good idea to plan either a social occasion or some time where everybody gets together in the same room…It seems to me, I agree, that it is powerful and that it is our duty to do this.

Another candidate commented on how being in a social situation with other members of other cohorts was important:

I just want to say that I had a great time at the CERA when we ran into cohort members in one, two, and three and in that environment and atmosphere we were…eating meals together and we were in a very much collective situation. I made a recommendation in my mentor paper that I thought if we were to do something like that on our Saturdays and all of our cohort groups got together…we could mix and mingle. I found that really, really powerful.

The community was also seen as an emotional and psychological support. "It's more of a social/psychological support versus actual physical…" "To tell you that we all have these same feelings, we've all been frustrated and anxious and nervous and scared and ready to throw-up before we do a presentation. It is just part of the process." Following is a response regarding the emotional support a mentor could provide:

> I think the mentoring program might be important to the continuation of this program. What happens so many times when you're under a tremendous amount of stress and things are new to you an you hear and see things you take see us and you don't have anybody to talk to about these issues except maybe a person in your cohort who's just going to feed into whatever anxiety you have – but if you have somebody who's already been through it, who sees the bigger picture, who knows what's down the road, to call and have that person let you talk and let you say what you need to say and then comfort you with a few words...

From another student:

> I see my role as a mentor more as to be there, to be their friend, to be supporting them in happy times when they finish (name of professor) class, and help them in times when it is more difficult.

Discussion

It is interesting to note that although the mentors talked about the importance of leadership and professionalism that were embodied by the act of mentoring, it was difficult for them to translate that knowledge into action when working with their mentees. While they were not

necessarily resistant to the act of mentoring, they were passive in waiting for their mentees to contact them. The mentors also showed a certain level of expectation of convenience: almost all contacts were made exclusively by email. When the mentees did not respond, the mentors were passive in response, either sending a second email several weeks later or not connecting to the mentee at all.

In reviewing whether doctoral candidates built their own learning community as a result of their learning, once again there was a passive expectation that the mentee would come to them. There was also an expectation that the faculty would provide structure and process for the mentoring to occur, mostly within a community building event such as the colloquium. Several candidates suggested ways in which faculty could improve the process, putting responsibility on the faculty to provide assignments and opportunities for the cohorts to meet together. There were no candidates who took responsibility for making mentorship or the act of building community a function of their own work in the doctoral program.

Conclusions and Further Considerations

Based on the data, the researchers found that candidates in the doctoral program identified mentoring with leadership development and saw it as a form of social, emotional and psychological support. It was also found that while community building occurred within a cohort, it did not necessarily extend across the doctoral community. One possible flaw in the research design was that the questions asked did not stress building community across cohorts; rather, it was theorized that this information would come out in the data collection.

As candidates continue to use and become more familiar with the mentoring process, the community of learners will be strengthened and continued after graduation from the program. We feel that mentoring is a responsible form of leadership and encourages leaders to work collaboratively in community. While this study has ended, it raises many questions for further study. Those questions include:

1) Did establishing an environment for leadership mentoring retain students in the doctoral program?
2) Was an environment established that allowed candidates in the process of mentoring to actively and successfully participate?
3) Did the mentoring experience make a difference in their educational and leadership experiences?
4) How do we provide a formal structure for mentoring and building community within the doctoral program?
5) What is the impact of the mentoring process on field-dependent and field-independent doctoral students?

Finally, the responsibility to create community in the doctoral program is up to the candidates, and the responsibility for providing an atmosphere for community to develop and mentoring to take to place rests with the faculty.

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