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Exploring Racial Literacy in Middle Level Teacher Preparation: a Case Study

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Exploring Racial Literacy in Middle Level Teacher Preparation:
A Case Study

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

Foundations of Education

College of Education

University of South Carolina

2015

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Acknowledgements

There are many people who encouraged, supported, and guided me through this process.

In particular, I would like to thank my dissertation committee: Dr. Michelle Bryan, Dr.

Allison Anders, Dr. Daniella Cook, and Dr. Tambra Jackson. These four incredible

women opened my eyes, my heart, and my mind to new perspectives and new

possibilities.

Abstract

In the United States, approximately 82% of teachers are white and middle-class, yet their students are strikingly diverse and becoming more so. The mismatch between teachers' and students' racial backgrounds is important because teachers who have limited experience with students of color may misinterpret their students' unfamiliar behaviors and make stereotyped assumptions from a deficit perspective. It is well documented that U.S. schools systematically marginalize and fail many children of color. Disparities in funding, access, and achievement in education are intimately tied to race. Everyday practices in schools perpetuate inequities, but the actual processes can be hard to see. If we want to understand why schools continue to reproduce social inequities, we must develop a more complex understanding of the role that white teachers play, consciously and unconsciously, in perpetuating institutionalized racism. Understanding white teachers' racial and generational identities, and the ways in which they have been socialized to conceptualize race in particular historical, social, and cultural contexts is crucial to this task. The purpose of this study was to examine the racial socialization of three white, non-traditionally aged pre-service teachers, and to explore the impact of transformational learning experiences on their conceptualizations of racism. Each of the participants engaged in a semester-long undergraduate course with a social justice curriculum and a 20-hour service-learning project. A qualitative, interpretive case study approach was used in conjunction with a critical family history project to examine the events, experiences, and contexts that have shaped the participants' understandings of

race and racism. Initial conversations revealed evidence of us/them "othering," denial, colorblindness, meritocracy, and "a culture of niceness" (McIntyre, 1997; Pimentel, 2010; Rogers & Mosley, 2008). The critical family history project (Sleeter, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2014) was used as a tool to trace intergenerational capital, link family stories to larger social issues, and reveal ways in which power and privilege have been constructed over time in deeply personal ways.

Keywords: racial literacy, pre-service teachers, non-traditional students, critical family history, revisionist history, transformational learning

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"I had a friend, a good friend. She was a black girl…. One day I was coming up the stairs with her, and I was complaining because I had applied for this job, and I said, 'They're not gonna consider me because of age.' I said, 'I am being discriminated against.' And she looked at me and said, 'Girl, you don't even know… what discrimination is,' **and I looked at her and it dawned on me, I probably didn't.** *She said, 'You don't know what it is to be black.' And I don't! And then… she said… 'When we're going across this bridge, look over to the right,' and she said, 'I'm not sure you can see it, but I have relatives buried there that were slaves.'* **Yeah, so no… I don't. You know, I can't say I wish I did**.*"*

–Betty, pre-service teacher, age 62

In the spring of 2009, I became involved in a grant project that established a partnership between a small, public southeastern university and a local middle school. The purpose of the project was to provide field trip experiences for middle school students and ongoing professional development for middle level teachers with an emphasis on interdisciplinary curriculum development. When the project was announced, we were surprised at the resistance we encountered from the teachers at "Westside Middle School" (a pseudonym), who were not eager to participate in yet another initiative. I arranged to meet with the teachers in small groups to ask what we

could do to make the project more meaningful for them. They expressed an urgent need for hands-on help in their classrooms; specifically, they were struggling to meet the needs of their students, many of whom were reading two or more years below grade level, with class sizes of 30-35 students or more in a racially diverse, high poverty school. In response to that need, I added a new 20-hour service-learning project requirement to my adolescent development class at "Southeastern University" (a pseudonym).

The undergraduate students enrolled in my class, most of whom were middle level or secondary education majors, were assigned to visit Westside Middle School classrooms twice a week for ten weeks. The original purpose of the service-learning project was to have pre-service teachers work with individuals or small groups of students as directed by the classroom teacher, but the project was rather loosely defined.[1] As I began collecting data to include in our funding agency's annual report, including written reflections and informal exit interviews, something unexpected happened: I began to see some interesting patterns emerge in the data. Many of the pre-service teachers observed and reflected upon the culture of this particular school and how different it was from their own experience. Like most teachers, my students were predominantly white and middle class, and they had had limited contact with poor people of color. Some expressed shock, but many responded very positively to this school community and the unique characteristics of young adolescents. I realized that this service-learning project had the potential to engage pre-service teachers in self-reflection and help them begin to unlearn some stereotyped assumptions about students whose backgrounds are different from their own.

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[1] I am defining pre-service teachers as undergraduate college students who are enrolled in teacher education programs. The pre-service teachers in my adolescent development class are typically sophomores majoring in middle level or secondary education.

The following semester, the Westside teachers and I re-negotiated the service-learning project to add a mentoring component. The pre-service teachers were still assigned to a classroom, but now they were also asked to select a child from a racial, linguistic, or socioeconomic background different from their own and mentor them. Suggested activities included helping the child with schoolwork, communicating a personal interest in the child, and attending extracurricular events such as a sports event or school dance. Many pre-service teachers reported that they chose students whom they assumed would need the most help, and then were surprised at how intelligent, articulate, and personable the children were. Eventually the project evolved to become a more structured case study mentoring project, with an added goal of exploring culturally responsive practice in middle level teacher preparation.[2]

Six years later, this service-learning project continues to benefit all who are involved: the middle school classroom teachers can count on my students to help with small group activities or individualized instruction twice a week; middle school students collaborate with college student mentors to collect data and co-construct an identity concept map; pre-service teachers gain new insights into adolescent development and develop personal relationships with students who do not look like them. The data that I continue to collect each semester has convinced me that there is a great need to prepare white, middle class teachers to work effectively in racially diverse settings such as Westside Middle School.

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[2] Drawing on the scholarship of Ladson-Billings (2009) and Gay (2010), I define culturally responsive practice as pedagogy that makes school accessible and relevant to students who are racially, culturally, and linguistically diverse. Culturally responsive teachers value and respect their students' cultural knowledge, identity, and heritage while actively interrogating institutionalized ideologies of power and privilege.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Perhaps the most urgent challenge facing the nation is "providing high-quality schooling for all students, especially those presently underserved by the educational system, including students of color, low-income students, English language-learners and students in rural and urban settings" (Hollins & Guzman, 2005, p. 477). Indeed, every aspect of our education system including "teacher demographics, instructional strategies, curriculum, textbooks, disciplinary practices, testing and tracking policies, retention practices, [and] graduation rates" (Chubbuck, 2010, p. 207) contributes to the marginalization and academic failure of many students of color in our society. Disparities in education and the achievement gap are reflected in, among other things, high school graduation rates. According to the most recent Schott Foundation report (2015), the national high school graduation rate for black male students in 2012-2013 was 59%. Many of the states with the lowest graduation rates (<55%) were located in the southeast. One school district that is in close proximity to Southeastern University, and will likely employ some of our graduates, had a black male graduation rate of just 29% (Schott Foundation, 2015). Other troubling national statistics include the percentage of black male high school students who were suspended from school in 2012-2013 (15%), as compared to a white male suspension rate of 5%. In addition, 14.6% of black males were expelled from school, as compared to only 1.6% of their white counterparts (NCES, 2012). The Schott Foundation "firmly believes that these data are not indicative of a character flaw in Black boys and men, but rather they are evidence of an unconscionable level of willful neglect and disparate resource allocations by federal, state and local entities and a level of indifference by too many community leaders" (2015, p. 28). I, too,

am convinced that this is evidence of a systemic problem: We are failing our students of color.

Much of the problem lies in the "demographic divide" (Milner, 2008; Castro, 2010) between teachers and students. In the United States, approximately 82% of teachers are white and middle-class, yet their students are strikingly diverse and becoming more so (Zumwalt & Craig, 2005; NCES, 2012; NCES, 2013). In *Studying teacher education: The report of the AERA panel on research and teacher education*, Zumwalt and Craig (2005) examined the gender, race, and ages of teachers and pre-service teachers. Table 1.1 summarizes that data.

Table 1.1 Teachers and Pre-service Teachers by Gender, Race, and Age (2005)

	Teachers	**Pre-service Teachers**
Gender	74.5% female	67% female
Race	84 % white	80.5% white
Age	Average age is 42.3, with 29.4% age 50 or older	Nearly 40% of graduating pre-service teachers are age 25 or older

These demographic trends have continued; more recently, the National Center for Education Statistics (2013) found that 76.3% of public school teachers are female, 81.9% are white; and 30.7% are age 50 or older. Yet a recent report indicates that, as of 2014, children of color constitute the statistical majority of the student population in the United States. Table 1.2 shows the changing student demographic profile from 2011 to 2014 (NCES, 2012).

Table 1.2 United States Student Populations, By Race (2012)

K-12 students, by race	**2011**	**2014**
White	51.7%	49.8%
Black	15.8%	15.4%
Hispanic	23.7%	25.8%
Asian	5.1%	5.2%

Native American	1.1%	1.1%
Two or more races	2.6%	2.8%

The mismatch between teachers' and students' racial backgrounds is important because teachers who have limited experience with students of color may misinterpret their students' cultural norms and make stereotyped assumptions from a deficit perspective (García & Guerra, 2004). For example, a teacher may interpret a student's more direct conversational style as being disrespectful or noncompliant, and unilaterally punish the student. Additionally, many teachers "consistently rank speakers of standardized English as being smarter and of a higher status than speakers of non-standardized English dialects" (Charity-Hudley & Mallinson, 2011, p. 2). White teachers of African American students, for example, may not understand that their students' language variations have systematic, regular rules, conventions, and patterns; their students' "errors" are not simply haphazard or careless mistakes. The students' style of speaking is thus "a linguistic difference, not a cognitive or linguistic deficiency" (Charity-Hudley & Mallinson, 2011, p. 102). White educators can care deeply about their students of color, yet still cause harm if their concern leads them to lower academic expectations. I argue that even white teachers with good intentions may unknowingly perpetuate racist practices.

1.2 Study Relevance and Purpose

I believe that if we want to understand why schools continue to reproduce social inequities, we must develop a more complex understanding of the role that teachers play, consciously and unconsciously, in perpetuating institutionalized racism. Understanding teachers' racial and generational identities, and the ways in which they have been

socialized to conceptualize race is crucial to this task.[3] Consequently, the purpose of this

study was to examine three white pre-service teachers' understandings of race, and to

interrogate racism as a systemic issue.[4] Each of the participants engaged in a semester-

long undergraduate course with a social justice curriculum that was designed to be

transformational, as well as a 20-hour service-learning project and a subsequent critical

family history project (Sleeter, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2014).[5] [6] A qualitative, interpretive

case study approach was used in an attempt to capture the contexts and complexity of the

events and experiences that have shaped the participants' understandings of race and

racism. The intellectual goal was to understand the processes by which preconceived

notions about race are acquired through socialization and how they can be examined and

revised as pre-service teachers construct new meanings through lived experience. I drew

from scholarship in the fields of teacher education (Chubbuck, 2010; Ball & Tyson,

2011; Hollins & Guzman, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Gay, 2010) and sociology

(Bourdieu, 1977/2013; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992;

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[3] Race is an artificial, socially constructed, relational identity. Race emerged historically in the United States to justify the dominance that people identified as "white" held over people who were not white. We apply labels to "nonwhite" groups in order to categorize, label, and exploit them, with "blackness at the bottom of a color hierarchy" (Adams, et al., 2010, p. 91). Race is about power, from the basic power to define the race of others to the more pervasive power to divest targeted racial groups of social, economic, or political advantage.

[4] Racism is a system of oppression that is pervasive, restrictive, and hierarchal (Bell, 2010). Racism functions "not only through overt, conscious prejudice and discrimination but also through the unconscious attitudes and behaviors of a society that presumes an unacknowledged but pervasive white cultural norm" (Bell, 2010, p. 24). Thus, racism creates and maintains a dominant power structure.

[5] I define a social justice curriculum as an intervention designed to illuminate "privilege and disadvantage rooted in racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of systemic oppression" (Adams, et al, (2010, p. xxvi). This is important because social inequality is "woven throughout social institutions as well as embedded within individual consciousness" (Bell, 2010, p. 21). Social justice refers to the distribution of privilege, wealth, and opportunity for all. The goal of social justice is "full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs" (Bell, 2010, p. 21). The activities I used in my class are described in Chapter 2.

[6] Mezirow's transformational learning theory examines the way adults experience a paradigm shift as they move beyond the limited knowledge that they have acquired from their families, organizations, cultures, and society without questioning them (Mezirow, 1990, 1991, 1997; Mezirow, Taylor, & Associates, 2009).

Frankenberg, 1993/2005; Twine, 2004), as well as theoretical perspectives taken up by scholars whose research critically examines race and racism (Bell, 1992; Harris, 1993; Giroux, 1997; Delgado & Stefancic, 1997, 2012; Guinier & Torres, 2002; Yosso, 2002, 2005; Leonardo, 2002; Sleeter, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2014; hooks, 2013; Bonilla-Silva, 2014). I sought to better understand the following:

1. What assumptions and expectations do white pre-service teachers have about young adolescent students of color?

2. How do pre-service teachers' perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs about race shift as they engage in a social justice curriculum and a 20-hour service-learning project over the course of one semester?

3. What are the implications for understanding racial literacy when white, middle-class, and middle-aged pre-service teachers are engaged in a critical family history project (Sleeter, 2008)?

There are several bodies of literature that offered insights into my participants' racial and generational identities. Many teacher education and whiteness studies have shown that white teachers and pre-service teachers are uncomfortable discussing issues of race or racism and will avoid talking about it (McIntyre, 1997; Rogers & Mosley, 2006, 2008; Mosley, 2010; Mosley & Rogers, 2011; Winans, 2010; Coffey, 2010; Picower, 2009). Often they will profess a colorblind ideology (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Giroux, 1997; Bell, 1988/1997; Choi, 2008), insisting that race does not matter. Additionally, many white people have grown up in segregated neighborhoods, attended mostly-white schools, and have had little personal contact with people of color (Frankenberg, 1993/2005; Lewis, 2001; Hagerman, 2014). The resulting racial isolation prevents white people from

understanding the racialized experiences of people of color and fosters a distorted worldview (Leonardo, 2002; Roediger, 1991/2007; Lewis, 2001)

Conceptualizations of race begin at home, within the family (Harro, 2010). The scholarship that examines racial socialization within the family is limited (Twine, 2004, 2010; Guinier & Torres, 2002; Stevenson, 2014; Brown & Lesane-Brown, 2006), and these studies focus on families of color. Even fewer studies connect racial socialization to different age cohorts (Brown & Lasane-Brown, 2006; Castro, 2010). I was unable to find any research that focused on the racial socialization of white people across different historical periods. I argue that this oversight is a problem, because white teachers' basic values, beliefs, and assumptions are racially and generationally situated in particular historical, social, political, and cultural contexts. Considering those contexts is crucial to understanding the processes by which preconceived notions are acquired through socialization. For example, the worldviews of Baby Boomers who grew up during the Civil Rights Era were shaped by events and experiences that are very different from those of Millennials. Furthermore, these worldviews may be more firmly established in older people and therefore more resistant to change. Accordingly, this dissertation study focuses on the racial socialization of white, non-traditionally aged pre-service teachers.[7]

1.3 Study Significance

Within the literature, it is well documented that U.S. schools systematically fail many children of color (Kozol, 2005; Kumashiro, 2004/2009; Oakes, 1985/2005;

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[7] In this study, I define non-traditional students as adults who are age 25 or older, who may be married, may have children, may have had previous job experience, and live off campus. This population may include students seeking delayed college degrees or making midlife career changes (Castro, 2010; Kasworm, 2005; Eifler & Potthoff, 1998; Manos & Kasambira, 1998; Rodriguez & Sjostrom, 1998).

Valenzuela, 1999). Schools continue to reproduce social inequities through racialized structures, practices, and discourses that privilege some students and disadvantage others (Yosso, 2002b). Yet these processes are hard to see. We are all socialized, consciously and unconsciously, to believe and conform to dominant narratives that perpetuate and naturalize oppression (Adams, Blumenfeld, Castañeda, Hackman, Peters, & Zúñiga, 2010). Harro (2010) describes a cycle of socialization that illustrates the power of our families, institutions, and culture to shape our perceptions, values, and roles in society.[8] Members of privileged groups are often unaware of their status and roles as oppressors (Hardiman, Jackson, & Griffin (2010). This unawareness exemplifies dysconscious racism, which Joyce King (1991) defines as a form of racism that is an uncritical, "impaired consciousness or distorted way of thinking about race" (p. 135) that justifies oppression by accepting the status quo.

One way to disrupt this cycle is to address race and racism in teacher education programs, before teachers are entrenched in the field. Teacher educators can help pre-service teachers begin to unlearn dominant ideologies and critically examine their own preconceived notions about students of color.[9] Questioning one's assumptions is a first step in cultivating racial literacy. Drawing on the scholarship of Twine (2004, 2010), Guinier & Torres (2002), Guinier (2004), Rogers & Mosley (2006, 2008), Mosley (2010), Mosley & Rogers (2011),Winans (2010), Stevenson (2014), Horsford (2014), and

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[8] Drawing on the scholarship of Harro (2010) and Hardiman, Jackson, & Griffin (2010), I define socialization as the process by which we acquire basic values, beliefs, and assumptions through interactions with our families, teachers, and other influential individuals as well as our society's institutions and cultural norms. We are all socialized to accept systems of oppression as normal.

[9] Stuart Hall (1990, as cited in Lewis, 2001) defines ideology as "those images, concepts, and premises which provide the frameworks through which we represent, interpret, understand, and 'make sense' of some aspect of social existence" (p. 799). Ideologies are powerful because they shape the way we see the world and make it appear normal and natural.

Bonilla-Silva (2014), I define racial literacy as a process that enables us to begin to discern, decode, and challenge racialized messages, practices, and structures that appear to be normal, but perpetuate systemic inequities that are intimately connected to race. Racial literacy means to "read between the lines" and not just accept the status quo. Instead, we must interrogate, decode, and deconstruct oppressive discourses, systems, and institutions that create and perpetuate inequities (Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, 2011; Lynn & Parker, 2006; Yosso, 2002a). I believe that cultivating racial literacy can be a powerful tool to disrupt dysconscious racism (King, 1991) and is a prerequisite to culturally responsive practice.

Consequently, this study has implications for practice in the field of teacher education. First, this research addresses a gap in the literature related to nontraditional students who are enrolled in a traditional undergraduate teacher education program. Second, this study addresses the historically situated socialization of white, middle-aged pre-service teachers, and how that impacts their understandings of race and racism. Third, this study demonstrates the usefulness of a social justice curriculum, service-learning project, and critical family history project for exposing generational white privilege and cultivating racial literacy. The critical family history project (Sleeter, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2014) links private family stories to larger social issues, traces intergenerational capital, and offers a revisionist perspective on historic events in a deeply personal way.[10] Finally, this study addresses the intersectionality of age, race, and

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[10] The concept of revisionist history recognizes that U.S. history reflects a white, European interpretation of events, thereby omitting or misrepresenting marginalized people's experiences. Because history has been engineered by the dominant group "in a narrow and deeply distorted way" (Nash, 1995, p. 135), we must rethink the past using new and multiple interpretations of evidence. Drawing on the scholarship of Loewen (1995/2007), Ladson-Billings (2003), Nash (1995), Thompson & Austin (2011), and Spring (2013), I

class and complicates our understanding of the "demographic divide" (Milner, 2008;

Castro, 2010) between today's increasingly diverse students and their incoming

teachers.[11]

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define revisionist history as a progressive reinterpretation of past events from multiple perspectives using a critical lens. I do recognize that not all revisionist history interpretations are positive and progressive.

[11] The concept of intersectionality was introduced in the late 1980s to focus attention on the overlapping and conflicting dynamics of race, gender, class, and other social identities in the context of power and structures of inequality (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013).

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework (Four Lenses)

Maxwell (2005) defines a study's conceptual framework as "the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that supports and informs your research" (p. 33). He describes the four lenses that constitute a study's conceptual framework as: 1) situated knowledge and assumptions, 2) theoretical framing, 3) review of related studies and relevant literature, and 4) the pilot study. These lenses "inform the rest of your design- to help you assess and refine your goals, develop realistic and relevant research questions, select appropriate methods, and identify potential validity threats to your conclusions" (p. 33-34). The purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed explanation of the conceptual framework that led me to my research topic, informed my research design, and guided my analysis of the data.

2.1 Situated Knowledge and Assumptions

Subjectivity is my lens, or the way I view the world, as a result of my personal experience and knowledge. Peshkin (1988) asserts that researchers should "systematically identify their subjectivity throughout the course of their research" (p. 17). This process is important because my own subjectivities may "filter, skew, shape, block, transform, construe, and misconstrue what transpires" (p. 17). In other words, my background influences the way I experience the world and will inform the way I evaluate and interpret others' experiences. I have some particularly compelling reasons to look at race. It is painful to think about the events that have shaped and reshaped my feelings about

race. My Subjectivity Audit revealed 1) the Fearful I; 2) the Judgmental I; 3) the Cognizant I; 4) the E-Pluribus-Unum I; and 5) the Searching I (Peshkin, 1988).

The Fearful I. One of my earliest childhood memories is being trapped in the middle of a race riot in downtown Newark, New Jersey during the summer of 1967. As I watched from the backseat of my grandparents' car, a huge throng of people surged into the city street, blocking traffic. I heard the sounds of glass breaking and people shouting. A half dozen or so young African American men approached our vehicle and surrounded us; they put their hands on the car and pushed, and the car began to rock. My grandfather rolled his window down a few inches and held out a $20 bill. A young man snatched the cash and the group ran off. As we drove away, my grandfather muttered and cursed. I learned some racial slurs that day. There were a number of race riots in New Jersey in the 1960's and these terrifying events were televised into our living room day after day. My parents decided to relocate to an all-white neighborhood in South Jersey, where my brother and I could safely walk to school with all of the other (white) neighborhood children. These early childhood experiences resulted in my fear of African Americans.

I never actually met an African American in person until I moved to South Carolina in 1975. My new high school had recently been desegregated, and tensions were high. This had been the "black" campus and, on the first day of school, I was slammed into a wall of lockers because I did not know the rules. There were bomb threats, fighting along racial lines, and numerous unplanned early dismissals that year. As a result, my mother withdrew me from the public school and enrolled me in a "white flight" private school. This experience reinforced the stereotype that African Americans were different: they were angry, they were aggressive and violent; they were dangerous.

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The Judgmental I. While attending college, I worked in a locally owned, independent drug store. The merchandise was overpriced, and the customers who shopped at this pharmacy reflected two extremes: wealthy white people who socialized with the owner and did not appear to care about the cost, and poor people of color who relied on store credit, Medicaid, and free home delivery. The employees frequently make derogatory remarks about the African American customers, especially those who signed their Medicaid cards with an X and whose dialects made them difficult to understand. This experience reinforced the stereotype that African Americans were different: they were poor; they were uneducated, they were unemployed; they were deficient.

The Cognizant I. It wasn't until my final year of college that I actually got to know an African American person. Her name was Wanda and she became a good friend. I remember asking her lots of questions about her skin color and "her people," and I was surprised to find that we were actually more alike than different. I became a frequent guest in her family's home. Her family ate dinner together and said the blessing every night; they talked about their day; the younger siblings were reminded to do their homework and brush their teeth before bed. I was astonished. These people were not angry, violent, or aggressive; they were not poor, uneducated, or difficult to understand. This experience caused my Cognizant I to begin to examine and reevaluate my stereotyped assumptions about race. The first time I really noticed that black people were treated differently than white people, and thought about how unfair it was, was in 1982. My husband and I had to go out of town for a family funeral, and we had a dog and several small pets, so I asked my friend Wanda and her husband to stay at our apartment to care for the pets while we were away. I literally received a long distance phone call

from my landlord saying, "I don't want to upset you, but there are BLACK PEOPLE in your apartment. Don't worry. I have already called the police." He was shocked that they were my friends and had permission to be there.

The E-Pluribus Unum I. My children's public school experience was very different from mine. Each of my daughters developed close friendships with students of African American, Hispanic, Asian, and Middle Eastern descent. Marching band in particular brought many different kinds of students together and unified them with a common goal. As I spent time with these students on band trips, at special events, and at my dinner table, I gained a better understanding of, and appreciation for, diversity. Developing personal relationships with these students and their families changed many of my earlier perceptions and assumptions. I was so proud of becoming color-blind (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Then one of my daughters began dating an African American man, and my husband and I did not handle it very well. I have to confess that deeply ingrained, insidious racism can rear its ugly head when I least expect it. I was surprised at my gut reaction to the news of my daughter's engagement to this black man. Intellectually, I knew better, so why did I feel this way? According to Bell, "oppression not only resides in external social institutions and norms but lodges in the human psyche as well" (2010, p. 23). I realized that I had been socialized on a very deep level to feel this way. My husband and I are still struggling with gut-level racism. Our daughter's new husband is proud of his heritage and eager to talk about it. We have had many frank discussions, including our initial concerns about interracial dating. My son-in-law has shared some of his personal experiences related to prejudice, barriers, and social injustice. One story in particular- that of being profiled and mistreated by police based solely on his appearance-

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has had a tremendous impact on the way my husband and I are beginning to understand racism. No longer an abstraction, racism has become personal because it is connected to my family. My daughter and her new husband tell us that racism is a thing of the past, but I disagree. I am concerned about the ways in which racism will affect them and my future bi-racial grandchildren.

The Searching I. In my professional life, I teach programs for K-12 students at a science center affiliated with a university. Each year we serve approximately 25,000 students from 80-90 different schools. Some of the school groups are primarily white, middle-class students; others are mostly low SES African American students. I have been shocked and angered at the inequalities I see daily, particularly in schools from South Carolina's "Corridor of Shame." These rural schools, located along our state's I-95 corridor, continue to struggle with the effects of diminished tax-based funding and reduced government support; not surprisingly, they serve high percentages of children of color living in poverty (Ferillo, 2006). I have visited some of these schools and have noticed that both the buildings and the quality of instruction are shockingly substandard. These experiences led me to begin reading the scholarship related to policies and practices that reproduce and perpetuate social inequities, and ultimately led me back to graduate school to pursue a doctorate in educational foundations and inquiry. The culmination of these personal, professional, and academic experiences has led me to the topic of this study.

2.2 Theoretical Framing

Anfara & Mertz (2006) define theory as a system of principles or ideas employed to propose explanations and explain phenomena. The word "theory" originated in ancient

Greek philosophy. The word theoria, θεωρία, meant looking, viewing, or beholding but later came to denote thoughtful, contemplative, and speculative understandings. In general terms, theory is an analytical tool for understanding and explaining. In the positivist tradition of social science research, the word theory is typically used to mean scientifically plausible principles or a system of rules that can be proven, generalized, and used to make predictions. However, in qualitative research, the emphasis is on understanding within a specific context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Glesne, 2011).

Flinders and Mills (1993) define theory as "an analytical and interpretive framework that helps the researcher make sense of 'what is going on' in the social setting being studied" (p. 103). Glesne (2011) describes the cohesiveness of a theoretical framework: "Theory refers to a set of propositions that are interrelated in an ordered fashion such that some may be deducible from others, thus permitting an explanation to be developed for the phenomenon under consideration" (p. 35). Eisner (1993) agrees, proposing that theory is "supposed to make coherent what otherwise appears as disparate and disconnected individual events. Theory is a means through which we learn lessons that can apply to situations we have yet to encounter" (p. viii). In qualitative research, rather than being used to generalize and make predictions, theory provides an understanding of direct lived experience. Thus, theory is a set of ideas that brings cohesion to what otherwise may seem to be disparate and disconnected events, and guides the researcher in ways to approach inquiry.

Anfara & Mertz (2006) reviewed the literature on the use of theoretical frameworks in qualitative research. They suggest that "the role of theory in qualitative research is more pervasive and influential than suggested by those who situate it

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methodologically…. It plays a key role in framing and conducting almost every aspect of the study" (Anfara & Mertz, 2006, p. xxiii). They argue that theoretical frameworks or paradigms "contain the researcher's epistemological, ontological, and methodological premises" (p. xxi) and thus provide a framework that guides the researcher throughout the project. Merriam (1988) agrees that the theoretical framework is the overall structure, or scaffolding, that frames and supports the study and guides action. Going into this study, I was not sure whether my beliefs and purposes fit best with an interpretive or critical paradigm. Table 2.1 is a synthesis of beliefs, positions, and practices of interpretive and critical paradigms (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; Glesne, 2011) that contrasts ontological, epistemological, and methodological orientations. After reflecting on the content of this table, I believe that my study has elements of both.

Table 2.1. Beliefs, Positions, and Practices of Interpretive and Critical Paradigms

	Guiding Questions	Interpretive Paradigm	Critical Paradigm
Ontology Worldviews and assumptions of the researcher	What is the nature of reality?	Multiple realities exist. People co-construct their own understandings of reality through lived experience.	Human nature operates in a world that is based on a struggle for power. This leads to interactions of privilege and oppression. Ideologies distort reality.
Epistemology The truths we seek and believe as researchers	What is the nature of knowledge? What are the sources of knowledge? How does the researcher approach the	We construct knowledge through our lived experiences and through our interactions with others. Researchers must produce knowledge that reflects our	Knowledge is socially constructed and subjective. There are multiple ways of knowing. Knowledge is emancipatory and can produce fundamental social change.

	inquiry process?	participants' reality.	
Inquiry Aim The goals of research and the reason why inquiry is conducted	What are the goals and the knowledge we seek?	The aim of inquiry is to describe, understand, contextualize, and interpret the social world from the participants' perspective. The researcher attempts to understand but not transform.	The aim of inquiry is to expose and critique ideologies and practices that perpetuate oppression. This inquiry could contribute to social transformation and emancipation.
Methodology How we seek out new knowledge	How should our inquiry proceed?	Meanings emerge from the research process; we collaboratively construct a meaningful reality.	Research is a political act that goes beyond description.
Researcher Positionality – The point of view in which the researcher operates	What is the relationship between the researcher and that being researched?	The researcher is a "passionate participant" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011)	The researcher is an advocate and an activist.
Action – What is produced as a result of the inquiry process beyond the data	How can society use the knowledge generated?	The research produced encourages readers to consider the findings; "intellectual digestion" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011)	The research produced can serve as an examination of human existence, change how people think, and provoke social change.
Reflexivity –The process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher, "the human instrument"	Whose voices are heard?	The researcher is thoughtful, reflective, and self-aware.	The researcher uses critical self-reflection while being sensitive to the views of others.

Assuming that my paradigms are both interpretive and critical, my dissertation

study is framed and anchored by a triad of theories: Bourdieu's theory of social

reproduction (Bourdieu, 1977/2013; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992); critical race theory (Bell, 1992; Taylor, Gillborn, & Ladson-Billings, 2009; Crenshaw, 2011; Harris, 1993; Delgado and Stefancic, 2012; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001); and transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1990, 1991, 1997; Mezirow, Taylor, & Associates, 2009). When I began my doctoral program nearly four years ago, Bourdieu's (1977/2013) notions of social and cultural capital captivated me. His theory of social reproduction, which proposes that social stratification and inequalities are perpetuated in schools, led me to my research topic. As an adjunct instructor, I was teaching a class of mostly white, middle-class pre-service teachers who were engaged in a service-learning project working with low-income adolescent students of color. The assumptions and stereotyped beliefs that emerged in our class discussions were troubling, and Bourdieu's theory helped me begin to make sense of what was happening. The "elephant in the room," however, was race. I then became interested in the ways that race and racism operate in our society, and that interest led me to critical race theory (CRT). CRT is an intellectual, activist movement that critically examines race and racism in the context of power. CRT helped me push race to the center of the conversation and seek to expose the hidden, insidious nature of racism. Finally, as I began designing an anti-racism, social justice curriculum for my undergraduate students, I discovered Jack Mezirow's (1990) transformational learning theory, which examines the way adults can move beyond the limited knowledge they have acquired from their families, organizations, and institutions. In this section, I explain the fundamental concepts that undergird each theory, synthesize each theory's related propositions, and apply these understandings to my study.

Capital and social reproduction theory. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977/2013) pioneered a theoretical framework that examined the dynamics of power relations in social life. He proposed the concepts of habitus, capital, and symbolic violence to explain how groups in society behave in predictable ways that perpetuate and reproduce social stratification. Bourdieu's work was influenced by traditional anthropology and sociology. Like Karl Marx, Bourdieu "asserted the importance of the economic structure in perpetuating and maintaining inequality" (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p. 3). Bourdieu expanded on Marx's ideas and noted that there were consistent patterns of behavior on the part of people from different class strata that might be related to perpetuation of inequalities. He was interested in privilege, symbolic power, and "those cultural mores, rules, norms or symbols that aid in the reproduction of and resistance to social inequality" (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p. 5).

Habitus. According to Bourdieu, a person develops a system of cognitive structures and schemes through socialization. Habitus is an acquired system of basic, deep, and subconscious dispositions that govern patterns of behavior. As we observe the activities and experiences of everyday life, we learn. Habitus begins in early childhood at home but is also shaped by school. We each acquire a system that includes knowledge and procedures to follow as we navigate our world. Our thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions generate practical behaviors and these become internalized as second nature (Bourdieu, 1977/2013). Bourdieu & Passeron (1990) define habitus as:

> Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to
>
> function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and
>
> organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their

outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery

of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (p. 53)

Habitus results in subjective, subconscious behaviors that include cultural

attitudes, preferences, and behaviors. Habitus generates social practice and specific

responses in social situations. Thus, "the habitus serves as a cognitive map that routinely

guides and evaluates a person's choices and options. It provides enduring dispositions

toward acting deemed appropriate by people and society in particular social situations

and settings" (Cockerham & Hinote, 2009, p. 203). However, habitus operates below the

level of consciousness. It is "a deeply buried structure that shapes people's dispositions to

act in such ways that they wind up accepting the dominance of others, or of 'the system,'

without being made to do so" (Ortner, 2006, p. 5). Although habitus develops early in

life, it continues to evolve through experience.

Capital. Capital includes unearned attributes that have more value in certain

situations. Bourdieu extended the idea of capital to categories such as cultural capital and

social capital. Cultural capital "is related to the class-based socialization of culturally

relevant skills, abilities, tastes, preferences, or norms that act as a form of currency in the

social realm" (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p. 5). Cultural capital includes class-based social

practices and mannerisms, style, elegance, sophistication, ease of manners, education,

and subtleties of language such as accent and grammar. Language and speech patterns in

particular perpetuate cultural privilege. Thus, "[a]cademic qualifications are to cultural

capital what money is to economic capital" (Bourdieu, 1977/2013, p. 187). Additionally,

Bourdieu saw social capital as networks or "social connections, honorability, and

respectability that work as a form of capital in social settings" (Winkle-Wagner, 2010, p.

12). Having personal connections and social networks gives particular groups the advantage in settings such as schools.

Symbolic violence. Bourdieu saw symbolic capital as a source of power. Symbolic capital includes socially constructed intangibles such as honor, prestige, and status. When individuals with symbolic capital use this power to subordinate, exclude, and/or oppress others with less, they are exerting symbolic violence. Those with power "apply categories constructed from the point of view of the dominant to the relations of domination, thus making them appear as natural" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 35). These categories lead to systematic oppression that is then internalized and reproduced by the oppressed. This process is cyclical, as power feeds oppression and oppression helps obscure and legitimize power. Higher social classes pass their privilege from generation to generation through accumulated wealth and cultural capital, thereby perpetuating and reproducing social inequities.

Social reproduction in schools. Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction is particularly relevant to the issues of race and class in education. The concepts of habitus and capital relate directly to teachers who, consciously and unconsciously, marginalize students whose backgrounds are different than their own. School personnel "take the habitus of the dominant group as the natural and only proper sort of habitus and treat all children as if they had equal access to it" (Harker, Mahar, & Wilkes, 1990, p. 87). Consequently, schools are not neutral institutions. They reflect the culture, habits, and values of the dominant class. Children from the dominant class enter school with key cultural cues that lower class students or students of color may not have. For example, privileged children have already learned certain behaviors at home that mirror their

teachers' upbringing and therefore fit the pattern of their teachers' expectations. A teacher, without even realizing it, may reward a student who behaves in a particular way, while finding the behavior of an unprivileged child to be difficult or challenging.

Our education system privileges those students who have already acquired the cultural capital that is valued by the dominant group. The cultural capital valued by schools acts as a filter in perpetuating the reproductive processes of a hierarchical society. Many students from privileged backgrounds excel in school while many students from other racial groups and lower class backgrounds struggle. Furthermore, this process is embedded in a system that makes it appear that success in school is connected to meritocracy through hard work and talent.[12] This gives "the appearance that the institution is the same for all races, thus producing the assumption that the same results can be expected from all, and if this does not occur, then it is the individual student's or teacher's fault" (McKnight & Chandler, 2012, p. 80). The poor and the marginalized who do not succeed are perceived to be solely to blame for their own condition. This obscures "the central role that schools have in both changing and in reproducing social and cultural inequities from one generation to the next" (Harker, Mahar, & Wilkes, 1990, p. 86). Individuals fail to question the ideology related to race and class because social and power relations have been distorted, legitimized, and institutionalized. As a result,

> Ideology can become a form of false consciousness in that it supports, stabilizes,
> or legitimizes dependency-producing social institutions, unjust social practices,
> and relations of exploitation, exclusion, and domination. It reflects the hegemony

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[12] The myth of meritocracy teaches all of us that hard work and talent will lead to success, and that everyone has an equal chance to succeed (Adams, et al, 2010).

of the collective, mainstream meaning perspective and existing power

relationships that actively support the status quo. (Mezirow, 1990, p. 16)

The advantages are cumulative, widening the achievement gap between those who have it

and those who do not.

Critical race theory. Bourdieu's notions of social and cultural capital encompass

both class and race. My study is reflects a critical epistemological worldview (Denzin &

Lincoln, 2011) with regard to the ways in which race and racism operate in society and

schools. Consequently, I drew on concepts and perspectives associated with critical race

theory (CRT) throughout the study in order to center race (Bell, 1992; Taylor, Gillborn,

& Ladson-Billings, 2009; Crenshaw, 2011; Harris, 1993; Delgado and Stefancic, 2012;

Solórzano & Yosso, 2001).

Critical race theory (CRT) emerged as a dynamic intellectual and activist

movement in the late 1970s, building on critical legal studies (CLS) and radical

feminism, in response to the profound failure of racial progress following the Civil Rights

Era (Crenshaw, 2011). Derrick Bell, a Civil Rights activist and professor of law at

Harvard University, is often credited as a founder of CRT, "a school of thought and

scholarship that critically engages questions of race and racism in the law, investigating

how even those legal institutions purporting to remedy racism can more profoundly

entrench it" (Bell, 2014, n.p). Key concepts of CRT that are relevant to this study include

the social construction of race, interest convergence, structural determinism, whiteness as

property, and revisionist history.

The social construction of race. According to Delgado & Stefancic (2012), the

"social construction thesis" asserts that the concept of race was imposed arbitrarily.

Genetic studies have refuted the existence of biogenetically distinct races (Brown &

Armelagos, 2001). Yet racial categories, which have "complex historical and socially

constructed meanings" (Lynn & Parker, 2006, p. 260) continue to be imposed as a source

of power. Furthermore, different minority groups have been favored or subordinated by

the dominant group during different points in time. For example, the case of the

immigrant Irish, who assimilated and "became" white, exposes the social construction of

whiteness (Roediger, 1991/2007; Leonardo, 2002). Thus, racial categories are socially

constructed, arbitrary, and subject to change (Warren, 1999).

Interest convergence. Because racism results in benefits to the dominant group,

there is little incentive to change it. Derrick Bell (1992) asserts, "When whites perceive

that it will be profitable or at least cost-free to serve, hire, admit, or otherwise deal with

blacks on a nondiscriminatory basis, they do so. When they fear- accurately or not- that

there may be a loss, inconvenience, or upset to themselves or other whites, discriminatory

conduct usually follows" (p. 7). In other words, change will only occur if it also benefits

whites.

Structural determinism. Derrick Bell (1992) argues that racism is "an integral,

permanent, and indestructible component of this society" (p. ix). Furthermore, because

racism "is so enmeshed in the fabric of our social order, it appears both normal and

natural to people in this culture" (Taylor, Gillborn, & Ladson-Billings, 2009, p. 21).

Structural determinism is the "concept that a mode of thought or widely shared practice

determines significant social outcomes, usually without our conscious knowledge"

(Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 173). In other words, our actions are shaped by unseen

hegemonic forces, power structures, and ideologies deeply embedded in our society.

Ignoring race and racism will only perpetuate hegemony and oppression. Thus, CRT seeks to challenge and expose racism in the everyday practices of our society.

Whiteness as property. Whiteness has a property value, with particular rights and privileges, including the right to name and exclude others (Harris, 1993). The status of being white is a valuable asset that results in social, economic, and political privileges. Whites have come to expect these benefits, which are naturalized and reproduced in our society.

Revisionist history. The concept of revisionist history recognizes that U.S. history reflects a white, European interpretation of events, thereby omitting or misrepresenting marginalized people's experiences. History has been engineered by the dominant group "in a narrow and deeply distorted way" (Nash, 1995, p. 135). Using a critical lens, we can reinterpret past events from multiple perspectives and reveal ways in which people of color have been exploited and marginalized (Loewen, 1995/2007; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Nash, 1995; Thompson & Austin, 2011; Spring, 2013).

Critical race theory applied to education. Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate (1995) were the first to apply critical race theory (CRT) to the field of education. They contend that the notion of "equal opportunity" is linked to access to education. Inequities are embedded in the hidden curriculum and in "our schools' curricular structures, processes, and discourses" (Yosso, 2002b, p. 93). Structures include, for example, using gifted or magnet programs to present specific knowledge to select groups. Processes include tracking students, thereby restricting access to knowledge to particular groups. Discourses, disguised as neutral or objective, are used to justify why some students have access to certain knowledge while others do not.

Solórzano & Yosso (2001) argue that a CRT of education has at least five themes. First, the centrality and intersectionality of race and racism theme recognizes that "objectivity, neutrality, and meritocracy, as well as curricular practices such as tracking, teacher expectations, and intelligence testing, have historically been used to subordinate students of color" (p. 2). Second, the "challenge to dominant ideology" (p. 2) theme is a critique of majoritarian assumptions about intelligence, language, and capability. A third theme is a commitment to social justice: A critical race framework offers a transformative response to oppression. Fourth, the "centrality of experiential knowledge" (p. 3) theme legitimizes the voices and lived experience of people who have been marginalized and silenced. Finally, the interdisciplinary perspective recognizes the complexity of racism and "insists on analyzing race and racism by placing them both in an historical and contemporary context" (p. 3).

Critical race theory can thus be used as a theoretical and methodological lens to study race and the persistence of racialized experiences in schools. Too often schools prepare white middle- and upper-class students for leadership roles in society, while low-income students of color are directed to "focus on remedial, manual labor-focused curriculum rather than a college bound curriculum" (Yosso, 2002b, p. 96). CRT scholars ask why white students are disproportionately represented in accelerated, honors, and AP courses while too many students of color are tracked in remedial or special education classes. Although many would argue otherwise, everyday practices, experiences and interactions in schools are infused with racial ideologies (Jay, 2009). Racism may manifest as overt prejudice or discriminatory words and actions, but it is the subtle, insidious nature of institutionalized racism that is the most dangerous. People of color

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"are marginalized via racial(ist) ideologies, imbued with notions of racial superiority and inferiority, which are fundamentally woven into the social, political, economic, and moral fibers of the nation" (Jay, 2009, p. 671). Racism can be difficult to see, but its effects are devastating.

There is some debate in the literature regarding the use of CRT by white scholars. Lynn & Parker (2006) assert that "CRT was *by, for,* and *about* people of color who understood racism from multiple vantage points…they had experienced them personally" (p. 268). As a white scholar, Bergerson (2003) "struggled with the notion that [she] may not be able to 'be' a critical race theorist… For whites to move into the area of CRT would be a form of colonization in which we would take over CRT to promote our own interests or recenter our position while attempting to 'represent' people of color" (p. 52). As a white scholar, I share those concerns. However, I argue that an in-depth understanding of racism as a deeply embedded, institutionalized, and invisible source of power and oppression is best understood using a CRT framework.

It is clear that CRT has the potential to be a powerful framework for disrupting racism in schools. Because of the demographic divide between students of color and their teachers, it is imperative that we uncover and disrupt white teachers' racist assumptions, beliefs, and stereotypes. Racism is about much more than harsh words and negative attitudes; it is about institutionalized power and privilege, and subordination and exploitation (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Confronting racism in a teacher education program is one way to begin this work.

Consequently, in this study, critical race theory informed the way I investigated three white pre-service teachers' understandings of race and racism. First and foremost, I

believe that race is central to the continued structural inequities for people of color (Bell, 1992). For this reason, I worked diligently to keep the focus on race throughout this study. This was challenging, because most white people do not see whiteness as a racial category, and have been socialized to avoid, deny, and divert attention away from race and racism (McIntyre, 1997; Warren, 1999; Brown, 2004). Closely related to the centrality of race are the concepts of meritocracy (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001), colorblindness, and deficit perspectives that can disguise racism. I looked for evidence of these ideologies in the data I collected. In the pilot study, I found that "I am not a racist" discourse was often followed by remarks that contradicted that assertion. Second, the revisionist history concept of CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012) inspired me to elicit and closely examine the dominant historical narrative that the participants had constructed, and then reinterpret it using a CRT lens. Finally, the "whiteness as property" concept (Harris, 1993) directly relates to the participants' and my white privilege. Tracing generational wealth and placing our ancestors' lives in critical contexts exposed the types of unearned opportunities and institutionalized privileges that are reserved for white people. To summarize, CRT informed my study in order to center race, reinterpret majoritarian narratives, and expose white privilege.

Transformative learning theory. The processes of unlearning bias and rethinking the unintended effects of schooling relates well to the theory of transformational learning proposed by Jack Mezirow (1990, 1991, 1997). Mezirow's transformative learning theory examines the way adults experience a paradigm shift as they move beyond the limited knowledge that they have acquired from their families, organizations, cultures, and society without questioning them. According to Mezirow, the

goal is to help the adult learners become more aware and able to recognize frames of reference and paradigms, and become more aware of and critical in assessing assumptions. Key concepts of Mezirow's constructivist theory of adult learning include frames of reference, points of view, habits of mind, and critical reflection (Mezirow, 1990, 1991, 1997; Mezirow, Taylor, & Associates, 2009).

Frames of reference. According to Mezirow (1997), "adults have acquired a coherent body of experience – associations, concepts, values, feelings, conditioned responses – frames of reference that define their life world" (p. 5). Our frames of reference are the structures through which we understand our experiences. Frames of reference are composed of two dimensions: points of view and habits of mind.

Points of view. We learn to understand the world through unconscious socialization (Mezirow, Taylor, & Associates, 2009) and continue to interpret our experiences in ways that fit comfortably with the beliefs we acquired in childhood. Points of view have both cognitive and affective components. A number of points of view work together to produce habits of mind.

Habits of mind. Habits of mind are more durable than points of view. Habits of mind "are broad, abstract, orienting, habitual ways of thinking, feeling, and acting influenced by assumptions that constitute a set of codes. These codes may be cultural, social, educational, economic, political, or psychological. Habits of mind become articulated… [as] the constellation of belief, value judgment, attitude, and feeling that shapes a particular interpretation" (Mezirow, 1997, p. 5-6). An example of a habit of mind is ethnocentrism, which is "the predisposition to regard others outside one's own group as inferior" (Mezirow, 1997, p. 6).

Critical reflection. Critical reflection is a way to "help the learner challenge presuppositions, explore alternative perspectives, transform old ways of understanding, and act on new perspectives" (Mezirow, 1990, p. 18). An important goal of transformative learning is for individuals to change their frames of reference by critically reflecting on their own assumptions and beliefs. According to Mezirow (1990), "Adulthood is the time for reassessing the assumptions of our formative years that have often resulted in distorted views of reality" (p. 13).

Thus, transformative learning is about personal transformation and growth, but it is also about social change (Mezirow, Taylor, & Associates, 2009). Transformative learning can empower individuals to become autonomous and socially responsible, "rather than to uncritically act on the received ideas and judgments of others" (Mezirow, 1997, p. 8). Mezirow identifies four processes of learning: 1) elaborate an existing point of view; 2) establish new points of view; 3) transform our point of view; and 4) transform our habits of mind, which is more durable, through awareness and critical reflection. Importantly, we will not experience transformational learning until we encounter information that does not fit comfortably with our existing frames of reference. Mezirow (2009) identifies ten phases of transformative learning: 1) A disorienting event or dilemma; 2) self-examination; 3) a critical assessment of assumptions; 4) recognition of a connection between one's discontent and the process of transformation; 5) exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and action; 6) planning a course of action; 7) acquiring knowledge and skills for implementing one's plan; 8) provisional trying of new roles; 9) building competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships; and 10)

a reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions dictated by one's new perspective (p. 19).

Mezirow, Taylor, & Associates (2009) suggest several instructional methods to facilitate transformational learning for adults, including journal writing, life history exploration, role play, case studies, and literature. Cranton (1994) suggests additional strategies to stimulate critical consciousness and engage in reflective discourse, such as "using questions effectively, constructing consciousness-raising experiences, writing in journals, learning experientially, and introducing critical incidents" (Cranton, 1994, p. 168). Furthermore, "skilled critical questioning is one of the most effective means through which ingrained assumptions can be externalized" (Cranton, 1994, p. 169). Effective critical questioning should be specific, work from the particular to the general, and be conversational (Cranton, 1994). The role of critical questioning includes content reflection (What do you know about this issue?), process reflection (How did you come to have that belief?), and premise reflection (Why is this relevant?) Using these strategies, deeply ingrained assumptions can be examined, evaluated, and transformed. To summarize, the process of transformational learning involves confronting new information, critically assessing our assumptions, transforming our frames of reference, and taking action on one's reflective insights (Mezirow, 1997).

2.3 Review of Related Studies and Relevant Literature

In this section, I review literature in the field that serves to provide a contextual framework for the study. The purpose of this study was to examine the racial socialization of three white, non-traditionally aged pre-service teachers, and to explore the impact of transformational learning experiences on their conceptualizations of racism.

This study centers on the role of race in creating and sustaining systemic inequities. Consequently, this review of the literature provides a brief overview of a) current school practices and the marginalization[13] of children of color, which provides context for my study; b) racial literacy, which pertains to my goals; c) whiteness and racial isolation, which provides insight into my participants; and d) generational identities, which explains what my study will contribute to the field. In each section, I address foundational ideas from conceptual and empirical pieces, and then draw some conclusions from the body of work.

  Current school practices. The school is a familiar, routine, and normalized institution in our society. However, education is never neutral (English, 2002). It is infused with particular values, ideologies, expectations, and assumptions (Delgado-Bernal, 2002). Schools in this country have always privileged white people while marginalizing and subordinating others, but the processes are so ordinary that they are hard to see (Kumashiro, 2004/2009). Tracking, for example, is a common practice that marginalizes students of color (Oakes, 1985/2005). Schools use testing to sort students into groups and assign them to different classes and curriculum based on perceived ability or future potential (English, 2002). Children from white, wealthy families consistently test better than poor children of color (English, 2002). Yet these tests are used to sort and track children and subsequently re-segregate schools.[14] A number of assumptions undergird this practice. It might be assumed that students learn better in

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[13] Marginalization is a form of racial oppression in which "a whole category of people is expelled from useful participation in social life" (Adams, et al, 2010, p. 38).

[14] De facto segregation occurs outside of the law. For example, students who live in racially segregated neighborhoods often attend racially segregated schools. Within de-segregated schools, practices such as academic "ability grouping" often re-segregates students by race. De jure segregation, on the other hand, is caused by direct government action, such as the Jim Crow "separate but equal" laws.

homogeneous groups because they need extra support, or that they will feel better about themselves if they are not compared to more capable students. However, there is much research that debunks these assumptions.

In a classic study, Jeannie Oakes (1985/2005) conducted a large-scale study to analyze the effects of tracking on 13,719 junior and senior high school students in 25 schools across the United States. She found that poor students and students of color were grossly overrepresented in the lower academic tracks, that mobility between tracks was limited, and that tracking did not improve student self-esteem or academic achievement for anyone (Oakes, 1985/2005). She concluded that tracking practices distribute knowledge inequitably, limit opportunities to learn, and socialize students differently. Schools thus reproduce and perpetuate social inequalities in society.

Another way schools systematically marginalize students is "subtractive schooling," a concept introduced in another classic study conducted by Angela Valenzuela (1999). Valenzuela conducted a mixed-method, ethnographic study at Seguín High School from 1992-1995. She collected data through participant observation and open-ended interviews with individual and small groups of students as well as parents, teachers, administrators, and community leaders. She also administered surveys and analyzed quantitative data from school and district documents. Approximately 45% of the students at Seguín High School were first-generation immigrants, while 55% were born in the United States. Valenzuela found significant generational differences in achievement that support her argument that schooling is a subtractive process. Through a process of forced assimilation, Seguín High School systematically stripped Mexican-American students of their cultural identities, language, and social ties. Educators blamed

the youth, their parents, and their culture for their failure to succeed academically. Specific examples of subtractive practices included having English-only rules against using Spanish; being regarded as "limited English proficient" instead of "Spanish fluent;" and the placement of students in an ESL track which further divided the student body.

Oakes (1985/2005) and Valenzuela (1999) offer insights into the context of K-12 schools in the United States. These studies are relevant to my research because they illustrate ways in which teachers and schools- even those with good intentions- commonly and dysconsciously (King, 1991) use structures, practices, and discourses to marginalize students of color. I would argue that "forced assimilation" as a subtractive process also applies to African-American students. Teachers operating from a deficit perspective devalue and delegitimize students' cultural knowledge, identity, and heritage (García & Guerra, 2004). Conversely, culturally responsive teachers believe that students come to school with knowledge that is valued and respected, and build on the strengths their students bring to the classroom (Ladson-Billings, 2009; Gay, 2010).

Racial literacy. While engaged in a sociological study of transracial families in Great Britain, France Winndance Twine (2004) conceived of racial literacy as a set of skills, strategies, and practices that parents can cultivate in their children to help protect them from racial hierarchies and teach them to cope with racism. Since then, racial literacy has been conceptualized and applied in a number of different fields including legal studies, sociology, education, and psychology.

From her perspective as a law school professor and activist, Lani Guinier (2004) argues that the notion of racial literacy offers a dynamic framework for understanding racism in the U.S. She describes it as a paradigm shift away from racial liberalism. Racial

liberalism refers to the belief that government mandates, legislation, and the court system can address social, political, and economic disparities and eradicate racism. For example, the landmark case, *Brown v. Board of Education,* desegregated schools but "failed to address the institutional, structural, and ideological reproduction of racial hierarchy" (Harris, 1993, p. 1262). Guinier (2004) argues, "A bench based, lawyer-crafted social justice initiative was ill-equipped to address complex social problems" (p. 97). Legislation such as affirmative action was intended to increase minorities' access to opportunities, but actually reinforced the status quo by creating the illusion of race neutrality and colorblindness. According to Loewen, "the very success of the Civil Rights movement allows authors to imply that the problem of black-white race relations has now been solved" (1995/2007 p. 142). Racial liberalism lulls us into thinking that the problem of race has been adequately addressed. There is a strong belief "that there has already been sufficient governmental work (particularly legislation) to ensure that everyone has equal opportunity, regardless of race. The belief that the US is now post-racial paves the way for enabling disregard for the negative impacts on people of color of policies and practices such as home foreclosures, voting restrictions and anti-immigration legislation" (Sleeter, 2014a, p. 13). Thus, CRT scholars dispute liberalism's ideology of colorblindness, neutrality, fairness, and equal opportunity, noting that social, political, and economic problems continue to disproportionately impact people of color.

Rebecca Rogers and Melissa Mosley (2006, 2008) applied the concept of racial literacy to the field of education. They argue that white teachers are often unaware of their racial identities. They conducted several studies working with white pre-service teachers in an effort to help them recognize racist discourse. They found evidence of a

colorblind ideology and different forms of "white talk" that included evading questions,

derailing the conversation, interrupting the speaker, laughing inappropriately, and

engaging in a culture of niceness (McIntyre, 1997; Pimentel, 2010; Rogers & Mosley,

2008). Similarly, as a white instructor working with primarily white pre-service teachers

in a predominantly white college setting, Amy Winans (2010) suggests that white

students are racially isolated and that dominant discourses result in "a sort of racial

illiteracy" (p. 475). She positions racial literacy as "the ability to examine, critically and

recursively, the ways in which race informs discourses, culture, institutions, belief

systems, interpretive frameworks, and numerous facets of daily life" (p. 476).

Building on France Winddance Twine's (2004) work, Howard C. Stevenson

(2014) conceptualizes racial literacy as a way for families to prepare their children for

racial hostility and racialized social interactions, but he extended the responsibility for

teaching these skills to educators. As a clinical and consulting psychologist, he

approached racial literacy from a slightly different perspective: he was interested in the

cumulative effects of racialized social interactions, the stress of negotiating race relations

and responding to racial conflict, the physiological response to hostile racial encounters,

and "the neuroscience of racial fear" (p. 99). Stevenson (2014) defines racial literacy as

the ability to "read, recast, and resolve racially stressful encounters through the

competent demonstration of intellectual, behavioral, and emotional skills of decoding and

reducing racial stress during racial conflicts. Racial literacy is the culmination of a

successful procurement of racial coping skill sets to navigate racially stressful encounters

across various social contexts" (p. 115). Sonya Douglass Horsford (2014) offers her

notion of racial literacy as a first step in improving educational leadership in communities

of color. Because racism is embedded in our social structures and institutions, Horsford (2014) defines racial literacy as the ability to understand what race is, why it is, and how it is used to reproduce inequality and oppression.

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2014), Henry Giroux (1997) and Derrick Bell (1988/1997) offer the notion of hidden codes that perpetuate racism. Bonilla-Silva (2014) proposes a framework for understanding how racism has persisted and mutated into a new form of racism characterized by a colorblind ideology. He argues, "color-blind racism utilizes hidden codes to mask racist ideas and practices" (p. 280). He characterizes "the increasingly covert nature of racial discourse and racial practice" (p. 26) and cites the avoidance of racial terminology, claims of reverse discrimination, and the invisibility of social reproduction as evidence of the sophisticated, insidious nature of today's new racism. Giroux (1997), too, asserts, "the new racism is coded in the language of welfare reform, neighborhood schools, toughness on crime, and illegitimate births" (p. 286). Derrick Bell (1988/1997) described a similar strategy for coding racist practices, saying, "The passwords that still exist for the property right in being white include 'higher entrance scores,' 'seniority,' and 'neighborhood schools'" (p. 600). Other code words for racist practices include "higher test scores," "a culture of poverty," "single parent homes," and "at-risk" language. There are many more, and they are not easy to see. Consequently, teacher educators must help their students become more racially literate as they begin to recognize, decode, and challenge these racialized messages.

The body of work described above has informed my own conceptualization of racial literacy as it applies to my study. For example, Twine (2004, 2010) makes it clear that we are socialized to internalize racist messages, but we can learn to resist the

dominant narrative that legitimizes oppression. Guinier's (2004) work has helped me understand that racial literacy can be used to illuminate the relationship between race and power, and that there are explicit and implicit institutionalized forms of racism. As in my study, Rogers & Mosley (2006, 2008) apply the concept of racial literacy to teacher education as a tool to raise awareness of unconscious and subtle forms of racism. Winans (2010) explored the role of family and emotion as pre-service teachers begin to move from being raceless, innocent, and colorblind to understanding their role in perpetuating social and racial injustice. Stevenson (2014) highlights the ability to "read" race, while Horsford (2014) reminds us that racial literacy is a first step, not an endpoint. Finally, Bonilla-Silva (2014), Giroux (1997), and Bell (1988/1997) have convinced me that inscriptions of racism and white privilege are continually and insidiously encoded through talk and texts. Drawing on this scholarship, I have synthesized, compared, and critiqued the major scholarship related to racial literacy in Table 2.1. This analysis outlines the different lines of inquiry, how each scholar defines racial literacy, a critique of their work, and their contribution to my own conceptualization of racial literacy. As a result of this work, I define racial literacy as a process that enables us to begin to discern, decode, and challenge racialized messages, practices, and structures that appear to be normal, but perpetuate systemic inequities that are intimately connected to race.

Table 2.2 Conceptualizations of Racial Literacy

Scholar, Field, Year(s)	Line of Inquiry	How They Define Racial Literacy	Critique	Contribution to My Own Conceptualization
France Winddance Twine (Sociology) 2004, 2010	How do parents prepare their children to cope with racism?	A set of skills, strategies, and practices that parents can cultivate in their black children to help protect them from racial hierarchies and cope with racism	A novel concept that specifically focuses on micro-level parenting	We are socialized to internalize racist messages, but we can learn to resist the dominant narrative
Lani	What is the	The capacity to decipher the	Extends the	It can be used to

Guinier (Law) 2002, 2004	relationship between race and power in social and legal practices? What role does racism play in structuring economic and political opportunity?	durable racial grammar that structures racialized hierarchies and frames the narrative of our republic	concept of parental racial literacy to the structural and institutional level	illuminate the relationship between race and power. There are tangible and intangible outcomes of racism
Rebecca Rogers & Melissa Mosley Wetzel (Language and Literacy, Teacher Education) 2006, 2008, 2010, 2011	Can pre-service teachers be guided to unlearn colorblind ideologies and begin to understand how subtle forms of racism work in our society?	A set of tools, (psychological, conceptual, discursive, material) that allow individuals to describe, interpret, explain, and act on the constellation of practices (e.g. historical, economic, psychological, interactional) that comprise racism and anti-racism	The emphasis on white identity development and personal growth may recenter whiteness and draw attention away from the larger issues	Application to teacher education; inscriptions of white privilege are encoded through talk and texts; raise awareness of unconscious and subtle forms of racism
Amy Winans (English) 2010	What are the meanings and implications of being white in a racist society? How can we reconcile our emotional attachment to racist family members?	The ability to examine, critically and recursively, the ways in which race informs discourses, culture, institutions, belief systems, interpretive frameworks, and numerous facets of daily life	The study was limited to white students on a segregated college campus. The emphasis on white identity development and personal growth may recenter whiteness	A critical, analytical lens informed by race. She documents how pre-service teachers moved from being raceless, innocent, and colorblind to understanding their role in perpetuating social and racial injustice
Howard C. Stevenson (Urban Education, Africana studies, Psychology) 2014	How can we teach our students to cope with, and respond to, racially stressful encounters and micro-aggressions using intellectual, behavioral, and emotional skills with a goal of mutual respect and compromise?	The ability to read, recast, and resolve racially stressful encounters through the competent demonstration of intellectual, behavioral, and emotional skills of decoding and reducing racial stress during racial conflicts	This is a way for black families and educators to prepare children for racial hostility and racialized social interactions. Can white educators understand racial stress and provide this for black students? In Twine's study, white parents were	Application to education; the importance of talking about race; the value of voicing narratives

			able to provide this for their biracial children	
Sonya Douglass Horsford (Educational Leadership and Policy) 2014	How can we improve educational leadership in diverse communities?	The ability to understand what race is, why it is, and how it is used to reproduce inequality and oppression; the first of four steps on the road to racial reconciliation	The goal of racial literacy is to reframe race in ways that challenge individual assumptions and biases and institutionalized school policies and practices. This nicely connects Twine's and Guinier's frameworks	Racial literacy is a first step, not an endpoint
Deborah McMurtrie (Educational Foundations & Inquiry, 2015)	How can we cultivate racial literacy in older, non-traditional pre-service teachers using a critical family history project?	Racist ideologies permeate our society, but are difficult to see. I conceptualize racial literacy as a process that enables us to begin to discern, decode, and challenge racialized messages, practices, and structures that appear to be normal, but perpetuate systemic inequities that are intimately connected to race.		

Whiteness and racial isolation. The social identities of the participants in my study are central to this study. Bobbie Harro (2010) describes how our social identities, including our racial identities, are formed through a process of socialization. Her cycle of socialization (Figure 2.1) illustrates how our families, institutions, and culture shape and reproduce our perceptions, values, and roles in society.

CYCLE OF SOCIALIZATION

THE BEGINNING

FIRST SOCIALIZATION

We are born into a world with the mechanics of oppression already in place.

We have no consciousness, no choice, no blame, no guilt. There is no information or limited information or misinformation about social identity and power. Bias, stereotyping, prejudice, habits, tradition and a history of oppression already exist. We inherit them without our permission.

We are socialized by people we love and trust, and taught to play our roles and follow rules.

They shape our self-concepts and self-perceptions as well as how we see others. They shape our dreams, our values, our expectations, and our future roles.

We get mixed messages, feel confused, and guilty for not understanding

THE CORE that keeps us in the cycle:

Ignorance
Insecurity
Confusion
Obliviousness
Fear

INSTITUTIONAL AND CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION

We are consciously and unconsciously bombarded with messages about who should have power and who should not by all the **institutions** we encounter: education, religion, medicine, law, criminal justice, government, social services, and business. We are brainwashed by our **culture**: media, language, patterns of thought, holidays, and song lyrics

THE CONTINUATION

We do nothing and the cycle continues

We choose not to make waves

We live with or promote the status quo

We fail to challenge, question, or think about what's wrong with this picture.

Something makes us begin to think, to challenge, to question the system.

We begin to see that something is wrong with this picture.

RESULTS

This socialization leads to bad outcomes for those with and without power:

Misperceptions, dissonance, silence, stress, collusion, inequality, anger, guilt, hate, self-hatred, self-destructive behaviors, violence, crime, and internalization of patterns of power for the future.

ENFORCEMENTS

A system of rewards and punishments keeps us playing by the rules.

Those who stay in line are sanctioned, while those who don't are punished, persecuted, stigmatized, or victimized by discrimination.

© BOBBIE HARRO, 2004; Revised, 2008

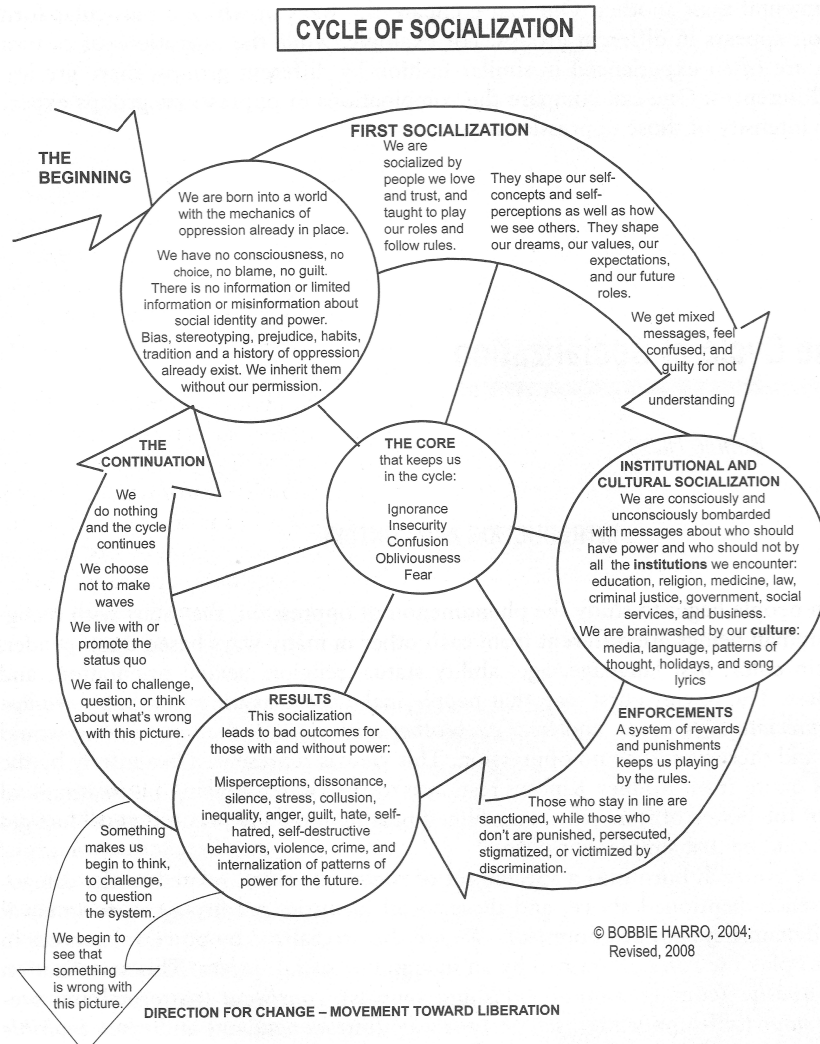**DIRECTION FOR CHANGE – MOVEMENT TOWARD LIBERATION**

Figure 2.1 The Cycle of Socialization (Harro, 2010) Used with permission.

According to Harro (2010), we are all born into particular social identities, and these social identities "predispose us to unequal roles in the dynamic system of oppression" (p. 45). From birth, we are exposed, without our permission, to a strong set of rules, roles, and assumptions that shape our sense of ourselves and of the world (Harro, 2010). When we are old enough to attend school, we quickly learn which groups have power and get preferential treatment and which groups do not. According to Hollins (2011), "school practices help the young find their place in society – to come to

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understand their social identity and that of 'others.' During this socialization process some students are prepared for positions of power and privilege, and others for positions of subordination" (p. 105). A system of rewards and punishments keeps us playing by the rules, and we unconsciously conform to the views of the people we trust.

Within the broader context of our culture, we are "inundated with unquestioned and stereotypical messages that shape how we think and what we believe" (Harro, 2010, p. 48) by institutions such as schools, healthcare, the legal system, social services, and business. We are bombarded daily with oppressive messages embedded in television, films, music, advertising, newspapers, and textbooks. We learn that white, middle class language patterns, cultural practices, and values are the norm. Those who contradict the norm or refuse to conform are punished, sanctioned, persecuted, stigmatized, or victimized (Harro, 2010). Consequently, it is easier to do nothing. However, if we do nothing and fail to challenge the status quo, we are silently complicit in sustaining and perpetuating the system of oppression. Thus, we are "socialized by powerful sources in our worlds to play the roles prescribed by an inequitable social system. This socialization process is pervasive (coming from all sides and sources), consistent (patterned and predictable), self-perpetuating (intradependent), and often invisible (unconscious and unnamed)" (Harro, 2010, p. 45).

One of the most powerful social identities is that of race. Racial identities are socially constructed, arbitrary, and hierarchical (Leonardo, 2002). Whiteness is a race, though we tend to see it as unmarked and normalized. Whiteness is a relational term; when we think about whiteness, we think about it in contrast to blackness. The social construction of this black/white binary was normalized in the Antebellum South as a way

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for slave owners to distance themselves from the people that they enslaved. This practice made it easier to dehumanize them and justify the practice of slavery. Zeus Leonardo (2002) contends that white people today continue to have a particular and distorted worldview that is fragmentary and delusional, because in order to marginalize people and exploit them, the process has to remain abstract. Today, most whites believe that they are individuals and do not identify as part of a racial group (Leonardo, 2002; McIntosh, 1988). Most whites are unaware of the complex social production of white racial identity (Lensmire, 2010) and its historical legacy. As such, "white people's lack of consciousness about their racial identities limits their ability to critically examine their own positions as racial beings who are implicated in the existence and perpetuation of racism" (McIntyre, 1997, p. 16). In addition, most whites "choose to deny any kind of label for themselves, which works rhetorically as an exercise of privilege. Indeed, it is quite a privilege to be able to refuse a label because it demonstrates who has the power to apply those labels in the first place" (Warren, 1999, p. 194).

Conceptualizations of race, including white racial identity, begin in the home (Harro, 2010; Guinier & Torres, 2002; Twine, 2004; Brown & Lasane-Brown, 2006; Hagerman, 2014). Numerous studies have examined racial socialization in families, but they have focused primarily on families of color and how parents prepare their children to be resilient in the face of racism. To protect and prepare their children to cope with racism, black parents often transmit messages about what it means to be black (Guinier & Torres, 2002; Twine, 2004). In an empirical study, Brown & Lasane-Brown (2006) investigated the following research question: "Are certain messages about being black more likely to be transmitted from parents to children during particular historical

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periods?" (p. 202). I selected this study because it connects racial socialization to different historical periods and social change. This is relevant because I am interested in the ways in which historical contexts affect the way older, non-traditionally aged white pre-service teachers have been socialized to conceptualize race and racism. Brown & Lasane-Brown (2006) examined three birth cohorts: pre-*Brown v. Board of Education* (children born before 1957; n=1001), Protest (born between 1957-1968; n=657), and Post-Protest (born before 1969-1980; n=443). Surprisingly, they found that black children coming of age prior to *Brown v. Board of Education* were more likely to have received colorblind messages from their parents than children born after desegregation. I was also intrigued by their conclusion that "the childhood race socialization process influenced how respondents view the world as adults" (Brown & Lasane-Brown, 2006, p. 211).

In a recent ethnographic study, Hagerman (2014) sought to "offer new insights into the central role that social context plays in mediating white racial socialization" (p. 2598). Specifically, the researcher focused on "the choices that parents make about schools and neighborhoods as well as the everyday ways that they talk to their kids about race" (p. 2599). She conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 30 white families and engaged in systematic observations of families within their communities. Her findings contrasted two predominantly white neighborhoods, Sheridan and Evergreen.

The Sheridan context illustrated a colorblind ideology. These white, upper-middle class parents chose to send their children to a private school because of concerns about the local public high school's "safety, the behavior of the children who attend the school,

and [the] perception that the teachers and administrators are unable to maintain control" (Hagerman, 2014, p. 2604). While the parents' choice superficially reflected priorities of safety and quality education, the choice was also connected to racialized understandings about who values education, what kinds of communities support education, and how different groups of children behave (Hagerman, 2014). As a result of these choices, the children lived and interacted in a segregated white context. Furthermore, they never explicitly discussed race.

The Evergreen context, on the other hand, illustrated a color-conscious ideology. These white-upper-middle class families chose to send their children to more racially and economically diverse public schools, and they explicitly discussed race with their children. The color-conscious parents spoke openly about privilege and inequality, and they had meaningful relationships with people of color. Hagerman (2014) asserts, "This color-conscious racial context that they work to create offers the potential for … implicit racial socialization, including lessons on how to operate in diverse spaces and what it feels like to experience social discomfort" (p. 2607). She posits, "Living and interacting within this context of childhood, constructed by white parents through choices around schools and neighborhoods, shapes the ideas that their children form about race" (p. 2604). Color-conscious children noticed their whiteness, thought about their own behavior in racialized terms, and attributed responsibility for racial conflict differently. For these children, whiteness was not invisible and normalized. Hagerman (2014) concludes, "Thus, children with color-conscious racial views possess the rhetorical tools and agency necessary to challenge and rework dominant racial ideology, demonstrating the participatory role that children play in social change and hopeful possibilities for

future racial justice" (p. 2612). This study offers insight into the lives of white, middle class participants who grew up in segregated white neighborhoods, attended segregated white schools, and profess a colorblind ideology. It also made me think about how implementing a color-conscious curriculum in a teacher education program might impact the racial socialization of the pre-service teachers in my study.

The unawareness of white racial identity is connected to racial isolation. According to Hollins (2011), most whites are racially isolated from people of color. Most white people choose to live in racially segregated neighborhoods and attend racially segregated schools (Kozol, 2005; Frankenberg, 1993/2005; Lewis, 2001; Hollins, 2011; Hagerman, 2014; Brown, 2004). As a result, they have limited contact with people of color. This is relevant to my study because "the majority of candidates entering pre-service teacher preparation programs are white, come from the middle-class, grew up in the suburbs or a small town, and have had little contact with those with cultures different from their own" (Hollins, 2011, p. 127). Ruth Frankenberg (1993/2005) describes the notion of "a social geography of race" (p. 43) that structures whites' encounters, perceptions, fear, and "othering" of black people. From 1984 to 1986 Frankenberg conducted "white-on-white" dialogical life history interviews to examine the racialized experiences of thirty white women. The women ranged in age from twenty to ninety-three and were "diverse in age, class, region of origin, sexuality, family situation, and political orientation" (p. 23). Five of the women grew up during the mid-1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s in all-white neighborhoods, and their stories "all bear the marks of an era of challenges and transformations in terms of race, racism, and antiracism" (p. 44). These participants' experiences were shaped by the Civil Rights movement, regional histories,

and racial isolation. One of the participants in my study, Betty, grew up during the same time period, but in the Southeast. This study relates to my interest in historically contextualizing the socialization of white people, as well as the racial isolation of whites while growing up.

The racial isolation of whites was addressed in Amanda Lewis' (2001) study of the "social geography of race." She conducted a yearlong ethnographic study that examined the hidden curriculum of race in a mostly white, upper-middle-class suburban school. She interviewed white parents, students, school staff, and community members, and she also "deliberately interviewed students who were in one way or another on the racial margins of the class: students of color, who were predominantly biracial students" (p. 784). Although the white participants claimed that race was not important, Lewis found much evidence to the contrary. Indeed, she found "widespread denials of the salience of race" (p. 783), covert ideologies of domination and colorblindness, and blatant racism. Those assumptions and beliefs are reflected and reproduced in "the implicit and explicit racial lessons that are 'taught" and learned in schools" (p. 782). This study addresses white racism and social reproduction in schools, but does not specifically deal with pre-service teachers.

Many studies have shown that white pre-service teachers in teacher education programs are uncomfortable discussing issues of race or racism and will avoid talking about it (McIntyre, 1997; Pimentel, 2010; Rogers & Mosley, 2008; Winans, 2010; Coffey, 2010). In her seminal text, *Making meaning of whiteness: Exploring racial identity with white teachers*, Alice McIntyre (1997) describes a white-on-white participatory action research project that revealed how the participants in her study

conceptualized whiteness. The purpose of the study was to "engage in dialogue about our racial identities, the meaning of whiteness, and our positionalities as teachers, thereby fostering the development of critical consciousness" (p. 20). She discovered "how 'white talk' serves to insulate white people from examining their/our individual and collective role(s) in the perpetuation of racism" (McIntyre, 1997, p. 45). The characteristics of white talk include "derailing the conversation, evading questions, dismissing counterarguments, withdrawing from the discussion, remaining silent, interrupting speakers and topics, and colluding with each other in creating a 'culture of niceness'" (McIntyre, 1997, p. 46). Furthermore, white talk "actively subverts the language white people need to decenter whiteness as a dominant ideology. The language of the participant(s)' white talk, whether it was intentional or not, consciously articulated or unconsciously spoken, resisted interrogation. Interruptions, silences, switching topics, tacitly accepting racist assumptions, talking over one another, joining in collective laughter that served to ease the tension, hiding under the canopy of camaraderie – these maneuverings repelled critical conversations" (p. 47). The concept of "white talk" was relevant to my study, as I was engaging white pre-service teachers in difficult and uncomfortable discussions about race. I looked for evidence of resistance through "white talk" in the data.

Amy Winans (2010) also addressed the issue of resistance in the classroom. She was interested in seeing how her college students moved from being "raceless," innocent, and colorblind to coming to terms with the fact that whiteness is a race. Winans contends that in order to cultivate racial literacy, we need to understand how students' emotions inform and affect their experiences. Winans notes that emotions emerge in context, are

social and cultural in nature, inform identities and relationships, and are sites of power and control. Interrogating one's emotional responses and ethical awareness is one way to cultivate "a capacity for deepened awareness, concentration, and insight" (Winans, 2010, p. 488). Although her study focused on white college students from a different age group (her class consisted of primarily 18- and 19-year-olds), her study offered an interesting perspective on teaching for social justice. Simply offering more information about race and racism is not enough. While she did not systematically investigate the role of socialization within the family, her study does touch on the issue of family. One of the first-year writer's stories is a powerful example. Tina was very attached to her kind, loving, Christian grandparents. She identified with them, and she assumed that their identities as good and loving people were fixed and permanent. Her writing reflected her struggles as she realized that "not everyone is included within the circle of her grandparents' white, Christian love" (Winans, 2010, p. 485). Once she understood that their racist comments are wrong, Tina struggled with reconciling her innocent, emotional attachment to her family with her newfound understanding of racism. One of the participants in my study experienced a similar reaction.

Elinor Brown (2004) and Bree Picower (2009) investigated isolation and resistance encountered with white students enrolled in diversity classes within teacher education programs. Brown (2004) conducted an empirical mixed-methods study and found that 93% of the participants, all of whom were white pre-service teachers enrolled in a cultural diversity class, had grown up in white communities and attended mostly white K-12 schools (fewer than 5% students of color). The treatment group demonstrated statistically significant gains in cultural diversity awareness, but both groups

demonstrated three forms of resistance: selective perception strategies, avoidance strategies, and group support strategies. Bree Picower (2009) investigated the ways in which white pre-service teachers' life experiences "socialized them to hold problematic understandings about people of color and themselves" (p. 202). Eight white, female pre-service teachers in their 20s participated in the study. Data was collected through interviews, transcripts of class sessions, and written assignments. Picower (2009) was interested in how the participants understood race, and found that the participants "responded to challenges to these understandings by relying on a set of 'tools of whiteness' designed to protect and maintain dominant and stereotypical understandings of race" (p. 197). Emotional, ideological, and performative tools of resistance were strategically used. Emotional tools of whiteness included anger and guilt, ideological tools included rationalizations and justifications, and performative tools of whiteness included remaining silent and wanting to be helpful. Hegemonic understandings included fear, deficit thinking, and the victimization of whites. Picower (2009) found that her participants used identity markers of religion, class, and ethnic affiliation to evade and deny their role in racism. These studies offered helpful descriptions of forms of resistance related to pre-service teachers, but their identity markers did not include age, which I take up in my study.

The studies presented here illustrate the impact of socialization on white racial identities. Racial socialization begins within the family (Harro, 2010; Guinier & Torres, 2002; Twine, 2004; Brown & Lasane-Brown, 2006; Hagerman, 2014). Segregated schools and neighborhoods have historically limited contact between blacks and whites (Frankenberg, 1993/2005; Lewis, 2001). Racial isolation prevents white people from

understanding the racialized experiences of people of color, and is often associated with a colorblind ideology. As an impersonal, abstract concept, racism can be ignored, and one's complicity in institutionalized racism can be denied. Therefore, it is imperative that teacher educators address racism and other forms of oppression with their students. Research has shown that teacher educators are likely to encounter resistance (McIntyre, 1997; Pimentel, 2010; Rogers & Mosley, 2008; Winans, 2010; Coffey, 2010). Recognizing "white talk" and other forms of resistance helped inform my study as I examined the socialization of three white, nontraditionally aged pre-service teachers and how that impacts their understandings of race and racism.

Generational identities. There is a surprising lack of research on non-traditional, older learners enrolled in teacher education programs. According to the U. S. Census, 37.4% of the nation's 20.4 million college students are over the age of 25. Furthermore, 14.8% are over the age of 35 (US Census Bureau, 2011). From 2000 to 2009, "the percentage of enrolled students aged 25 and over increased by 43%" (Chen, 2014, p. 406). These are significant percentages. However, research on these older, "non-traditional" college students is extremely limited. Furthermore, Karen Eifler and Dennis Potthoff (1998) note that "studies of alternative certification programs dominate the literature on nontraditional teacher education students" (p. 1998). My study addresses a gap in the literature related to nontraditional students who are enrolled in a traditional undergraduate teacher education program.

Carol Kasworm (2005) argues that the research continues to "look at the undergraduate population through the lens of young adult development theories" (p. 3). In her study, she used a purposeful sampling strategy to select 28 participants, who were

at least 30 years of age, from two community colleges. Data was collected through interviews and a demographic questionnaire. She developed individual adult student cases and then conducted a cross-comparative inductive analysis of the data. Her focus, however, was on older students' relationships with faculty and younger undergraduates. She did not address how older students relate to children, nor did she focus on pre-service teachers. Mary Ann Manos and K. Paul Kasambira (1998) conducted a two-part empirical study with students who ranged in age from 30-49. The purpose of the study was to identify the perceptions, needs, and concerns of older students. Data sources included focus group interviews and a survey of 290 nontraditional students. They defined non-traditional students as age 25 or older who may be married, may have children, have had previous job experience, and live off campus. This population may include students seeking delayed college degrees, former military personnel, retirees from business or industry, and other adults making midlife career changes. Interestingly, Manos & Kasambira (1998) found that "non-traditional teacher candidates reflect the American teacher population; nearly 89% are White" (p. 207). Kasworm's (2005) and Manos & Kasambira's (1998) studies helped me define the criteria to identify non-traditional students and begin to think about the needs and perceptions of older students.

Few studies exist that examine non-traditionally aged students who are also pre-service teachers. Because I was interested in generational differences, I looked at a study conducted by Merry Boggs and Susan Szabo (2011). They looked at generational differences between pre-service teachers representing Generations X and Y, and their cooperating/mentor teachers from the Baby Boomer generation. This study positions Baby Boomers as the current generation of teachers, and assumes that the pre-service

teachers are younger, while my study addresses the issue of older students entering the teaching profession. However, what is most useful to my study is their definition of a generational group as "individuals who share common birth years, similar history, and a collective personality" (p. 27) who have different ways of viewing the world including "work habits, attitudes, beliefs, motivation, and experiences" (p. 29). Table 2.3 reflects key generational differences identified by Boggs & Szabo (2011) and O'Donovan (2009).

Table 2.3 Generational Differences

Generational Group	Birth Years	Defining Moments	Characteristics
Baby Boomers	1946-1964	Vietnam War, Civil Rights Movement, assassinations of JFK and Martin Luther King, Jr.	Hardworking, motivated by prestige, independent, competitive, goal oriented, value time management and punctuality
Generation X	Mid 1960s to early 1980s	Latchkey kids, high divorce rates, oil embargoes, Internet	Individualistic, technologically adept, seeking home/work balance, flexible, resilient, innovative
Generation Y (Millenials)	Early 1980s to 2000	Financial boom of the 1990s, dot.com bubble, soccer moms, cell phones, social networking sites	Self-reliant, friend oriented/not family oriented, practical, optimistic, cynical, technology linked, egocentric

Conversely, an empirical study conducted by Judith Meloy (1992) looked at the expectations and assumptions of cooperating teachers who mentor older, nontraditionally aged student teachers. Surveys of 39 cooperating teachers from nine schools indicated that almost half (42%) of the cooperating teachers believed that age and gender made a difference in how they regarded their student teachers. The age-related assumptions included having a greater commitment, stronger organizational skills, better control of the children, and the ability to relate well to teachers (Meloy, 1992). While it was interesting

to find a study that considered older, nontraditionally aged student teachers, what is missing from this study is race. Similarly, Karen Eifler and Dennis Potthoff's (1998) synthesis of the non-traditional teacher education literature revealed distinctive characteristics, challenges, and needs of older students but did not address race. They examined 40 studies, although only twelve were research-based (Eifler & Potthoff, 1998). They found that nontraditional students have higher levels of self-confidence and motivation, but they found some troubling differences as well. For example, they found that retired military entering the teaching profession often had unrealistic expectations of students and were frustrated by student behavior. In addition, these adults "were not always amenable to learning new methods of motivation and discipline" (Eifler & Potthoff, 1998, p. 189). This synthesis of the literature was relevant because it described some of the problematic characteristics of non-traditional students enrolled in teacher education programs. However, they did not address how race may have played out in these findings.

Yvonne Rodriguez and Barbara Sjostrom (1998) identified other potentially troubling characteristics of older pre-service teachers. They conducted a study in which 45 elementary education majors, 18 of whom were over the age of 25, were followed into their student teaching placements over the course of two semesters. A comparative content analysis revealed that nontraditional students had more self-confidence, were more reflective and less anxious, and focused more on the children as compared to the traditional students. However, Rodriguez & Sjostrom (1998) also found that "non-traditional adult teacher candidates' beliefs and operational theories may be more ingrained than those of traditional candidates who lack maturation, knowledge and life

experiences" (p. 177). Interestingly, the nontraditional group (n=18) included no students of color and only one male. Data was collected through autobiographical, critically reflective journal writing, in-class observations, and interviews. This study did not explore how the more deeply ingrained worldviews may connect to the pre-service teachers' beliefs and assumptions about race.

In a conceptual piece published in 2008, H. Richard Milner explicitly addresses race in teacher education. In this article, he introduces "an evolving theory of disruptive movement in teacher education to work toward fighting against racism" (p. 333). What is most relevant to my study is his description of the "demographic divide" between teachers and students. He contends that for white teachers and their students of color, "racial and cultural incongruence may serve as a roadblock for academic and social success" (p. 336). However, Milner (2008) only includes "gender, race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic background" (p. 336) in those demographics. What this study does not address is age, or generational differences, which I take up in my study.

Finally, Antonio Castro (2010) investigated "the contradiction between the promise of college students of the millennial generation and persistent findings about pre-service teachers' views on cultural diversity" (p. 198). His change-over-time synthesis of the research literature from 1985-2007 used critical multiculturalism as a framework and suggests that the historical context of today's millennial-generation college students, born in or after 1985, is dramatically different from that of older generations. However, his analysis revealed that, while millennial pre-service teachers are more accepting of cultural diversity and multicultural education than their older counterparts and are "more sophisticated in their use of racial etiquette" (Castro, 2010, p. 206), they still may not

have "the critical consciousness necessary to decipher the cultural logic that reinforces the systems of inequity that exist in our public schools" (p. 207). This has implications for future studies with pre-service teachers of all ages.

The studies presented here illustrate the impact of socialization on generational identities. The generation in which one grows up is crucial to the socialization process because the events and experiences that shape identity are situated in particular historical, social, political, and cultural contexts. The contexts are crucial to understanding the processes by which values, beliefs, and preconceived notions are acquired through socialization. In addition, these worldviews may be firmly established in nontraditionally aged students, and therefore more resistant to change. Furthermore, it is important to recognize that "adult learners are developmentally distinct from traditional-aged students," (Chen, 2014, p. 407). Understanding the learning needs of nontraditional, adult students is vital. Further research is needed to study the complex intersectionality of age, race, and class (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013) with a specific focus on preparing older, white pre-service teachers to work with diverse student populations.

2.4 Pilot Study

In my own practice as a teacher educator, I have found that many of my white pre-service teachers, especially those who are older and have limited experience with people of color, see themselves as raceless and innocent (Winans, 2010). They have been thoroughly indoctrinated in the myth of meritocracy and steeped in a deficit perspective (García & Guerra, 2004). They exemplify "dysconscious racism" (King, 1991) and profess colorblindness.

In the spring of 2013, I conducted a pilot study entitled *Exploring racial literacy in middle-level teacher preparation*. An interpretivist paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) guided the pilot study's original purpose to describe, understand, contextualize, and interpret the social world from individual participants' perspectives. As the project unfolded, however, my own attitudes and beliefs began to shift. Instead of "celebrating diversity," I found myself engaged in difficult conversations with my mostly white, middle-class students confronting issues of race and racism. Many thought that racism was a thing of the past. Some were resistant and felt victimized by reverse discrimination. Most saw racism as individual prejudice, and did not understand how pervasive and institutionalized it is. It was particularly difficult to reach the older, "non-traditional" students in my class. I was intrigued by this phenomenon.

After obtaining permission from our dean, I implemented a new "diversity infusion" curriculum in my adolescent development class. This curriculum had two parts: refocusing a 20-hour service learning project at a diverse, Title I middle school and implementing a series of in-class activities and readings designed to be transformative. The service learning project was a requirement of my class that had been implemented in 2009 in response to a request for help from the teachers at Westside Middle School. Now, however, I was asking my students to identify a student from a racial, linguistic, or socioeconomic status different from their own and mentor them. They would visit that child in a classroom, at lunch, or at a school-sponsored event for approximately one hour, twice a week, for 10 weeks. The revised goal of this project was to understand the unique characteristics and needs of young adolescents from a background different than their own, and to establish mutually respectful relationships that supported their

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intellectual and personal development. They were asked to help this child with schoolwork and interview him or her each week to collect data for an Identity Concept Map. They were asked to take handwritten field notes during each visit using a two-column format. On the left side, they were to describe what they observed and data they collected during each visit. On the right side, they were to analyze and reflect on those observations.

In order to collect data for the adolescent's Identity Concept Map, the pre-service teachers were asked to prepare ten index cards. Each index card would have one topic. Each week, they were to lay all the index cards out on a table and ask the middle school student to select one or two of the topics to discuss. The student could select, reject, or repeat any topic. One of the topics was, "What do YOU think we should include on your Identity Concept Map?" The pre-service teachers were asked to begin each interview with: "Tell me about your _____," or "How would you describe your _____?" and allow the child to dictate their responses as they wrote down what they said. At the end of the project, they would co-create the child's Identity Concept Map. It could be done by hand on poster board, for example, or on the computer. The pre-service teachers would present these in class and give the student a copy. The ten topics were: 1) appearance; 2) personality; 3) talents; 4) interests; 5) friends; 6) family; 7) role model; 8) school; 9) career; and 10) free choice. At the end of the project, they were asked to turn in four things: 1) an informed consent form signed by their student and a parent (found in Appendix A); 2) their field notes; 3) a 2-3 page summative report used to reflect, summarize, and evaluate the service learning project experience; and 4) an attendance verification form signed by the Westside Middle School teacher.

Next I began planning the weekly in-class activities and eventually developed a curriculum that was designed to be transformative (Mezirow, 1990, 1991, 1997; Mezirow, Taylor, & Associates, 2009). Many of the activities came from Dr. Tambra Jackson's EDCS 820 Advanced Study of Diversity and Curriculum class that I took during the Fall 2012 semester. The textbook used in that class, *Readings for diversity and social justice, 2ⁿᵈ ed.* (Adams, et al, 2010) was particularly helpful. I noticed that the "Diversity" chapter in my adolescent development textbook did not come up until week 12. I reordered the syllabus to move the "culture and diversity" chapter of the text closer to the beginning of the semester, and planned to relate all of my other topics to race and racism. At the end of each class, I collected written reflections and recorded my own observations and reflections. Mezirow (2009) identifies ten phases of transformative learning: 1) A disorienting event or dilemma; 2) self-examination; 3) a critical assessment of assumptions; 4) recognition of a connection between one's discontent and the process of transformation; 5) exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and action; 6) planning a course of action; 7) acquiring knowledge and skills for implementing one's plan; 8) provisional trying of new roles; 9) building competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships; and 10) a reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions dictated by one's new perspective (p. 19). The following classroom activities address the first five phases of transformational learning.

Activity 1: A disorienting event. The pre-service teachers watch and discuss the film, "*A Girl Like Me,*" directed by Kiri Davis (2006) in class. This film (13:03) reenacts Dr. Kenneth Clark's famous black/white doll experiment from the *Brown v. Board of Education* era. The filmmaker interviews black adolescent girls and explores stereotypes

and standards of beauty for black females. Some students cry during this film. Others ask

how a four-year-old child "knows" that the white doll is the pretty doll and the nice doll,

which leads to a discussion about racial socialization. (*Source:*

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PAOZhuRb_Q8)

Activity 2: A disorienting event. The students are asked to look through popular

magazines (I use *People* magazines) to find advertisements featuring people. They work

with a partner to tally the number of white females, black females, Latina females, and

Asian females who are portrayed in ads as "beautiful," "smart," or "healthy" in their

magazines. Then, we compile their results and compared the totals. This is what we

found last semester using only 7 magazines.

	Beautiful	Smart	Healthy
White female	65	27	23
Black female	7	5	5
Latina female	3	0	3
Asian female	0	1	0

After we compile the data, I ask why white females are so overrepresented in

these ads. Often, students will tell me that *People* magazine is just targeting the people

who buy that particular magazine. I ask whether they think people of color like to read

People magazine. Sometimes they will respond that black people have their own

magazines. This can lead to an interesting discussion about "separate but equal" ideology.

One semester I actually had a student say that he didn't think that black people would be

able to afford *People* magazine. After we talked it through, he realized that he was

making assumptions about race going hand-in-hand with poverty.

Activity 3. Self examination. The students are asked to read Peggy McIntosh's

(1988) article and then, in small groups, discuss her 46 daily effects of white skin

privilege. Each group is asked to select three of McIntosh's daily effects that they feel strongly about (positive or negative), and discuss them. The students are then paired with a new partner, and asked to share a personal story or experience that illustrates one of the daily effects. We then share these personal stories as a class. One of my classes asked if we could stage a debate, which we did. Last fall my class had three students of color who shared particularly powerful personal experiences. At the end of the class, I ask students to reflect on how their thinking may have changed. An important goal of transformative learning is for individuals to change their frames of reference by critically reflecting on their own assumptions and beliefs.

Activity 4. A critical assessment of assumptions. This activity is called the *He Works, She Works Match Up Game*. I distribute small numbered slips of paper and ask the students to move around the room to find his or her corresponding partner. We then read the statements aloud. The purpose of this activity is to show double standards for men and women in the workplace. We laugh, but we have all heard and experienced these things explicitly and implicitly. Again, I am asking students to confront their frames of reference by critically reflecting on their own assumptions and beliefs. Later that evening I have a guest speaker (a former student) who offers an incredibly sensitive and provocative presentation on transgender people.

Examples of the cards in the *He Works, She Works Match Up Game* include:

The family picture is on HIS desk: "Ah, solid, responsible family man."
The family picture is on HER desk: "Her family will come before her career."

HE'S talking with co-workers: He must be discussing the latest deal.
SHE'S talking with co-workers: She must be gossiping.

HE'S not in the office: He's meeting customers.
SHE'S not in the office: She must be out shopping.

HE'S having lunch with the boss: He's on his way up.
SHE'S having lunch with the boss: They must be having an affair.

(Source: Kirk & Okazawa-Rey in Adams, Blumenfeld, Castañeda, Hackman, Peters, & Zúñiga, 2010, p. 353)

Activity 5. A critical assessment of assumptions. This activity is called *Silent Graffiti.* The topics I post are Race, Ethnicity, Poverty, Prejudice, and Stereotypes.

Step One: Set Up. Tape Flip chart paper or newsprint to the walls. Label each sheet with a topic or theme. Place markers on the tables.

Step Two: Contracting. Before the activity begins, contract with the students in terms of what an appropriate response is and how to express one's discomfort with something in an appropriate way. Students should be told that they are to remain silent. When they are ready, they should use the markers to write or draw their thoughts, feelings, and responses on the graffiti boards.

Step Three: Reactions. Ask students to respond to each of the topics/themes. Students may not get up right away. They may choose to write in their journals first. After a few minutes, suggest that students move to a different graffiti board. Give them an opportunity to respond to 3-4 of the topics.

Step Four: Reflections. After everyone has written on the boards, the group, still in silence, is asked to come up to the boards and read what has been written. I then invite students to respond to what they see in journals.

Step Five: Debrief. The last step is to debrief what they see on the graffiti boards. At the end of this activity, I ask students to identify particular comments that surprised them or interested them. I am always surprised at what they will write when it is

anonymous. Last fall I took pictures of the Graffiti boards because they were so unusual.

Responses included "dirty," "make poor decisions," and "Hitler's genocide."

Activity 6. A critical assessment of assumptions. *What Do We Think?*

Prejudice Poll. I distribute these sheets:

> For each of the statements below, circle the numbers that correspond to the beliefs you feel are typically held by members of your peer group; then, record your own. The surveys are anonymous. They will be collected, shuffled, and redistributed before sharing.

1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=unsure; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree

1) The United States' middle class is growing and thriving.

    a) How you think your peers would respond   1   2   3   4   5

    b) Your response   1   2   3   4   5

2) Hard work and talent will lead to wealth.

    a) How you think your peers would respond   1   2   3   4   5

    b) Your response   1   2   3   4   5

3) Everyone has an equal chance to succeed in life.

    a) How you think your peers would respond   1   2   3   4   5

    b) Your response   1   2   3   4   5

4) The poor and the unemployed are solely to blame for their condition.

    a) How you think your peers would respond   1   2   3   4   5

    b) Your response   1   2   3   4   5

At the end of this activity, I ask students to consider how their assumptions compare to their peers (or their perception of their peers). Is it easier to admit our own or others' beliefs?

Activity 7. A critical assessment of assumptions. The students watch and discuss the film, *The Story of Race,* which is available: http://www.understandingrace.org/history/timeline_movie.html/. This film (8:25) explores the cultural construction of race, and how race is so deeply embedded in our society that it appears to be natural and invisible. I do the following Jigsaw Activity: The students explore the RACE Project website in small groups. After moving to the computer classroom, I divide the class into 6 groups and assign one of the following segments to each group. I ask them to become "experts" on their segment and then report back to the class. If they finish early, they may explore the "Lived Experience" tab, including the "White Men Can't Jump" Sports Quiz. Go to: http://www.understandingrace.org/home.html

History:

1. Government 1910s-1920s: European Immigration and Defining Whiteness

2. Society 1960s-1970s: Civil Rights, Vietnam, and a Decade of Protest

3. Science 1980s-1990s: The Debate Over Race and Intelligence

Human Variation:

1. Race and Human Variation

2. Only Skin Deep

3. Health Connections

Activity 8. Recognition of a connection between one's discontent and the

process of transformation. I administer this Classism Quiz verbally as a whole group.

1. How many people in the US live in poverty, according to the US Census Bureau?
Answer: c
      a. 1 million
      b. 12 million
      c. 37 million
      d. 120 million

2. In 1978 corporate CEOs in the United States earned, on average, 35 times more than
the average worker. Today, they earn ___ times more than the average worker. Answer: d
      a. 35
      b. 150
      c. 240
      d. 300

3. According to the US Census Bureau, how much more likely are African American and
Latino mortgage applicants to be turned down for a loan, even after controlling for
employment, financial, and neighborhood factors? Answer: d
      a. 15%
      b. 30%
      c. 45%
      d. 60%

4. What percentage of the US Government budget goes to welfare and Social Security?
Answer: b
      a. 25% to welfare and 25% to Social Security
      b. less than 1% to welfare and 20% to Social Security
      c. 20% to welfare and 1% to Social Security
      d. less than 1% to welfare and less than 1% to Social Security

5. Which of the following variables most closely predicts how high someone will score
on the SAT test? Answer: c
      a. Race
      b. Region of residence
      c. Family income
      d. Parents' academic achievement

(Source: http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/quizzes.html)

Activity 9. Recognition of a connection between one's discontent and the process of transformation. How Does Class Privilege Affect You? I ask the students to talk about their own life experience with a partner. Were there ways in which having class privilege factored into the decisions that you made? Choose one and discuss, then share with the class. I always begin this activity by sharing several examples from my own personal experience.

1. Taking a risk

2. Education

3. Housing

4. Banking

5. Health care

6. Legal system

7. Leisure time

8. Other

(Source: Deep Thoughts About Class Privilege by Karen Pittelman in Adams, Blumenfeld, Castañeda, Hackman, Peters, & Zúñiga, 2010, p. 219-223)

Activity 10. Recognition of a connection between one's discontent and the process of transformation. I walk my students through a Poverty Index Calculation. First, we generate a hypothetical monthly budget including rent, utilities, a car payment, and food. Then I ask:

- How likely is it that a family of four making $25,000 a year would struggle financially? Why?

- What is the Federal Poverty Line? How does the federal government calculate the Federal Poverty Line?

    - Family of four: $23,050 (pre-tax, gross income)

    - Formula based on food costs; $23,050 ÷ 3 = $7,683.30 which translates to $1.75 per person per meal

    - This does not consider housing, health care, childcare, transportation, etc.

    - What are some possible effects of the government underestimating the poverty line?

(Source: http://www.tolerance.org/activity/calculating-poverty-line)

Activity 11. Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and action.
This activity is a linguistic variation contrastive poetry analysis. I ask, How do skin color and linguistic variation privilege certain people in our society? What advantages does a child who speaks standardized English at home have at school, as compared to a child who speaks an African American English dialect? How might you, as a teacher, address this? The pre-service teachers enrolled in my class will likely have students who speak an African American dialect. It is important that they understand that their students' language variations have systematic, regular rules, conventions, and patterns; their students' "errors" are not simply haphazard or careless mistakes. The African American style of speaking is "a linguistic difference, not a cognitive or linguistic deficiency" (Charity-Hudley & Mallinson, 2011, p. 102). Working in pairs, the pre-service teachers use contrastive analysis to raise metalinguistic awareness of the similarities and differences between standardized "School English" and African American English. Two poems, *Little Brown Baby* and *Sympathy* by Paul Laurence Dunbar are used to contrast

these linguistic differences. Paul Laurence Dunbar was born in Dayton, Ohio to parents

who had escaped from slavery. His essays and poems were published widely in the

leading journals of his day. Dunbar's work is known for its colorful language, use of

dialect, and conversational tone, as well as brilliant rhetorical devices. Paul Laurence

Dunbar "sought to show the beauty of both African American English and the style of

poetry of the European tradition" (Charity-Hudley & Mallinson, 2011, p. 87). My

students are always surprised at how different they are. The poems can be found here:

http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/little-brown-baby/

http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/sympathy/

Specific patterns to look for in the poems include:

Selected Patterns and Features of African American English *(Source: Hudley & Mallinson, 2011, p. 69-109)*		
Pronunciation	**Grammar**	**Other Features**
Absence of the "r" sound Variations on the "th" sound Final consonants b, d, and g Consonant blends sk, nd, ts, kt, sts, sks The ai and oy sounds Vowel mergers The oo sound The air sound	Ain't Multiple negatives Forms of "be" Past tense Absence of –s inflections	Pitch Tone Rhythm Volume Syllable stress Intonation patterns

Activity 12. Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and action.

Institutional Oppression Matrix: At the end of the semester, I ask students to brainstorm

examples of social institutions that systematically oppress racial and class groups. Then I

ask how we might disrupt them. Here are some examples:

Family	A family may oppose one's dating or marrying "down" or below the

	family's class identity.
Schools	Class status is closely related to where one lives—and one's neighborhood schools can be strong or weak depending on the financial resources and tax base of the neighborhood, town or city.
Media (TV, magazines, newspapers)	Advertisement throughout the media increases one's desire for products. Positive images of middle and upper class people portray them as smart and attractive. The depiction of working-class and poor people is negative, often associated with crime, with no emphasis on survival skills or empowerment.
Health Care	Healthcare is expensive and associated with one's full-time employment. The rising cost of health care limits access to poor people. Public health providers are seen as less good, with fewer services and longer lines. Advertisements for medications and treatments feature middle and upper class people.
Legal System/Courts	Legal representation is expensive. Public defenders' offices are understaffed, with inadequate budgets. Poor and homeless people are considered "outside the law" and are often not protected from harassment by police. Class status can lead to a double standard concerning sexual harassment, where poor women are assumed to be "asking for it."
Banking	Bank lending practices limit access to housing and transportation. Houses in poor neighborhoods often depreciate and do not build equity. Predatory lending practices, including PayDay loans, create a vicious cycle of debt that perpetuates poverty.
Workplace	"Dressing for success" is associated with name-brand labels and expensive clothes. There is an assumption that successful businesspeople have a certain look. There is a taboo on casual, cheap clothing.
Colleges and Universities	The rising cost of education limits access to the poor. "Cultural capital" (knowledge about elite culture) and "social capital" (knowledge about to use social influence to move ahead) may influence one's college admission and academic success. Financial status can be a determining factor as to which college one can afford. One's working-class or poor class status may make one feel like an "imposter" in a higher education setting, especially in an elite school.

To summarize, I offered my students a series of experiences including in-class activities and a service learning project. I collected data related to these experiences throughout the pilot study through focus groups, interviews, and documents. My analysis of the data revealed some ways in which the white pre-service teachers understood race. I found evidence of denial, colorblindness, and meritocracy. I found specific examples of "otherness" and deficit thinking. I was especially intrigued by the intensity of the older participants' resistance and the subsequent shifts in their thinking. I began thinking more about racial literacy and how it could be cultivated. My revised goal was to engage pre-service teachers in self-reflection and help them uncover, critically examine, and revise their assumptions about students whose backgrounds are different from their own. I became interested in shifting the center of focus from white, middle-class culture to consider multiple perspectives, and to expose whiteness as the norm or standard by which all other cultures are judged. I wanted to understand the processes by which preconceived notions about race are acquired through socialization, but can be examined and revised as pre-service teachers construct new meanings through lived experience. By the end of the pilot study, I was ready to articulate my personal commitment to work for social justice.

Chapter 3: Research Design

3.1 Methodology

The purpose of qualitative research is to investigate the meaning of lived experience from the perspective of a small number of research participants (Lichtman, 2010). Qualitative methods allow the researcher to inductively develop meaning from the data and identify themes and patterns as they emerge. This allows us to "uncover or discover the meanings people have constructed about a particular phenomenon" (Merriam, 2002, p. 19). In an effort to study the phenomenon of dysconscious racism (King, 1991) and to explore the concept of racial literacy, I selected three information-rich cases for in-depth study and understanding. Specifically, I chose a small sample of white, nontraditionally aged pre-service teachers whom I supported through a process of confronting their social identities and constructing new meanings through lived experience.

In this chapter, I describe how I used a case study approach. As a part of that approach, I included a critical family history project. I then describe my site and participant selection, followed by my data collection and data analysis protocols. I conclude by addressing methodological considerations including issues of trustworthiness, positionality, ethics, and limitations of the study.

Case study. Case studies can be categorized as descriptive, interpretive, or evaluative (Merriam, 1988). Descriptive case studies offer "rich, thick description," (p. 27) but little theorizing. Interpretive case studies are "differentiated from straightforward

descriptive studies by their complexity, depth, and theoretical orientation" (p. 28).

Evaluative case studies offer description, explanation (such as causation), and judgment.

Framed by Bourdieu's (1977) theory of social reproduction and Mezirow's (1990, 1991, 1997) transformational learning theory, and informed by critical race theory, this study is reflective of an interpretive case study.

A case study is personal and situational; it is specific and bounded in time and place (Stake, 1995). According to Flyvbjerg, "the demarcation of the unit's boundaries" (2011, p. 301) is what defines a case study. Bounding this case was important in order to limit the scope of my study to the experiences of three participants who were white, middle-class, and over the age of 25. These individuals were nontraditionally aged pre-service teachers who were enrolled in my adolescent development class at a small public university in the southeastern United States. The participants all self-identified as having grown up in the southeast with limited experience with people of color.

The uniqueness and complexity of a case provides a richness of information and insight. I chose to use a case study approach in an effort to capture the contexts and complexity of the events and socialization experiences that have shaped the participants' worldviews with an emphasis on race. According to Stake (1995), a case study approach is helpful when the researcher seeks to capture a phenomenon's "embeddedness and interaction with its contexts" (p. 16). Yin (2003) asserts that a researcher would use the case study "because you deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions, believing that they might be highly pertinent to your phenomenon of study" (p. 13). In my study, the case cannot be considered without the context. For example, one of the participants, Betty, grew up as a white, middle-class female in the southeastern United States in the

1950s and 1960s. Her generation, the Baby Boomers, came of age during a time of dramatic social change including the Civil Rights movement, the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr., the women's rights movement, and the Vietnam War. As a child, Betty attended segregated schools and had limited contact with people of color. Her family, schools, and community shaped her attitudes and beliefs about race, and that socialization occurred within a particular setting during a particular period of time. Thus, it would be impossible to gain a deep understanding of Betty's "dysconscious racism" (King, 1991) without considering the social, historical, and political context in which it developed.

Finally, "the case study's unique strength is in its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence – documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations" (Yin, 2003, p. 8). To develop this case study, I collected a great deal of data from multiple sources including my pilot study, focus groups, interviews, and primary documents related to the critical family history project. Analyzing, synthesizing, and integrating all of this data facilitated a holistic understanding of the case.

Yin (2003) describes several analytic techniques in case study analysis. A cross-case comparison can be used to aggregate findings across a series of individual cases. Although a multiple case study design cannot be used to generalize, "comparisons of more than one case frequently lend themselves to a search for patterns" (Glesne, 2011, p. 22). Patterns of findings across cases can provide compelling support (Yin, 2003). In this study, the process of synthesizing and converging the data allowed me to see similarities and differences between the cases and deepened my understanding of the phenomenon.

Critical family history project. Christine Sleeter (2008, 2011, 2013) has

pioneered a "critical family history" project methodology that can be used to help white

pre-service teachers examine their own backgrounds and experiences "to identify

assumptions, beliefs, and values as well as cultural contexts in which they grew up"

(Sleeter, 2008, p. 114). Her methodology is grounded in critical whiteness studies and

three tenets of critical race theory: 1) the pervasive permanence of racism (Bell,

1988/1997; Yosso, 2005), 2) whiteness as property (Harris, 1993), and 3) interest

convergence (Bell, 1992). I suggest that the notion of revisionist history (Delgado &

Stefancic, 2012), another key concept of critical race theory, was also useful in my study,

because I was asking participants to reconsider their family histories from a different

perspective. Drawing on the scholarship of Loewen (1995/2007), Nash (1995),

Thompson & Austin (2011), and Spring (2013), I define revisionist history as the

reinterpretation of past events from multiple perspectives using a critical lens.

Traditionally, history reflects the dominant group's interpretation of events, thereby

omitting or distorting marginalized people's experiences (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

For example, a Eurocentric version of history minimizes conquest, colonialization, and

exploitation and propagates the perception of white conquerors as "heroic pioneers"

(Sleeter, 2008, p. 117). In her experience, Sleeter notes that many white pre-service

teachers "decontextualize their family stories, adopting the 'heroic individual' narrative

that is common in textbooks" (p. 121). There is a danger that doing a family history

project without the critical component may actually reinscribe and legitimize the

dominant narrative. Consequently, it is crucial to connect the ancestor's life history to

questions from a critical perspective (Sleeter, 2011, 2013), and to offer counterpoints to dominant narratives (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Sleeter (2008) advocates engaging white pre-service teachers in a "critical analysis of their own lives, examining themselves as culturally and historically located beings" (p. 121). She describes how she began with her own family stories and situated them "within a wider analysis of social power relationships and culture" (Sleeter, 2013, n.p.). She began with a genealogical family project that traced her family back four generations. After reconstructing a chronological account of her great-great-grandmother's life, she correlated each decade to historical events such as the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the U.S. Western Expansion.

Sleeter then researched the political and economic climate, norms and values, and migration patterns of each period. Embedded in her own family stories she found a legacy of European American immigration, slave ownership, passing as white, Jim Crow, and anti-Chinese activism. She came to understand her grandparents'

> land acquisition in the context of the rampant racial discrimination in the buying and selling of property. Discriminatory practices have included restrictive covenants to prevent people of color from buying into white neighborhoods, real estate practices that steer buyers of color away from white neighborhoods, redlining of neighborhoods where banks refuse loans and where people of color are concentrated, and mortgage discrimination by banks. (Sleeter, 2014a, p. 22)

These examples demonstrate how opportunities are structured by race. Sleeter (2014a) also offers an interesting metaphor:

Using the methodology of critical family history… I show how racial privilege,

rather than being a relic of the past, is a living inheritance. Those of us who are

white, particularly if our ancestry in the U.S. extends back at least three

generations, have inherited material and psychological resources that I will

describe as *footholds* and *cushions*. Footholds enable opportunity; cushions

protect us from misfortune. Both enable white people as a whole to retain

continued disproportionate control over the nation's resources. (p. 11)

In my review of the literature I found few studies exist that utilize Christine Sleeter's

novel critical family history project methodology. Jennifer Mueller (2011) describes a

similar "course assignment where students traced their personal family histories of

intergenerational wealth transfer" (p. 173) in her undergraduate classes. According to

Mueller, tracing the family's wealth is important because "access to resources often

paves pathways of upward mobility for white families" (2011, p. 178). After her students

construct their stories, Mueller works with the class "to unpack the racial dynamics…. A

major emphasis of our discussion is exploring ways structural factors connect to what

happens at the micro level, shaping the inheritance pathways that families pave" (2011, p.

178). She asks her students critical questions, such as,

Is there a family history connected to slavery? Did anyone in previous

generations inherit property, money or businesses? Did parents or grandparents

receive down payment help for purchasing a home or assistance with college?

Did the family take advantage of formal programs that would facilitate

wealth/capital acquisition, like the Homestead Act or the GI Bill? Did anyone

use social networks to get jobs, secure loans, open businesses? (p. 175).

Unlike my study, however, her focus was on white millennial students, whom she defines as having been born in 1990 or later, and having grown up in a post-racial colorblind society. She asserts, "Race-critical instructors must employ creative strategies to facilitate millennials' ability to understand their personal connections to larger, structural matters that create and sustain racial inequality at the systemic level" (p. 173). She argues that participating in this type of project can help overcome resistance, increase critical consciousness, and inspire students to action. She found six themes in her family research project data. The themes were: 1) recognizing the significance of wealth transmission, 2) understanding racialized structural hierarchy and positions, 3) deconstructing stories of "hard work", 4) students of color recognizing structural advantage, 5) understanding the role of colorblind ideology, and 6) inspiration to take action. She concludes that this research project is "vital in helping them recognize their own racialized structural positioning" (Mueller, 2011 p. 180).

Finally, Christine Scodari (2013) offers an interesting critique of Sleeter's (2008) use of genealogy in teacher education programs. She notes that many Baby Boomers are interested in genealogy. She agrees with Sleeter that genealogy allows people to personalize the past and explore connections between personal memory and public events (Scodari, 2013). She also agrees that, "engaging with family history, media and culture can illuminate various histories of domination and resistance" (Scodari, 2013, p. 206). However, using a critical lens, Scodari (2013) argues that genealogical practices reflect biases of gender, religion, class, and race. First, "genealogical tools and practices are steeped in patriarchy" (Scodari, 2013, p. 18). Genealogical records are patrilineal, tracing family lines through males' last names. This makes researching women's lines

more challenging. Second, one of the major genealogical tools, the FamilySearch.org

database, is connected to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, which may

implicitly promote or endorse a particular religion. Third, the wealthy leave longer paper

trails; therefore, the genealogical search favors the upper and middle class. Finally,

incorporating DNA ancestry has the potential to compartmentalize people and narrowly

apply concepts of race. Scodari (2013) cautions that working through one's genealogy

can actually reinforce the idea that your family is not personally implicated in racism, and

it can lull us into thinking that we live in a post-racial society. She concludes, "Post-

racialism both relies on and reproduces the age-old mythology of American

exceptionalism under capitalism: that by pulling oneself up by one's bootstraps, working

hard, acting ethically, playing fair, and not asking for help it is possible to achieve the

American dream of success" (p. 207).

Despite these potential dangers, Sleeter's (2008, 2011, 2013) critical family

history methodology resonated with me. Using this approach enabled me to 1)

reconstruct chronological family events using primary documents, 2) place these events

in historical, social, political, and cultural context, and 3) reinterpret these events by

asking questions from a critical perspective. I was particularly intrigued by her

"footholds" and "cushions" metaphor (2014), and I began thinking about how that might

apply to my own family history. For example, when my great-grandmother passed away

in 1975, she left me $5,000 to help pay for my college education; later, my grandmother

loaned me the rest. Family loans and inheritances such as these illustrate Sleeter's

(2014a) notion of a foothold, which offers unearned opportunity. Another personal

example relates to the unexpected death of my first husband in 1985. At the time, I had a

17-month old toddler and a 3-week old baby. My parents and my brother stepped in to support me for over a year so I could stay home with my children and not lose my house. This is an example of a cushion, which shielded me from personal and financial disaster. Reflecting on these experiences, I realized that not all families have access to such footholds and cushions, which are predicated on generational wealth and privilege. Families like mine who do have access may not be aware that others do not. I wondered whether the participants in this study had stories that could demonstrate cushions and footholds, and if those stories could reveal ways in which power and privilege have been constructed in their own families over time. I hypothesized that the critical family history method could be used as a tool to illuminate connections between an individual's life and larger social issues, such as white privilege.

3.2 Site and Participant Selection

My research sites included a small, public university located in the southeastern United States, and a diverse, high-poverty Title I middle school located near the college campus. The two sites were intimately connected. My study built upon an established partnership with "Westside Middle School" and the positive relationships I had developed with the teachers and administrators over the years through an ongoing service learning project. Since 2009, the pre-service teachers enrolled in my adolescent development classes have provided approximately 400 hours of service at this school each semester. As a result, I had full access to this site. Patton (2002) might describe this as opportunistic or emergent sampling because I chose to "take advantage of unforeseen opportunities" (p. 240) and followed where the data led. Merriam (2000) describes the advantages of being an insider, such as "easy entry and access to all sorts of information"

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(p. 5) related to positionality and power. Because I was already deeply involved in the project, my insider status gave me access to a group of pre-service teachers and a middle school site.

The pre-service teacher participants in my 2013 pilot study included all thirteen undergraduate students enrolled in my adolescent development class, as well as one former student, "Betty," who had completed the course and service-learning project the previous year. One student self-identified as half-white and half-Asian; all of the other students self-identified as white. All students self-identified as middle-class.[15] The participants ranged in age from 19 to 62. Ten were female, and four were male. All but two were originally from the southeastern United States.

Although I collected data from all of the students, I used a stratified purposeful sampling strategy to select a smaller group of participants for focus groups and interviews. A stratified purposeful sampling strategy can be used to "illustrate characteristics of particular subgroups of interest [and to] facilitate comparisons" (Patton, 2002, p. 244). I went into the pilot study not knowing which subgroup I wanted to focus on, so I simply announced in class that I was looking for volunteers to participate in a focus group. Five pre-service teachers volunteered to participate: Grace, Ralph, Kev, Bob, and Laura (pseudonyms). A subsequent request for volunteers yielded a second focus group with two pre-service teachers, Christina and Yolanda (pseudonyms), who were both in their late teens.

We discussed the same topics in both focus groups, but I noticed that the conversation with the two young millennial students was quite different from the

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[15] Although the term "middle class" can mean many things, I defined it simply as one's socioeconomic status, and asked students to self-identify as "wealthy," "middle class," "poor," or "don't wish to say" for the purpose of collecting class demographics.

conversation that had included the two older, nontraditionally aged students. I was intrigued by these differences. Therefore, for the third focus group I purposefully selected a small homogeneous sample, "the purpose of which is to describe some particular subgroup in depth" (Patton, 2002, p. 235). For this group, I chose two people who seemed to have similar worldviews and who shared a common experience (Patton, 2002). These two students were older and they both seemed to struggle the most during our class discussions about race and racism. This focus group consisted of "Kev" and "Grace," who met the following (self-identified) criteria: 1) white; 2) middle-class; 3) non-traditional student over age 25; 4) raised in the southeastern United States; and 5) limited personal experience with people of color. My former student, "Betty," met the same criteria. Table 3.1 illustrates the matrix I used to solicit demographic information from my students.

Table 3.1. Participant Demographics (Self-Identified)

Pseudonym	Age	Race	Gender	Class/ SES	Geographic Origin	Personal experience with people from diverse backgrounds
Betty	62	W	F	Middle	Tobacco Farm, NC	"Extremely limited"
Kev	43	W	M	Middle	Rural Area, GA	"Limited"
Grace	32	W	F	Middle	Small Town, SC	"Average"

As I began thinking more about my non-traditionally aged students, I was surprised to learn that, according to the U. S. Census, 37.4% of the nation's 20.4 million college students are over the age of 25. Furthermore, 14.8% are over the age of 35 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). I inquired then about the number of older, nontraditionally aged

undergraduate students at the university where I teach. Although the national average is

much higher, the percentage of older students at Southeastern University is still

significant (15.75%). Table 3.2 illustrates the percentage of Southeastern University's

undergraduate students who are age 25 and older (Office of Institutional Effectiveness,

2013).

Table 3.2 Non-Traditional Students IPEDS Survey, Fall 2013

	Full time undergraduate men	**Full time undergraduate women**	**Part time undergraduate men**	**Part time undergraduate women**
Age 25-29	55	59	31	51
Age 30-34	16	45	16	24
Age 35-39	11	26	8	12
Age 40-49	15	15	12	24
Age 50-64	6	7	12	18
Age 65+	0	0	16	21
	103	**152**	**95**	**150**
Total undergraduate enrollment: 3,175 Undergraduates age 25 and older: 500 Percentage of undergraduates age 25 and older at this institution: 15.75%				

3.3 Data Collection

In this study, data points originated from two major projects: A pilot study, which

was conducted during the spring semester of 2013, and a follow-up critical family history

project, which was conducted from October 2014 through March 2015 with the same

three participants. The pilot study included two major components 1) a series of in-class

activities with a social justice focus, which were designed to be transformative; and 2) a

20-hour service-learning project at a racially diverse, Title 1 middle school. Table 3.3

outlines the data collected during the pilot study.[16]

Table 3.3 Pilot Study Data Collected, Transcribed, and Coded (January to April 2013)

Interviews	Focus Groups	Documents: Participant Written Reflections	Other Documents
130305 Interview 1: Betty 130328 Interview 2: Betty 130404 Interview 3: Betty	130307 Focus Group 1: Grace, Ralph, Kev, Bob, and Laura. Topic: Reflections on the film, *A Girl Like Me*; Peggy McIntosh's article about white privilege, and a magazine advertisements exercise. 130321 Focus Group 2: Christina and Yolanda. Topic: Reflections on the film, *A Girl Like Me;* Peggy McIntosh's article about white privilege, and a magazine advertisements exercise. 130404 Focus Group 3: Kev and Grace. Topic: White privilege, the experience of being an older,	130131 Describe a typical young adolescent 130131 Thoughts regarding cultural diversity 130131 What needs do diverse adolescents have? 130307 Reaction to the film, *A Girl Like Me* 130307 What does white privilege mean to you? 130307 Peggy McIntosh article 130404 Magazine ads reflection 130404 Silent Graffiti reflection	130131 Participant demographics data (self-identified) 130328 Silent Graffiti-Before and After data 130411 What Do We Think? data

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[16] Each data source is preceded by the date it was collected, beginning with the year, then the month, then the date (Example: 141027 = October 27, 2014).

	nontraditional student	130404 Incarcerated teens' visit	

Similarly, Table 3.4 outlines the data collected during the critical family history project.

Table 3.4 Critical Family History Project Data (October 2014 to March 2015)

Interviews	Focus Groups	Documents
141027 Interview 1: Betty	141117 Focus Group 1	Primary sources related to the critical family history project included the participants' family stories, family Bibles, old letters, journals, artifacts, and other memorabilia, as well as Census data, vital statistics, marriage licenses, land and probate records, wills, obituaries, old newspapers, and an immigrant ship's manifest.. Additional sources included traditional historical texts and revisionist history scholarship (Loewen, 1995/2007; Nash, 1995; Thompson & Austin, 2011; and Springer, 2013).
141107 Interview 2: Betty	150122 Focus Group 2	
141201 Interview 3: Betty		
141013 Interview 1: Kev		
141020 Interview 2: Kev		
141027 Interview 3: Kev		
141006 Interview 1: Grace		
141021 Interview 2: Grace		
141110 Interview 3: Grace		

Major data sources for the pilot study included focus groups, interviews, documents, and analytic memos. Major data sources for the critical family history project included the pilot study data, as well as two focus group interviews and nine individual interviews.

Below, I will focus on the focus groups and interviews specific to the critical family history project.

Focus groups. I reviewed the data pertaining to the pilot study and knew that I was interested in working with Betty, Kev, and Grace again. I was intrigued by the insights shared by these white, non-traditionally aged pre-service teachers. Then I happened to stumble upon an article by Christine Sleeter (2008) describing her critical family history project. I began crafting specific focus group and interview protocols using her methodology as a guide. Table 3.4 includes some of those initial questions.

Table 3.5 Sample Questions for the Critical Family History Project Protocol

1. In thinking about your own family history, how far back can you go? Do you know whether, and how, race affected the lives of your ancestors?
2. Can you identify one ancestor who lived during a time in which race might have had a significant impact on their life?
3. After documenting chronological details such as the person's name, where he or she lived, and major life events such as births, marriages, and deaths, can we verify whether or not this person owned property? If so, what was its value at the time?
4. How might your ancestor's life have been different if he or she was not white?

I contacted Dr. Sleeter to request feedback on my questions. To my surprise, she responded right away and offered some wonderful and helpful suggestions. For example, she replied,

> If the ancestor in question seemed to be living in a predominantly white area, it's likely that some students will say that race didn't play out because there were no black people, no Indians, etc., and you'll need to do some prompting for them to consider why the location was predominantly white. I don't know how much teaching you will have been doing around these issues, and how much insight students will bring to answering the questions. When I worked with a group of

MA students this last summer, even though we had discussed, and I had given

examples of, how people of color were excluded historically, some of the white

students had a very hard time going there, because the "hard working immigrant"

narrative was so firmly embedded in their understanding. Good stuff to be

asking, just be prepared for students not being able to answer the questions very

well. (Christine Sleeter, personal correspondence, November 13, 2014)

In November 2014 I conducted the first focus group interview with Betty, Kev, and

Grace. The purpose of this focus group session was to introduce Betty to the others,

explain the critical family history project, and brainstorm sources of genealogical data. I

shared a family story about one of my own ancestors (Catherine Mudd Smalley, 1854-

1940) as an example. I had compiled quite a bit of information about Catherine but had

not yet contextualized it. Each participant was asked to select an ancestor and begin

collecting data about that person and their family tree. I asked them to bring any family

stories, genealogical records, old letters, journals, photographs, artifacts, and other

memorabilia to the first individual interview. I set up a new account in Ancestry.com for

the three participants and paid for a 6-month subscription.

Interviews. I scheduled and conducted a series of three semi-structured individual

interviews (Seidman, 2006) with each participant. Each interview was held in a

conference room on campus, lasted approximately 60-90 minutes, and was audio

recorded. I informed each participant that the interview was voluntary, that he or she

could withdraw at any time, that the interview would be treated confidentially, and the

participant's identity would not be revealed. I also informed each participant of the

purpose of the interview, provided them with a list of questions, asked for permission to

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record the interview, and asked them to sign an informed consent form. I transcribed each interview within 5-7 days so I could member-check each transcription at the beginning of the next interview. The informed consent forms can be found in Appendix C and D.

The first individual interviews were held in October 2014. Because I was interested in learning more about the pre-service teachers' socialization processes, I wanted to solicit family stories and memories that began in childhood. The purpose of the first interview was to elicit a life history and begin sharing family stories. Life histories, biographies, and first person accounts are useful methods to gather, analyze, and interpret the stories people tell about their lives (Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Connelly & Clandinin, 2000; Clandinin, Pushor, & Orr, 2007; Chase, 2003, 2011). If we want to understand how people make sense of experience, "in-depth interviews should become occasions in which we ask for life stories" (Chase, 2003, p. 274). From the beginning, I knew that sometimes a participant will hint at an untold story; therefore, as interviewers "we need to attend to submerged stories… and invite their telling" (Chase, 2003, p. 288). Furthermore, life histories can elicit strong reactions to pivotal or fateful moments. Therefore, the interviewer must be sensitive to tensions, paradoxes, and deep-seated emotions (Chase, 2011). At the end of each first interview, I showed the participant how to create their own family tree and how to search the archived records. I asked Betty, Kev, and Grace to continue working on their family trees until we met again.

The purpose of the second interview was to co-construct their ancestor's timeline. I began asking questions such as, "Did your ancestor own property? How did your ancestor fit into society? Did he or she have a position of power or authority over others?

How did race play out in your ancestor's life?" Prior to the third interview, I drafted a timeline of key events that occurred in North Carolina, Georgia, South Carolina, and the US during the time periods spanning the ancestors' lifetimes. To do this, I consulted a number of traditional sources of historical accounts (eg. State Archives of North Carolina, 2012; South Carolina Historical Society, 2015; Public Broadcasting Service, 2014). I also searched for primary sources to verify Betty's account of the KKK billboard in Smithfield, NC (Coleman, 2011) and I found an account that described a war between white settlers and Native Americans that coincided with Betty's ancestor's acquisition of a land grant (Lewis, 2007). Finally, I consulted the literature for insights related to revisionist history perspectives (Loewen, 1995/2007; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Nash, 1995; Thompson & Austin, 2011; Springer, 2013).

The purpose of the third interview was to situate the ancestor's life in historical, political, and social context from a critical perspective. Using the family's story, we traced privilege and wealth, such as home ownership and inherited property, through several generations. We considered critical questions about the ancestor's story such as, Who was there? Who wasn't, and why? How did groups compete for limited resources, and how did race play out in such conflicts? How might this person's life have been different if he or she was not white? How was this person's life impacted by power structures and institutionalized racism?

Documents. During the pilot study, I had collected a number of written reflections and other documents pertaining to the in-class activities and the service-learning project. These documents included the pre-service teachers' observation/reflection journals with field notes, written reflections and responses to

writing prompts, and analytic memos, including my own observations related to the weekly class sessions. For my dissertation study, I compiled all of the existing data related to Betty, Kev, and Grace, and re-read all of the original transcripts, documents, and analytic memos pertaining to them. Next, I began preparing for the critical family history project. I chose to research my great-great grandmother, Catherine Mudd Smalley (1854-1940), as an example to guide the participants through the process. Additionally, I wanted to stay one step ahead of the participants in this process in order to anticipate issues that might come up. According to my grandmother, my ancestor Catherine was born in Ipswich, England, but came to this country by herself as an indentured servant at the age of sixteen. She worked at a hosiery factory in Philadelphia from 1870-1880 before marrying the factory owner's son.[17]

Using an online genealogical database (Ancestry.com, 2015), I located vital statistics data related to Catherine including records of family members' births, marriages, and deaths. I sifted through Census data for the UK (1861) and the US (1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940). (NOTE: Most of the US 1890 Census records were destroyed in a fire.) I found an immigrant ship's manifest (Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild, 2005) with her name on it. I ordered a copy of Catherine's birth certificate from England, which gave me her mother's maiden name. I consulted a database of old newspapers and discovered that Catherine's mother had been arrested several times after the imprisonment and subsequent death of her husband (Reading Mercury, Oxford Gazette, Newbury Herald, and Berks County Paper, 1871; Chelmsford Chronicle, 1872; Essex Standard and Eastern Counties' Advertiser, 1872). In order to begin

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[17] Different sources referred to the factory as a woolen mill or a hosiery factory. I am assuming that they manufactured stockings made from wool.

contextualizing Catherine's story, I consulted a number of old texts and primary sources related to indentured servitude and historical accounts of the city of Philadelphia (Barra Foundation, 1982; Davis & Haller, 1973/1998; Geiser, 1901; Heavner, 1978; Herrick, 1926/2011; Salinger, 1981; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2015; Independence Hall Association, 2013).

Analytic memos. I chose to write analytic memos nearly every day throughout the pilot study as I transcribed, coded, and organized the data. Often this process caused me to go back and re-code sections of text. According to Saldaña (2013), "The purposes of analytic memo writing are to document and reflect on your coding processes and code choices; how the process of inquiry is taking shape; and the emergent patterns, categories and subcategories, themes, and concepts in your data" (p. 41). I used analytic memos to reflect on, for example, how I personally related to the participants; emergent patterns such as helping/mothering, assumptions, and contradictions; and questions for follow up interviews. During the critical family history project, I wrote analytic memos each week and after every interview for a number of different purposes. I reflected on my relationships with the three participants and how I identified with the challenges of being an older student; I generated and revised dozens of questions for the CFH interviews and focus groups; I questioned whether or not my methodology continued to be aligned with my research questions; and I brainstormed interpretations so I could revisit and build on them. Additionally, I continued to offer the in-class activities and service-learning project with a new group of pre-service teachers who were enrolled in my adolescent development course, and I kept notes because I knew it would be interesting to compare my experiences and interpretations of the current semester with previous semesters. Table

3.6 is a sample analytic memo from the pilot study. Table 3.7 is a sample analytic memo

in which I compare a different group of pre-service teachers' responses to the in-class

activities.

Table 3.6 Sample Analytic Memo: Pilot Study

16 February 2013   **PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP TO THE STUDY**   It has been almost a year since I conducted this interview, but today, as I listened to the 55-minute tape and read through the 16-page transcription carefully, Betty's voice is familiar to me. She audited my adolescent development class in Spring 2011 because her daughter, "Joanna," had enjoyed the class the previous semester and recommended it to her mother. Betty also enrolled in my lifespan development class in Fall 2011. We conducted this interview in a neutral conference room. I obtained informed consent and used an audio recorder. Betty was delighted to be asked to participate in the interview and thanked me afterwards.   As I read through the transcript, the first thing that struck me was this: Betty makes several references to her age and to being a helpful mother figure. She did this in my classes, too; I think that she was a bit self-conscious about her age because most of the other students in my classes were her daughter's age or younger. I can relate to this because I am significantly older than most of my peers in my graduate classes. In addition, Betty and I both have children that are in their 20s; we are both white, middle class, middle age, married females who grew up during the Civil Rights era, and this has likely shaped our ideas about race and class in America.

Table 3.7 Sample Analytic Memo: Comparison of In-Class Activities

15 October 2014   **IS IT MORE AWKWARD TO BE RACIST IN MIXED COMPANY?**   Tonight in class I showed the powerful film, *A Girl Like Me,* and then we analyzed the advertisements in half a dozen *People* magazines to identify and compare how many white, black, Hispanic, and Asian women are portrayed as beautiful, smart, or healthy in the ads. As in the past, several of the white female pre-service teachers got upset and cried after the film, and everyone seemed shocked by the ad results. What was really interesting, though, was the fact that this semester there are actually students of color in the class- one black male and two black females. When I began the conversation with, "What is race?" there was dead silence. The silence went on and on, even longer than usual, until the black male student, Ron (a pseudonym) finally responded that it had to do with skin color but really was a made-up label. There was nervous laughter in the room, and no one would look me in the eye. Eventually I asked, "Is racism a thing of the past?" and Ron responded, "Absolutely not. My uncle always taught me that if you get pulled over, as a black man, don't go grab for your registration and your insurance. Just hold onto the wheel, and don't move. Put your hands where they can see them because they might, you know, shoot you." I asked the white students if any of them had been taught to do this, and they indicated that they had not. Then one of the black girls offered a story: One day she was shopping, and a store clerk kept following her, as if she might steal something. When she got in line to check out with an armload of clothing, another store clerk informed her, "You know that merchandise is going to be over two hundred dollars," before she would ring her up. Then, Ron shared how "a nice white lady" locked her car doors in the Target parking lot when he walked by. The white students in my class were absolutely astonished to hear these personal stories. These first hand accounts are so much more meaningful than just reading about these experiences. I can't wait to see what happens next week!

To summarize, I collected data during two major projects: a pilot study and a critical family history project. During the pilot study I conducted interviews and focus groups and analyzed documents. During the critical family history project I conducted additional interviews and focus groups, but with a different purpose, because the different data sources addressed different research questions. Table 3.5 shows the connections between my research questions, methods, and data sources.

Table 3.8 Relationships Between My Questions, Methods, and Data Sources

Research Questions	Methods	Data Sources
What assumptions and expectations do white pre-service teachers have about young adolescent students of color?	Pilot Study focus groups with Kev and Grace; Interviews with Betty; Document analysis	Recordings of the focus groups and interviews were transcribed and coded. All pre-service teachers enrolled in my course wrote weekly reflections, which were analyzed for change over time.
How do pre-service teachers' perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs about race shift as they engage in a social justice curriculum and a 20-hour service learning project over the course of one semester?	Pilot Study focus groups with Kev and Grace; Interviews with Betty; Analysis and comparison of documents collected over the course of a semester; Dissertation study focus groups with Betty, Kev, and Grace	I collected a number of written reflections and other documents pertaining to the in-class activities and the service-learning project from all of the pre-service teachers enrolled in my class. These documents included the pre-service teachers' observation/reflection journals with field notes, written reflections and responses to writing prompts, and analytic memos, including my own observations related to the weekly class sessions. In addition to reviewing the pilot study focus group and interview transcripts, the three participants discussed and reflected on the in-class experiences and service-learning project during the first dissertation study focus groups.

| What are the implications for understanding racial literacy when white, middle-class, and middle-aged pre-service teachers are engaged in a critical family history project? | Three sets of interviews in November and December 2014; Focus groups conducted in November 2014 and January 2015. We also used an online genealogical database (Ancestry.com); conducted web searches for historical documents; and analyzed family records. | Major data sources included two audiotaped and transcribed focus group interviews, a series of three in-depth audiotaped and transcribed interviews per participant (9 total), and primary documents related to the critical family history project. |

3.4 Data Analysis

In this section, I explain how I planned and executed my data analysis process to encompass three major strategies: categorizing strategies (coding and creating within-case and cross-case displays), connecting strategies (crafting narratives), and reflexivity strategies (reflecting on the researcher as the human instrument).

Coding. According to Coffey & Atkinson, "It should certainly not be assumed that theory can be "built" by the aggregation and ordering of codes or the retrieval of coded segments" (1996, p. 142). In other words, analysis does not end with coding. Coding is a first step in data analysis, in which the data is disaggregated and broken down into manageable chunks. The chunks are sorted and organized to look for patterns; then we identify and name those pieces. A code is often "a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 3). It is a dynamic

process in which we constantly compare, contrast, and categorize data, moving from codes to categories and then back to codes again as we analyze and interpret the data. Saldaña describes a researcher's personal attributes needed for coding processes including organization, perseverance, the ability to deal with ambiguity, flexibility, creativity, and being "rigorously ethical" (2013, p. 37). Coding requires the use of cognitive skills such as "induction, deduction, abduction, synthesis, evaluation, and logical and creative thinking" (p. 36).

For the 2013 pilot study, I chose to code my data manually and did not use software. For the first cycle of coding, I chose to use in vivo coding. In vivo codes "use the direct language of participants as codes rather than researcher-generated words and phrases" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 61). I chose this method because I thought it was important to use the participants' actual words in order to deepen my understanding of their worldviews (Saldaña, 2013). After seven cycles of coding, I noticed that Betty's first interview contained numerous contradictions and tensions. I re-coded the transcript using a versus coding strategy (Saldaña, 2013); for example, I coded a number of Betty's comments as "US" versus "THEM" statements. This enabled me to see how she compared the students and parents at Westside Middle School to her daughter's school. At her daughter's school, the parents were educated, disciplined their children, and had "an attitude of achievement." At Westside Middle School, the parents did not value education and were willing to settle for "government subsidies." Betty said, "I'm glad the teacher never left me alone to have to take care of those children," and concluded that "those students 'didn't have a chance.'" The word "those" in both of those statements seemed to indicate that she was "othering" them. Finally, I selected a third coding

method, descriptive coding, to facilitative the comparison of all of the different sources of data (interviews, focus groups, and documents) and to compare "the data collected across various time periods and… assessing for longitudinal participant change" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 88). I then began to identify patterns as they emerged. I developed a list of possible categories and eventually created a codebook. The pilot study data yielded five major themes: 1) us/them; 2) denial, 3) colorblindness, 4) meritocracy, and 5) a culture of niceness. These themes will be explained in detail in chapter five.

Table 3.9 Codes for Betty's Interviews and Focus Groups (Pilot Study)

BETTY INTERVIEW CODES
Age and Helpful Mothering = red highlight
Me/Us vs. Them = yellow highlight
Race = green highlight
Class = blue highlight
Assumptions = purple highlight
Beginning to understand = gray highlight
Tensions/Paradoxes = dotted underline

FOCUS GROUP CODES
Us/Them = yellow highlight
Denial = purple highlight
Race/Colorblind= green highlight
Recognition of different perspective= red highlight
Beginning to understand = gray highlight
Acknowledge Privilege = bold
Tensions/Paradoxes = dotted underline

For the dissertation study data, I had planned to follow a similar coding protocol. I attempted to analyze the "new" data using the same codes, which would enable me to compare data from multiple sources and multiple participants over time. However, I found that I needed to revise and rethink this strategy. The data I collected for the critical family history project lent itself to a chronological organization strategy prior to coding.

I pulled from all the data sources to construct a narrative for each participant, and then I coded the narratives to look for patterns. Once a pattern had been identified, I went back to each of the interview and focus group transcripts to see if I could find anything else that fit the pattern, but had not made it to the narrative.

Within-case and cross-case displays. Saldaña offers recommendations for analytic work after coding. One of these approaches is within-case and cross-case displays, which he defines as "visual summaries of qualitative data and analysis into tables, charts, matrices, diagrams, etc. that illustrate the contrasts and ranges of observations" (2013, p. 273). For my dissertation study, each participant and I mapped their critical life history project on paper. Betty and I went a step further, and organized data using a 3-column matrix. In the left-hand column, I listed Betty's chronological details and major life events. In the middle column, I listed national and world historical events, such as wars, protests, legislation, assassinations, and technological advances. In the right-hand column, I describe social, political, and cultural contexts including the civil rights and women's liberation movements, the economic climate, and pop culture. Table 3.10 represents this data. This process worked well with Betty for two reasons. First, we are close in age. She and I grew up during the same historical period, and we were able to help each other brainstorm events to include in the matrix. Second, Betty was keenly interested in this project and, because she is retired, she was able to invest more time than Kev or Grace. Contextualizing Betty's upbringing enabled me to see systemic ways that race has played out in her life.

Table 3.10 Within-Case Display: Betty's Upbringing, Contextualized[18]

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[18] This table was constructed using Betty's and my own personal recollections, with dates and details verified using a variety of informal sources including CNN.com, animatedatlas.com, and Wikipedia.

Betty's Major Life Events	Historical Events	Social, Political, and Cultural Contexts
1949 Betty is born in Tobacco Farm, NC	The U.S. withdraws from Korea; NATO is formed; the Soviet Union detonates its first atomic bomb	Pre-women's liberation; Pre-civil rights legislation
1950-1959 1955- Betty's family moves to the city but they visit the grandparents' tobacco farm often; Betty sees a KKK billboard; Betty starts school; Betty sees blacks in subservient roles and "not invited" to eat inside the house	Brown vs. Board of Education decision; Rosa Parks is arrested; blacks boycott buses in Montgomery; Vietnam War begins; U.S. detonates a nuclear bomb; Soviet Union launches Sputnik, the first man-made object to orbit the Earth	Post World War II economic boom; conservative political climate; fear of communism and the Cold War; the "Space Race" alters U.S. school curriculum; black-and-white television shows "Father Knows Best" and "Leave It To Beaver" portray idealized families; the birth control pill is invented
1960-1965 1963- Betty starts high school	Four black college students begin sit-ins at the lunch counter of a Greensboro, NC, restaurant; John F. Kennedy, Jr.'s inauguration is televised; Russian Yuri Gagarin is the first human in space; nuclear war with Russia is narrowly avoided in the Cuban Missile Crisis; Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech; J.F.K. is assassinated; a federal district court in Alabama orders the University of Alabama to admit African American students; the Equal Pay Act passes, requiring equal wages for women and men doing equal work; the Civil Rights Act is signed by President Lyndon B.	In the early 1960s, the political climate begins to shift, reflecting civil disobedience, youth counterculture, and Vietnam War protests. The civil rights and women's liberation movements gain momentum; Jackie Kennedy becomes a fashion icon; Betty Friedan's best-seller, *The Feminine Mystique,* is published; LBJ initiates a "War on Poverty;" the British Invasion of rock 'n roll begins when the Beatles perform on the Ed Sullivan show

	Johnson, outlawing segregation and discrimination	
1965-1969 Betty is afraid of "Black Town;" two black students transfer to her school; she graduates from high school in 1965; her father dies at age 47 of heart failure; her mother goes to work 1967 Betty leaves college after one year and takes a secretarial job; notices "whites only" water fountains in federal building in NC 1969 Betty gets married and her son is born	Malcolm X is assassinated; a march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, is organized to demand protection for voting rights; the Voting Rights Act is signed; the National Organization for Women is founded; Martin Luther King, Jr. is assassinated; the Fair Housing Act of 1968 is passed to outlaw "redlining;" the Apollo 11 lunar landing mission is successful and Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin walk on the moon	"Summer of Love" in San Francisco; hippies and flower power; "The Monkees" airs on television; The first national women's liberation conference is held in Chicago; Black Power salute at the 1968 Olympics; music festival at Woodstock; Vietnam War protests on college campuses

Finally, I began comparing data across participants. To do this, I first needed to synthesize and represent the data within each case. In February 2015, I drafted a narrative for each participant and member-checked them.[19] In March, I began to synthesize and represent the data across cases to look for patterns.

Crafting narratives. After organizing the data chronologically, it was time to begin drafting readable storylines. I began with my own ancestor, Catherine. After composing Catherine's narrative, and asking family members for feedback, I began working with Betty's data. I worked with each interview, one at a time, isolating and ordering relevant events into a timeline and then constructing a chronological biographical account (Riessman, 2008). I constructed stories that corresponded closely to

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[19] I member-checked the narratives, but I have not shared my analyses, interpretations, or conclusions with the participants.

my participant's words, although I made a few grammatical adjustments in order to condense the material and improve the flow. In addition, I integrated material from the pilot study focus groups and interviews as well as the critical family history project. For example, Betty vividly described her grandparents and the tobacco farm in North Carolina, but not in one sitting. I followed a similar process to craft narratives for Kev and Grace. After I crafted each narrative, I began adding my interpretations, juxtaposing narratives with historical counterpoints. I alternated between telling the individual stories and situating those narratives in a larger social and historical context. This process led me back to my theoretical framework as I attempted to make sense of it all. The final product is a richly detailed, multilayered interpretive case study.

Reflexivity strategies. Reflexivity is "the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher, the 'human instrument'" (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, as cited in Merriam, 2002, p. 26). Reflexivity involves "thoughtful, self-aware analysis of the intersubjective dynamics between researcher and the researched. Reflexivity requires critical self-reflection of the ways in which researchers' social background, assumptions, positioning, and behavior impact on the research process" (Finlay & Gough, 2003, ix, as cited in Roulston, 2010, p. 116). For example, as I collected the participant's stories and began to craft their narratives, I realized that my efforts to interpret their stories were grounded in my own personal experiences and the similarities in our backgrounds, which might lead me to make assumptions or jump to conclusions. In particular, I realized that my ability to relate to Betty made it easier for me to contextualize her life, which resulted in uneven representation in the narratives and analyses. Although I rationalized that Betty had had more time, interest, and historical information to contribute to the critical family history

project than Kev and Grace, there was more to it than that. The process of reflecting deeply and critically on my own positionality and the choices I made was uncomfortable. Pillow (2003) advocates the use of "a reflexivity of discomfort." This "calls for a positioning of reflexivity not as clarity, honesty, or humility, but as practices of confounding disruptions- at times even a failure of our language and practices" (Pillow, 2003, p. 192). For example, after receiving some feedback on my dissertation draft, I had to agree that I had been more judgmental in my analyses of Kev's and Grace's responses while giving Betty more space to tell her story and to demonstrate growth.

3.5 Methodological Considerations

Trustworthiness. To evaluate the trustworthiness of a quantitative study, one must consider issues of internal validity and reliability (Merriam, 2002). However, Bloomberg & Volpe (2008) suggest that the term credibility may be more appropriate for qualitative research. Credibility, which is similar to validity, begins with the idea that the researcher acknowledges his or her own biases up front, spends a significant amount of time in the field, conveys an in-depth and detailed understanding of the phenomenon, and accurately captures the participants' perceptions, thoughts, and feelings. Other strategies that strengthen a study's credibility include triangulation, discrepant findings, member checks, and peer debriefing (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008).

Triangulation refers to the practice of comparing results using different methods, different sources of data, and/or different investigators. In the pilot study, I applied the same coding strategies to different sources of data collected across focus groups, interviews, and documents to look for similarities and discrepancies. This strategy confirmed some findings, but it also caused me to go back and re-code chunks of data,

which allowed me to see different patterns emerge. In addition, I compared the data from the critical family history project to the data from the pilot study to see if they were consistent. I also compared data across the three cases using a visual cross-case comparison, which is represented in Table 5.1. This comparison included the participants' generations, geographic locations of origin, socioeconomic status, white social isolation experiences, seeing blacks in subservient roles, socialization within the family, socialization by the media, colorblind ideology, and evidence of footholds and cushions (Sleeter, 2014a).

Another credibility strategy is the use of member checks, or respondent validation, to solicit feedback about data and conclusions. I transcribed each interview within 5-7 days, so I could begin each subsequent interview by asking the participant to read through a hard copy of the previous transcript to check for accuracy. However, I did not member check my analyses or conclusions, so I do not know whether my interpretations are accurate from their perspective. I am still unsure as to how and when to share this information.

One way to assess dependability, which parallels reliability (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008), is the use of an audit trail. An audit trail is a transparent and detailed account of the processes and procedures used to collect and interpret the data throughout the study. My audit trail, which is contained in several three ring binders, includes my record of electronic database search strategies; annotated bibliographies related to reviews of the literature; and a series of evolving schematics that illustrate the connections between my research questions, conceptual framework, methodology, participant selection, data collection, and data analysis. The annotated bibliographies were constructed during one

of my anthropology classes, as an assignment in a foundations independent study course, and while preparing for the qualifying and comprehensive exams. Keeping a running record of electronic database searches, which began in January 2013 and continued through April 2015, helped me avoid duplicate searches, gave me ideas for alternate search terms, and showed how my thinking changed over time.

Maxwell (2005) offers a checklist of validity tests that "primarily operate not by verifying conclusions, but by testing the validity of your conclusions and the existence of potential threats to those conclusions" (p. 109). There were several potential threats to this study's trustworthiness. Here, I focus on threats related to whiteness, researcher-participant relationships, and choices related to methodology. As a white, middle-class, middle-aged researcher working with white, middle-class, middle-aged participants, my race gave me "insider status" and unearned rapport with Betty, Kev, and Grace. It is likely that these participants felt more comfortable discussing white racism with me than they would if I were not white. This study, if conducted by a black researcher, would likely have yielded different results. However, a sense of solidarity related to race could also have caused me to over-identify with the participants and make assumptions based on my reality, not theirs. Overconfidence and misinterpretation were real possibilities. Therefore, it was important to be continually reflexive about my positionality.

Second, I needed to be aware that the relationships that I had developed with these participants would continue to affect them, and me, throughout the study. This project included some elements of participatory action research, which necessitates "the continual creation of trust, intimacy, and reciprocity" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 84). There was a danger that in my attempt to elicit and capture the participants' perceptions, thoughts,

and feelings, I may have focused too much on the individual's emotions, personal growth, and white identity development. This possibility was problematic because it would divert attention away from the larger issue of systemic racism and oppression (Thompson, 2003). Therefore, I had to be prepared to redirect the conversation as needed. Based on my experience with the pilot study, I knew that I needed to be prepared to deal with forms of resistance and "white talk," such as evading questions, remaining silent, and engaging in "a culture of niceness" (McIntyre, 1997). For example, it took three rephrased questions to find out that Kev's parents really didn't know how much time he had spent with his black friend John, because they wouldn't have approved.

Positionality. Qualitative researchers understand that knowledge is subjective, and that the researcher is not a detached observer. Moreover, "subjectivity is not seen as a failing needing to be eliminated but as an essential element of understanding" (Stake, 1995, p. 45). My own subjectivity and positionality could bias my interpretations of the data, but it could also be deployed to deepen my understandings. My insider status gave me access to the pre-service teachers enrolled in my classes. Last semester, all of those students happened to be white and middle-class; as a white, middle-class instructor, I connected with them and was able to talk about the ways in which white people are socialized not to talk about race. For example, I shared that some members of my family still make racist comments and are oblivious to systemic oppression; this opened up a space for them to share their experiences with me as well. Betty, my oldest participant, and I strongly identified with growing up white during the Civil Rights era.

Ethical considerations. It was important to anticipate the possible unintended consequences of conducting this study. Ethical considerations included maintaining the

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privacy and confidentiality of the participants. Pseudonyms were used for anonymity.

Records were kept locked in a filing cabinet, on my laptop at home, and on two thumb

drives that stayed in my purse. I was careful to explain fully the purpose of the project

and obtained informed consent from all participants throughout the project. Additionally,

I worked hard to guard against inadvertently reinforcing negative stereotypes (Milner,

2007). For example, in my classroom I emphasize that cultural differences are not

deficiencies. We talk about the fact that "Black English" has its own rules and structure

and is not simply haphazard "mistakes." We talk about how white middle class language

and behavior are the norm by which we judge all others in our society. This semester I

also talked to my students about false empathy (Warren & Hotchkins, 2014). Good

intentions are not enough. Feeling sorry for students is not the point. Empathy "is

theorized as the mechanism that reconciles disparate perspectives" (Warren & Hotchkins,

2014, p. 2). False empathy, on the other hand, occurs when "a white believes he or she

is identifying with a person of color, but in fact is doing so only in a slight, superficial

way" (Delgado, 1996, p. 70). False empathy can make one overconfident, harm the

intended beneficiary, and perpetuate subordination (Warren & Hotchkins, 2014). Thus,

"emotions may reinforce the status quo just as knowledge does" (p. 74).

Gallagher (2000) raised ethical and moral implications regarding white

researchers working with white participants. Gallagher's (2000) efforts to establish

rapport in his grandparents' white, working class neighborhood unexpectedly unleashed a

participant's "string of epithets and expletives about how blacks had destroyed what had

once been a beautiful, cohesive community" (Gallagher, 2000, p. 70). The researcher

was shocked at the way in which his "whiteness served as a common currency and

language which presumably links all whites to an omnipresent antipathy toward blacks" (p. 71). His study raised ethical questions such as, Could the researcher be inadvertently lending legitimacy to whites' perceived victimization? Were his interviews reinscribing dominant beliefs and assumptions? Was he condoning white supremacy? Might he be "creating a narrative of whiteness which absolves researcher and informant of the responsibility of challenging white racism and white privilege?" (Gallagher, 2000, p. 73). He concluded, "researchers examining whiteness can be unintentionally (or intentionally) manipulated into racism by embracing a set of 'common sense' assumptions about white racial attitudes which guide their research" (Gallagher, 2000, p. 75). I tried to address the issue of racial solidarity by clearly stating up front my interest and commitment in understanding white racism and working for social justice. I used personal examples and my ancestor's story as examples of white privilege and unearned opportunities. I disclosed that my son-in-law is black and that I will likely have mixed-race grandchildren. As I drafted interview questions, I asked for feedback from two colleagues with a specific focus on inadvertent racism. As I read back through the transcripts I critiqued the way I interacted with each participant. There are a few things I would do differently, but overall I think I did well in this regard.

Limitations of the study. One limitation of this study is that all of the participants were white. While a major goal of the study was to center race and expose racism as a system of domination and oppression, my position as a privileged white person prevents me from fully understanding the racialized experiences of people of color. Racism impacts white people, but my perspective as a white person is limited.

This study was also limited by my position of power within the study and its

associated privileges. As the participants' instructor, I held a position of authority. During the pilot study, I was responsible for the pre-service teachers' grades, so there was some risk that they would tell me what they thought I wanted to hear. In an effort to address that concern, I conducted interviews in a neutral conference room instead of my classroom. I also assured each participant that the interviews were voluntary and would not impact their grades.

For the dissertation study, the participants were no longer enrolled in my class. However, as the researcher, I continued to hold a position of power. I had the power to make many choices related to this project, including how the participants were selected, how I engaged with them, and how I interpreted and represented the data. This effort was limited by my ability to balance the goals of the study with the participants' feelings. As I made decisions about what to include and what to leave out, it is possible that I may have misrepresented, oversimplified, or decontextualized the participants' stories. In an effort to address this, I worked collaboratively with the participants to co-construct their narratives, and tried to honor their voices as much as possible. The participants' stories are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Critical History Narratives

In this chapter, I present the narratives of my participants as well as my own story. This is not a traditional presentation of findings; the findings related to my research questions will be addressed in chapter five. These narratives were constructed from multiple data sources and arranged chronologically. Each narrative is followed by contextual, historical research and analysis. This context is important because "we need to situate historic events within a context of power relationships" (Sleeter, 2013, n.p.).

I begin with my own story, which I shared with my participants as a work in progress throughout the critical family history project. I am a white, middle class woman who was born in New Jersey in 1961. My father was a high school graduate who served for three years in the Air Force and then worked at my grandfather's insurance agency. My mother attended college for a year, but dropped out to get married, stay at home, and start a family. In 1963 my parents purchased a three-bedroom home in a brand new white-flight suburb just outside of Philadelphia. In our neighborhood, cookie cutter houses straddled postage stamp lawns. A few young trees dotted the landscape, but sidewalks lined every street and the neighborhood was filled with children who looked like me. My brother and I walked to and from school each day and played outside with our friends until our mother called us in for dinner. During the day our mother cooked and cleaned and sewed. I remember that she made beautiful dresses for me to wear to school.

I was in the fifth grade before girls were allowed to wear pants to school. By that time, psychedelic colors, bell bottom pants, and ponchos with fringe had come into fashion. My friends and I watched the Brady Bunch and the Partridge Family on our new color TVs. We read Teen magazine and listened to Bobby Sherman and Donny Osmond on the radio. By middle school, my peers were wearing hot pants and go-go boots, mini skirts and platform shoes. It was an exciting time, but it was also unsettling. There were sit-ins and walk-outs, protests and demonstrations. The Vietnam War, women's liberation, and the black power movement were radically changing the world. Just as I was reaching adolescence in that precarious world, my parents' marriage shattered and our lives were turned upside down. The house was sold, my father left town, my mother got a job, and they each began a series of disastrous romances. My younger brother and I were often left alone.

During that time I became extraordinarily close to my grandmother, Edith, who lived in the next town. She was the one person who provided stability, support, and encouragement. She urged me to do well in school so that I could attend college and never be dependent on a man. She later loaned me the money to do so. She told me that I was strong, and that I had come from a long line of strong women. She also shared stories about her own struggles as an adolescent: At the age of twelve, she lost her mother, Susan, to breast cancer in 1929. Shortly after Susan's funeral, my grandmother Edith's maternal grandmother, Catherine Smalley, moved in to help her son-in-law, Leon, take care of Edith and her two younger siblings.

4.1 Catherine's Story

I was fascinated by this story and wanted to know more about Catherine. Edith recalled that her Grandmother Smalley's gray hair was always pulled back in a severe bun. She wore a steel gray dress, a spotless white starched apron, and buttonhook shoes. Although she was barely five feet tall, she was an imposing figure who immediately took charge. "Leon," she barked, "These children need new shoes. Today." Without a word, the father hitched up the wagon and took the three children to Philadelphia to purchase new shoes (McMurtrie, 2000). Grandmother Smalley continued to run the household for several years until Leon remarried. Edith described her as a well-spoken, dignified lady of regal bearing. She felt that it was her duty to instill good manners and proper behavior in the children. "A gentleman must not entertain a young lady without a chaperone," she would say to Edith's younger brother, Robert. "A lady does not wear tawdry finery or paint her face," she would say to Edith and her sister Mabel, as she pinched their cheeks for color before school each morning. And when the girls complained that the curling iron was too hot, Grandmother Smalley would respond, "Pride must suffer!" (McMurtrie, 2000).

Edith, Mabel, and Robert were curious about Catherine Smalley's background. They knew that she had been born in England and had immigrated to the United States as a young woman. They had always assumed that she had an aristocratic heritage, but they were too afraid to ask. Catherine refused to talk about her past. Many years after Catherine died, Edith and her sister went to England to research their family genealogy. They were particularly interested in learning about the ancestral British gentry on Catherine's side. They didn't have much information, but they knew three things:

Grandmother Smalley had been born in Ipswich, England; she had been born in 1854; and her maiden name was Catherine Mudd. Armed with these facts, Edith and Mabel spent hours searching through dusty stacks of old records at the Ipswich Register Office on Grimwade Street.

To their surprise, Catherine was not British nobility. The Mudd family in Ipswich owned no land and held no title. They were not well-born and well-bred people from an upper class family. For some reason, Catherine had left England and traveled to the United States by herself at the young age of sixteen. It was a long, difficult, and expensive journey across the ocean. To pay for her passage, Catherine became an indentured servant. A factory owner who manufactured woolen hosiery in Philadelphia purchased her indenture. In September 1870 she went to work in the factory and began a new life in the United States. She never had contact with her family in England again. My grandmother and I often wondered why a sixteen year old girl would travel across the ocean by herself and never look back. Recently I began building on my grandmother's genealogical research through the use of several on-line databases including Ancestry.com (2015), FamilySearch.org (2015), and FindMyPast.co.uk (2015).

Catherine's story begins in Ipswich, England in 1854. She was the youngest of five children, although three of her siblings died in infancy. Her only living brother, John Thompson Mudd, was sixteen years older than she. Her father, John Youngman Mudd, was a law clerk, a solicitor, and the son of a well-respected surgeon. Yet in 1846 and 1851 Mr. Mudd was hospitalized in a "lunacy asylum." In 1852 he was found guilty of arson, and in 1853 he declared bankruptcy. In January 1861, when Catherine was just seven years old, her father was convicted of "housebreaking after a former conviction of

a felony," and sentenced to a one-year imprisonment at hard labor. John Mudd died in the Ulverston workhouse at the age of 48, less than six months into his sentence. Probate records describe him as a pauper, leaving his widow and two surviving children "effects under £100."

Catherine departed Liverpool, England, alone, on September 7, 1870 aboard the immigrant steamship *Italy.* The ship was 389 feet long by 42 feet wide, with an iron hull and three masts rigged for sail (Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild, 2005). Interestingly, all of the German passengers listed on the ship's manifest were assigned to "Steerage" while all of the English passengers, including "Kate Mudd, Servant," were in the "Saloon" class (Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild, 2005). Steerage passengers stayed below deck, in cramped, low-ceilinged spaces in berths that were six feet by six feet, filled with straw, and shared by four people (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2015). Saloon passengers, on the other hand, had more space, better food, and were less likely to feel the pitch of the ship and get seasick (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2015).

When she arrived in the U.S. on September 7, 1870, Catherine's indenture was purchased by Joseph Smalley, an entrepreneur who owned a small textile mill in Philadelphia. She worked in the Smalley woolen hosiery factory for ten years. Then, on September 28, 1880, she married Matthew Smalley, the factory owner's son. She never worked outside of the home again.

Meanwhile, back in England, Catherine's mother and older brother continued to appear together in the U.K. Census until 1891. Newspaper accounts indicate that they struggled financially. In 1871, John Thompson Mudd, "a tramp, was charged with stealing a carving knife and fork and two small knives… [He was] committed for two

calendar months with hard labour" (Reading Mercury, Oxford Gazette, Newbury Herald, and Berks County Paper, 1871, p. 4). A year later, another news column describes the widow's "painful descent from a better sphere of life" (Chelmsford Chronicle, 1872, p. 6) when Mrs. Mudd was charged with hawking tracts.[20] In her defense, Mrs. Mudd "spun a long 'yarn' with reference to her former position, stating that her husband, who was a son of Dr. Mudd of Hadleigh, had died in a Lunatic Asylum, having run through about £2,000, and that left her destitute" (Essex Standard and Eastern Counties' Advertiser, 1872, n.p.). A lodging-house keeper paid her fine and she was released.

The 1881 U.K. Census identifies John Thompson Mudd and his mother as lodgers in the same boarding house. Both are listed as "hawkers."[21] In the 1891 census, John is listed as a single, unemployed wire worker, age 53, still living with his mother but in a two-room, single family house. Mrs. Mudd died in 1897. In the 1901 Census, John Thompson Mudd is again a lodger in a boardinghouse, is an unemployed wire worker, and is described as "paralyzed." He died alone in 1913. Piecing together this tragic story gave me insight into why Catherine left England and traveled to the United States by herself at a young age, never to return. In the next section, I will try to describe what she may have experienced when she arrived in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia at the time of Catherine's arrival. In the mid to late 1800s, industrialization brought modernization, efficiency, and prosperity to the United States. New factories meant new jobs. An unprecedented influx of immigrants arrived to fill those jobs, and rural communities became crowded cities. One of those immigrants was my great great grandmother, Catherine Mudd. In September 1870, my ancestor arrived in

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[20]"Hawking tracts" meant selling or distributing pamphlets without a license, as per Wood & Wood (1995).
[21] "Hawkers" were peddlers, as per Wood & Wood (1995).

the port city of Philadelphia. At that time, the waterfront was a bustling place with warehouses, factories, sugar refineries, freight depots, and grain elevators, all connected to the Pennsylvania Railroad (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2015). Philadelphia had become "the center of heavy industry, of iron and steel, coal and oil" (Barra Foundation, 1982, p. 471). The city's growth was fueled by expansion of the railroad and the proliferation of newly mechanized factories and mills. Textiles were the largest industry in Philadelphia. By the turn of the century, "19 percent of the city's 7100 manufacturers were textile plants, and they employed 35 percent of the city's 229,000 workers" (Barra Foundation, 1982, p. 481). Factory workers worked long hours for little pay. Women, who did not own property or have the right to vote, were often exploited, as were children. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission offers a vivid description of factory life for children in 1837:

> Children were summoned by the factory bell before daylight . . . had their first scanty meal at home and commenced work at six o'clock in the morning and continued until eight o'clock at night with nothing but a recess of forty-five minutes to get their dinner. Many of them have to travel a mile or more to their homes. Others confirmed that punishment for "bad work and inattention" included whippings with a strap, slapping, ear pulling, and withholding of wages. One factory manager testified that most children at his facility were nine or ten years old, though he had had applicants as young as seven. (Wolensky & Rich, 1998, n.p.).

In addition to its industry, nineteenth century Philadelphia was known for its political corruption. Neighborhoods were controlled by gangs. Politicians demanded and received

bribes. Corruption infiltrated the schools, which "came under the jurisdiction of the district school boards which were dominated by ward bosses" (Barra Foundation, 1982, p. 498). Volunteer firemen engaged in "violent street fighting… this general lawlessness exploded more frequently and began to include arson, shooting, and murder" (p. 346). Fire companies were often at war, leaving urban areas vulnerable to destruction by fire. In fact, there were sixteen major factory fires in the city of Philadelphia in 1870, the year that Catherine arrived (Independence Hall Association, 2013).

By the turn of the century, Philadelphia had become "a city of poverty, crime, and violence, of racial and ethnic tensions, which often flared into riots" (Davis & Haller, 1973/1998, p. 11), Violence against immigrants, especially the Irish, and violence against African Americans, who had begun migrating from the South in large numbers, was a serious problem. According to the Barra Foundation, (1982), "the rapid expansion of the black population led inevitably to increased tension and conflict between the races. The competition for jobs and housing gave rise to bitterness on both sides" (p. 531). With the increase in population came an increase of sickness and deaths (Geiser, 1901). The narrow city streets and alleys were crowded with tenements, row houses, and livestock. Poor sanitation and diseases such as malaria, smallpox, tuberculosis, cholera, and typhoid were common (Barra Foundation, 1982). As various ethnic groups and lower-class workers arrived in Philadelphia, many of the wealthy, upper class citizens began to flee the city and relocate to the neighboring suburbs (Davis & Haller, 1973/1998). Many of the homes they left behind were converted to boarding houses for the poor. Despite being a city of "decaying urban slums, with disease and despair and overcrowding" (Davis & Haller, 1973/1998, p. 11), Philadelphia continued to attract huge numbers of immigrants

looking for jobs. In 1870, Catherine was among the 27 percent of the city's population who had been born outside the United States (Barra Foundation, 1982).

Indentured servitude. To meet the growing demand for workers in the U.S. during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, three forms of labor were employed: Free labor, indentured labor, and slave labor (Herrick, 1926/2011). Free laborers could bargain for wages in the open market, and were hired for a specific period of time, with the freedom to withdraw their services and forfeit wages (Herrick, 1926/2011). Indentured servants, on the other hand, were legally bound for a term of years, and were regarded as property under the law. In 1767, Pennsylvania tax law assessed indentured servants ages fifteen to fifty as taxable property (Salinger, 1978).

Indentured servants "first arrived in America in the decade following the settlement of Jamestown " (PBS, 2014, n.p.). The system of indentured servitude flourished in response to "the constant force arising from the economic conditions of the Old and New Worlds- the demand for labor in the colonies and the supply of laborers in England and on the continent" (Geiser, 1901, p. 8). In England, there was an abundant supply of laborers who had limited opportunities at home but were too poor to transport themselves to the New World (Herrick, 1926/2011). In addition, "there was a large pauper and vagrant class considered a 'burden on society'" (Geiser, 1901, p. 8). Many of the poor were enticed to leave England by use of propaganda and solicitation (Herrick, 1926/2011). Not all indentured servants left willingly. During the 18th century, nearly 50,000 convicts were involuntarily transported from Great Britain to the United States and sold into servitude (Davis & Haller, 1973/1998).

It was not an easy journey. The voyage "varied from five weeks to six months according to the conditions of the weather" (Geiser, 1901, p. 44). The season for emigration from England to Philadelphia was from April to October (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2015). Ships could accommodate up to four hundred passengers but often crammed in many more. During the early 19th century, ships were often overcrowded, and it was not unusual for 80-100 passengers to die during the journey. "Vessels were crowded beyond their capacity, so that the death rate became enormous" (Geiser, 1901, p. 111). This overcrowding was, of course, motivated by profit.

Indentured servants were "those immigrants who, unable to pay their passage, signed a contract, called an indenture, before embarking in which they agreed with the master or owner of the vessel transporting them, 'to serve him or his assigns' a period of years in return for passage to America" (Geiser, 1901, p. 6). Upon arrival, a buyer was found, the terms of service were agreed upon, and the indenture was transferred to the purchaser. Passengers were kept on board until they were sold (Geiser, 1901). Those who were sick were less likely to be purchased, and might remain on board, waiting, for weeks. Many died.

Few records remain, but during the 1771-1773 time period, indentures were sold "from $40 to $100" (Geiser, 1901). Female servants were valued less than males. Philadelphia merchants described them as 'troublesome, particularly with regard to pregnancy'" (Salinger, 1981). Consequently, women commanded a lesser price than men: $70 for a woman, $80 for a man, and $60 for a boy (Geiser, 1901). Servants typically completed their indenture in four to seven years, but the time of service varied in Pennsylvania, depending on the age, strength, and skills of the servant. The very young,

ages 10-15, had to serve until they were age 21 (Geiser, 1901). Geiser (1901) describes indentured servitude this way:

> In the ordinary indenture one party in consideration of a sum of money, which in the case of immigrants was paid for their passage to America, promises to bind himself for a definite period, as a servant to the debtor, who becomes master upon the signing of the contract. During the period specified in the indenture, the servant promises to serve his master 'honestly and obediently in all things as a good and faithful servant ought to do.' The master, on the other hand, is under obligations to provide for the servant during the time of indenture, food, clothing, and lodging, and, at the expiration of the term, 'freedom dues,' which varied in different contracts but in nearly every case included among other things, 'two complete suits of clothes,' one of which was to be new. (Geiser, 1901, p. 71)

An indenture was thus a legal contract enforced by the courts. During the indenture period no wages were paid, but clothing, training, room and board were provided. An indentured servant's contract could be extended as punishment for breaking a law, such as running away, or becoming pregnant. Many laws were passed "to prevent bastardy and fornication among servants" (Salinger, 1981, p. 171). For example, any servant who married without the permission of the master had to serve an additional year. Any free person who married a servant paid a penalty of 12 pounds or served one year (Geiser, 1901). A woman servant who bore a bastard child while under indenture, regardless of the circumstances, could be required to serve an additional one to two years (Geiser, 1901; Herrick, 2011/1926; Salinger, 1981).

Heavner (1978) examined over 300 historic (1771-1773) indenture records and applied modern labor market theory to analyze the data. He found that "master and servant met in a market, and that the servant trade was an accepted part of the labor scene of colonial America. Laws, prices, terms, and contract provisions were not the result of haphazard events but of purposive economic behavior…. In short, the servant market resembled modern labor and capital markets" (p. 713). He concluded that "supply and demand interacted to yield market clearing prices" (Heavner, 1978, p. 705). In addition, he found that "nationality appears to have been a screening device for servant buyers" (Heavner, 1978, p. 708) as British servants were preferred over the German and Irish.

Geisner (1901) argues that "the institution of indentured service was a necessary stage in the economic development of the colonial society of Pennsylvania" (p. 110). Herrick (1926/2011) agrees and states: "This system of labor was more important to Pennsylvania than it was to any other colony or state; it continued longer in Pennsylvania than elsewhere" (p. 26). He contends that the Pennsylvania Quakers' opposition to the institution of slavery may have helped condone and prolong the popularity of indentured white servitude in that state (Herrick, 1926/2011). In 1767 the indentured servant population represented 25% of the unfree labor force, but in just eight short years, that percentage rose to over 60% (Salinger, 1981). Thus, from 1767 to 1775, "the number of indentured servants in Philadelphia increased steadily, replacing a declining slave population" (p. 181). Finally, Salinger (1981) reports that "a high proportion of the servants indentured in the Quaker colony were purchased by urban residents" (p. 165-166), concluding that "white bound labor was primarily an urban phenomenon" (p. 177).

The system continued to evolve over time. By the end of the eighteenth century, "the practice of servants' binding themselves to a second term was not uncommon in Pennsylvania" (Geiser, 1901, p. 75). Instead of being used to repay debt, the indenture system had begun to resemble an extended labor contract. Indentured servitude was outlawed in the United States in 1917. Eventually indentured servants and slaves were replaced altogether by a free market wage labor system.

Analysis of Catherine's story. Many European Americans have a tendency to tell family stories in ways that reflect "officially sanctioned understandings of immigrants and immigration" (Sleeter, 2011, p. 422). In other words, many families have an idealized "immigrant hero" story that perpetuates the myth of meritocracy. In my family, that hero has always been Catherine. According to family lore, my great-great grandmother came to this country with nothing, worked hard, and pulled herself up by her bootstraps in order to achieve the American Dream. However, interpreting her story using a critical lens helped me deconstruct this myth. In this study, my critical family history project revealed numerous ways in which Catherine's whiteness and British heritage offered privilege and altered the trajectory of her life in ways that would have been unavailable to people of color. Her story brings to life the "social construction thesis" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012) and the "whiteness as property" concept of critical race theory (Harris, 1993). Catherine's skin color and British ethnicity became a commodity in ways that German and Irish "whiteness" did not. Her story also illustrates "white flight" and intergenerational wealth through home ownership.

The social construction of race. CRT's social construction thesis (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 8) asserts that the concept of race is imposed arbitrarily. Yet racial

categories continue to be imposed as a source of power. Furthermore, different racial and ethnic groups have been favored or marginalized by the dominant group during different points in time. Roediger (1991/2007) examines a unique period of U. S. history, specifically the Industrial Revolution, when a new generation of working class immigrant laborers arrived in this country to provide cheap labor for our newly industrialized, capitalist nation. Though unskilled, underpaid, and often exploited, these working class immigrants embraced a new white identity, which identified them as free citizens and a step above blacks. This logic "had particular attractions for Irish-American immigrant workers, even as the 'whiteness' of these very workers was under dispute" (Roediger, 1991/2007, p. 14). The case of the immigrant Irish, who were originally perceived as lazy and uncivilized non-whites, but eventually assimilated and "became" white, exposes the social construction of whiteness (Leonardo, 2002). Leonardo (2002) notes that, "Becoming white is a two-way process. Not only must the structure provide the space for a group to become white, the group in question must desire whiteness" (p. 44).

Although Catherine was a poor immigrant, she was British by birth. As a white person from England, who was phenotypically raced differently in whiteness than Irish or Germans, she was able to marry the factory owner's son and could choose to assimilate into white, middle class U.S. society. The color of her skin gave her social mobility, which would have been unavailable to a person of color or to enslaved people. In her critique of Sleeter's critical family history project, Scodari (2013) cautions us against comparing indentured servitude to slavery. Contrary to what many (white) people believe, indentured servitude was not slavery. Once the indenture contract was satisfied, the indentured servant was free and could rise to middle or upper class status.

Conversely, a slave remained a slave for a lifetime, and the children of slaves inherited their parent's permanent slave status (Herrick, 2011/1926).

Whiteness as property. It was interesting to note that on the ship's manifest of the immigrant steamer*, Italy,* all of the English passengers were assigned to "Saloon" class, while all of the German passengers were assigned to "Steerage" (Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild, 2005). Even though Catherine was poor, she was privileged just by virtue of her skin color and her nationality. Being assigned to preferred accommodations led to a healthier, more comfortable voyage, leading to the likelihood that she would be selected for a first choice indenture. Thus, the status of being white was a valuable, unearned asset that resulted in social, economic, and political privileges (Harris, 1993).

White flight. By the late nineteenth century, the city of Philadelphia was overcrowded and unsanitary as poor immigrants continued to pour into the city (Barra Foundation, 1982). In 1904 an epidemic of typhoid fever killed more than a thousand people (Barra Foundation, 1982, p. 526) including Catherine's daughter, Ida. Upper and middle-class residents, who were predominantly white, began to leave Philadelphia and move out to the suburbs in what later became known as "white flight." Catherine and her husband Matthew followed this pattern, leaving the city to relocate to a mostly white area in rural New Jersey. They rented in Gloucester County, NJ for several years and then purchased their own poultry farm. According to a 1913 directory, there were 2,252 farms in the county. The average farm size was 62 acres, and the average farm value was $5,418. Of the residents, 69% were owners, while 31% were tenants. Of the tenant population, 47% "pay cash rent," while 53% "worked on shares." Interestingly, 18% of the men operating the farms were categorized as "foreign born," while 82% were

categorized as "native Americans," which I interpret to mean born in the United States. There were 37,368 residents living in the county in 1913. In a completely separate category, a total of 44 farm workers were listed as "colored" (Farm Journal Directory of Gloucester County, NJ, 1913, p. 5). All of the county officials and board members listed in the directory were men; there were no women in leadership roles.

Intergenerational wealth. In addition to providing examples of white privilege and white flight, Catherine's story illustrates the transfer of intergenerational wealth. According to the 1930 census, Catherine and Matthew's home in Gloucester County, NJ was valued at $4,000. That house remained in our family until April 2011, when it sold for $166,000. This is an example of what Christine Sleeter (2014a) would call a "foothold," or unearned opportunity. Sleeter (2014a) contends, "Wealth tends to be passed from generation to generation through both inheritance and 'family financial aid'" (p. 13). The money that people inherit from previous generations can then be used to help with college tuition, contribute to a down payment on a house, or gain social contacts. The advantage is cumulative:

> Today, the net worth of the average Black family is about 1/8 that of the average white family. Much of that difference derives from the value of the family's residence. Houses in predominantly white areas sell for much more than those in Black, Hispanic or integrated neighborhoods, and so power, wealth, and advantage - or the lack of it - are passed down from parent to child. Wealth isn't just luxury or profit; it's the starting point for the next generation. (California Newsreel, 2003, n.p.)

Many of us think our family has been successful because of hard work, dedication, and perseverance. According to Mueller (2011), a critical family history project "does not require that they definitively discard such stories, but rather that they properly contextualize them in a larger structural framework that considers racial status" (p. 181). Contextualizing Catherine's story enabled me to see systemic ways that whiteness structures opportunity in this country. Engaging in this work, and finding personal examples of inherited white privilege, significantly increased my own racial literacy.

4.2 Betty's Story

"Betty" (a pseudonym) is a 64-year-old white, middle class female. She was born in a rural farming community in the Deep South in 1949. Her father was a mechanic and her mother was a homemaker. Betty was the oldest of three children. For a few years the family lived in a modest three-room house that was across the highway from the main farmhouse where her grandparents lived. The little house had no indoor plumbing. Betty explained that her dad "was just a tenant farmer, you know? On the farm they had, um, hired hands, who were usually black. On the social ladder, my dad was just one step above… (pause) a hired hand."

Then, when Betty was about five years old, her father got a job with a major corporation and the family moved to town. "We were on a bus line. I remember when blacks had to ride in the back seat of the bus. They were not allowed to ride with the whites. I remember seeing the buses in town, where the blacks had to sit on the back seat, and asking my mother why. And she said, 'Well, that's just where they have to sit.' Things were more matter-of-fact then."

Betty frequently traveled with her parents from the city to visit her grandparents on their tobacco farm. Along the way, she vividly recalls seeing a huge billboard on Highway 70 identifying Eastville, North Carolina (a pseudonym) as the home of the Klu Klux Klan. The sign, which remained standing until the late 1970s (Coleman, 2011) portrayed a hooded Klansman- a Grand Dragon of the KKK- mounted on a stallion, brandishing a flaming cross, the image "rising fiercely over the words: Eastville, NC: This is Klu Klux Klan Country!" (Coleman, 2011, p. 2).

Although Betty thinks she probably asked her parents what the sign meant, she does not recall anything specific. She said, "I'm sure I asked my mother. But I don't remember my mother being… (pause) what I felt was racist. I don't ever remember her talking negatively." Somehow, though, Betty learned to associate blackness with fear (Lensmire, 2010)

"I do remember one thing," she said. "We rode a school bus… there was a dirt road and there were some houses and… that was where the black people lived in our community. And we called it the Black Town or something like that… And I don't ever remember going down that dirt road because, well, I was afraid. Isn't that awful? And, so I had to have been thinking, 'There's something bad down there.'"

Betty has fond memories of visiting the tobacco farm throughout the 1950s. She described her grandmother, Mammy, as short and plump. "Mammy always wore cotton, hand-made dresses. She never wore pants or store-bought clothes. Over her dress she wore a simple apron that was made from a flour sack and tied in the back. She had gray eyes and wore eyeglasses. Her gray hair was always curly, because her daughter gave her

home perms. She wore leather, lace-up shoes and modest stockings. She had dentures, but she didn't smile very much. She spent most of her time in the kitchen," Betty said.

"Mammy used a treadle sewing machine and had a wringer washer. I can hear her say, 'Don't catch your hand in it.' She hung the clothes on a clothesline outside to dry. There was a chinaberry tree - the switch tree – but I never got switched. She would get irritated with me sometimes. She called me a plunderer. She'd say, 'You plunder too much.' But I know that she loved me. She came all the way to the city to come to my high school graduation. And within a year, she had died from cancer."

Betty recalled that her grandfather, Pa, was tall and skinny. He always wore jeans, a button-down plaid shirt, and Brogan work boots. "He had a great smile. He was clean-shaven. He wore small, gold-rim glasses and had brown eyes that twinkled. He had soft features and looked kind. He had gray hair, but was balding. He had his own teeth, but he was missing one tooth right here [points]. He loved his family. I remember him playing guitar on the back porch – blue grass and country. He had arthritis, and he always walked like he was sore. Oh, and he drank a little bit. He made his own moonshine."

In 1954, Hurricane Hazel hit the farm pretty hard. One daughter was still living at home. Betty recalls hearing that the young woman ran to the smokehouse, which was the newest building on the property and pretty sturdy, but it blew over. "My granddaddy got her into a drainage ditch. He prayed that if God spared him and his family, there would be no more drinking," she said.

"This was a tobacco farm, so of course, Pa smoked. He rolled his own cigarettes. He raised tobacco, but he did not approve of women smoking. My aunts would smoke in the parlor, but never in front of him," said Betty. Pa had a soft voice and was never loud.

She said, "There were only two things that upset him. Once the grandchildren threw rocks at the mule. You didn't mess with the mule. Second, he let us grandchildren play with tobacco sticks, but we had to put them back. If we broke one, he was stern."

Betty added, "I have two more memories of my granddaddy. I remember that there was one kerosene heater for the whole house. It was near the kitchen and dining room. You had to go through the screen porch to get to them. The bedrooms were cold, but they had feather beds. Pa would hold a blanket up next to the heater for a few minutes, and then he would wrap us up in that warm blanket and tuck us into bed. And on cold mornings, Pa would go out and put a brick on the accelerator to warm up the car for us. I always associate my grandparents with love and warmth," she said.

"In the summer, my granddaddy would drive the old pickup truck and let us kids sit across the tailgate. We liked to drag our bare feet in the dirt road. There was a general store with a service station near the farm. He would always buy us a cold drink and peanuts. I remember he would sit me in his lap. He drank really sweet coffee with milk. He would pour some into a saucer to cool, so we kids could taste it."

When asked to describe her grandparents' house, Betty got a pad and paper and sketched out the floor plan. She said, "The house was a shotgun house that had been added on to. There was an outside well with a pump on the screen porch. There was running water in the kitchen only. We used a nighttime chamber pot. But in the daytime, we had to go outside. The outhouse was scary. There were spiders. And there was no indoor shower. Pa collected rainwater in a barrel, and used it to make an outside shower.

"There was a covered porch on the front of the house with a metal glider and chairs. In the front yard, there were three huge paper shell pecan trees. I remember

finding big cicada shells in the yard. I think they were locusts. There was no grass. It was a sandy yard. Mammy would use a homemade broom to sweep the yard every day. Do you know why? It was her custom to sweep every day so you could see if there were any poisonous snakes on your property. There were dozens of chickens running in the yard, and there were two cows. They raised their own hogs," she said.

"Every year each of the grandchildren would pick a pig and watch it grow. I remember my granddaddy would slaughter the pigs. He shot them and cooked them in a big black pot over the fire. The chitlins smelled horrible, but Pa ate them.

"Mammy raised chickens. I remember that she would ring a chicken's neck. Mammy cooked the best fried chicken! She also made a wonderful chicken stew with some kind of pastry. She cooked collards, corn, green beans, corn bread and biscuits, pecan pies, blueberry pies, and the best sweet potato pie! She had a wooden kneading tray that she used to make biscuits. Her recipes always called for 'a pinch of this or a dash of that.' When I stayed with them, we picked wild huckleberries and Mammy cooked them and put them over pancakes."

Most of the family's food was grown and produced right there on the farm. Betty recalled that, every day, Mammy would cook the midday dinner early and then cover it with a sheet. There was a huge table in the dining room that could seat ten people. First, she would call for the men to come to the table and eat. The women ate after the men. The children ate in the kitchen. But the field hands had to eat outside.

"They had black field hands that worked the crops," Betty explained. "I didn't realize it at the time… but when my grandmother would go from the barn to cook… the field hands were not allowed in the house! The family came in and ate at the, the big

dining room table, 'cause we had a lot of people. I don't know if they were not invited… I think they weren't invited to come in. She cooked, she served the meal, but for the blacks… it was always served outside."

Throughout her childhood, Betty attended all-white schools and all of her friends were white. However, during her junior year of high school in 1965, two black students were transferred to her school "as an experiment" in desegregation. She remembered the two students' names but said, "I really never had a conversation with them… We stayed segregated within our own school."

Betty's father, who had had rheumatic fever as a child, died at age 47 of heart failure and her mother had to go to work to support the family. Betty attended college for one year, but then took a secretarial job in a government office. During that period, she remembers "working in the federal building and finding these umm…little placards. I can't remember if they were still hanging, or if they were in the bathroom or what… they had hung over the water fountains and they said 'white' and 'colored.' Times were different then."

At the age of 20, Betty got married. The couple had one son, but divorced a few years later. In her late thirties, she got her contractor's license and began hiring subcontractors to build houses. That was how she met her second husband. She remarried and, at the age of 41, gave birth to a daughter. There were some problems in the marriage, but Betty made the decision to stay with this man. She describes this as a difficult time in her life: "I was so afraid then that he would leave if I said anything that... If he leaves... I won't survive. And I felt like I didn't have a voice then. You know, it's not right to not have a voice."

Betty immersed herself in her daughter's life and began to volunteer at her school. When Joanna (a pseudonym) graduated from high school and started college, Betty began to consider that she, too, might return to school. Although she was now in her early sixties, she thought that she might be interested in pursuing a career in teaching. The first college course she signed up for was my adolescent development class. That class was an eye-opener, she said. In particular, she was bewildered by the experience of being placed in a diverse, high poverty middle school for a 20-hour service learning placement. The culture was foreign to her. In her first interview, she discussed the students at "Westside Middle School" (a pseudonym) and made clear distinctions between "us" and "them." She said,

> When I went in, I had an expectation that a lot of the students would come in from lower income family situations. Still, I was surprised at how many of them there were. It was so much different from the schools my kids went to. Because I had done a little bit of research on Title I schools, it was pretty much what I expected. Had I not been forewarned, I would have been in shock. It was not like the school my kids went to. I just was surprised. There were a lot of kids that I thought didn't have a chance.

Betty stated that she was nervous but had no "safety concerns." She said, "Not being experienced with, um, Title I schools, and the… low level… incomes… I was like, I didn't know how they would receive me. I didn't know… this sounds horrible… Should I hide my pocketbook?"

When asked to compare Westside Middle School with her daughter's middle school, Betty stated, "They are not even on the same planet." When asked to elaborate, she said,

"The students in my daughter's school… they knew they were going to college. It was not "if," it was "where." They knew that their parents were going to discipline them in some way, like take away some rights, if their grades were not up to par because school came first…. We lived in an area of really educated people. [We] had an attitude of achievement…."

After the course ended, I continued to work with Betty, interviewing her several times for my pilot study and again for my dissertation. One of the things that really stood out for me was how self-conscious she was about her age. As a non-traditional adult student, Betty brought a very different set of experiences and assumptions to the table. Yet, as Baby Boomers, Betty and I had a lot in common. We began to explore the ways in which our generation had experienced race and racism during the Civil Rights era. We talked about the processes and contexts by which we are socialized to understand race. Eventually our conversations became focused on our families and how we were raised. I invited Betty to participate in a Critical Family History project (Sleeter, 2008, 2011, 2013) and she readily agreed.

We set up an account on Ancestry.com and began constructing Betty's family tree. She was excited about the project and mentioned several family members she could contact for more information, beginning with her 94-year-old aunt. She also promised to look for a family Bible, old letters, pictures, and other documents. She returned with a stack of handwritten notes and a genealogical chronology published by a member of her

family in 1996. She had also located a journal written by a family member born in 1903. In the journal, this ancestor describes the family farm in eastern North Carolina in the early 1900s, and paints a picture of the previous generations' self reliance:

> My parents, reared in Reconstruction days after Sherman's army had devastated [the] County and adjacent areas, and when, in Hubert Humphrey's words, 'all of us were poor but nobody told us,' grew up in a self-sustaining economy. Their parents grew cotton and wool, carded, wove, and spun, making clothing for their families. Their livestock grazed freely. The farms were enclosed with rail fences, protecting their crops. Fertile soil, virgin streams, and wild game provided food. Every family was an economic unit. (Source withheld for privacy)

Using the genealogical information she had found to expand her family tree, Betty focused her research on her paternal grandparents' side. Remarkably, she was able to document twelve generations all the way back to England, which she verified through the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). She also discovered a website that traced her family back to a man, Robert Smith (a pseudonym), who was born in England in 1685 and moved to North Carolina in 1703. Within eight years of his arrival, the white settlers in that area were engaged in war against the Native people. The following excerpts were taken from a "traditional" historical account of the Tuscarora War (Lewis, 2007), which began on 22 September 1711. This account was clearly written from a European/non-Native perspective that failed to include the ongoing land disputes and international conflicts the British and French brought to the region. After reading this account, I became interested in the notion of revisionist history (Loewen, 1995/2007; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Nash, 1995; Thompson & Austin, 2011; Spring, 2013). I asked

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Betty to read the account, and then answer a few questions about each excerpt. The

questions were designed to help her reinterpret the historical account from a different

perspective.

Table 4.1. Traditional account of the Tuscarora War (Lewis, 2007, n.p.)

"The Tuscarora War was the most terrible Indian war that ever took place in North Carolina…. According to one prominent colonist, the increasing hostile attitude of the natives was because the whites 'cheated these Indians in trading, and would not allow them to hunt near their plantations, and under that pretense took away from them their game, arms and ammunition.'
Question: How did the colonists provoke the war?

"At sunrise on the morning of September 22, 1711, the blow fell. Divided into small war parties, the Indians swept down the Neuse and along the south shore of the Pamlico. Two hours later, 130 colonists lay dead, about the same number on each stream. Some were tortured horribly, others were desecrated after death. Many were left wounded. The less fortunate were taken captive. The rest of the people fled for their lives, leaving the bodies of their loved ones to be eaten by wolves and vultures. In their violence, the Indians had no regard for age or sex. After several days of slaughter and destruction, the enemy drew back into Hancock's Town to rest for further violence. With them, they took plunder and captives, including women and children.
Question: Why did the author use the words tortured, desecrated, violence, slaughter, destruction, plunder, and captives?

"On that tragic September morning, the people of North Carolina found themselves in the midst of a war they were not prepared to fight. In spite of past danger signals, they had made no preparations for possible hostilities. With the first attack of the enemy, the colonists gathered together in certain plantation homes to gain strength from unity. A number of these dwellings were fortified as were the towns of Bath and New Bern. Within a month there were eleven such fortified garrisons in the colony. They were manned by untrained civilians. With the majority of the whites confined in their shelters, Indian warriors ravaged the countryside. Homes were plundered and burned. Livestock was slaughtered. Fences and the fields they enclosed were destroyed. And wherever they could be found, whites were killed. Destruction was widespread and sometimes came within sight of the garrisons. On occasions, even the garrisons were attacked.
Question: What images do the words tragic, hostilities, warriors, ravaged, plundered, burned, slaughtered, and destruction evoke?

"The plea that went to the government of South Carolina was for Indian allies. In making this request, North Carolina's Governor Hyde was following an established policy of all European nations in America - the use of Indians against Indians. There were several advantages to this policy. Not only were Indians more effective than

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whites in fighting Indians, but, in doing so, they relieved the whites of the hazardous task. At times, too, the practice served to divert native hostility that otherwise might have been directed against the whites. To gain the cooperation of the Indians, the colonists played on the strong spirit of rivalry among the natives. Divided into numerous groups, the great weakness of the Indians was their inability to unite and remain united.

Question: Why did the white settlers use Indian allies? How did they gain their cooperation?

"On the morning of March 20, every man was at his post when a trumpet sounded the signal for the attack…. The enemy loss was 950, about half killed and the balance taken into slavery. Moore's loss was 57 killed and 82 wounded. With this one crushing blow, the power of the Tuscarora nation was broken.

Question: How many Tuscarora died? How many white settlers died?

"Following their defeat, most of the enemy Tuscarora who escaped fled north to live among the Five Nations Confederation which afterwards became the Six Nations. Some thought was given to ridding the colony of all members of the tribe, but this was quickly abandoned. For one thing, there was not sufficient food available to maintain the troops in service. Too, it was felt that some friendly natives on the frontier would protect the settlements against hostiles. For these reasons, a treaty of peace was finally concluded with Chief Blount and the upper Tuscarora" (Lewis, 2007, n.p.).

Question: Why did the settlers want to keep some of the tribe?

To finish the story, according to Betty's family history, "The Tuscarora who survived the war signed a treaty with the settlers in June 1718, relinquishing a tract of 56,000 acres of land on the Roanoke River" (Source withheld for privacy). Betty's ancestor, Robert Smith, settled his family on a large parcel of that land. His son, Robert Smith Jr., who was born in 1720, eventually inherited that land and passed it along to his descendants. Betty and I realized that her family's inherited property had been acquired through the 1718 treaty.

In 1766, North Carolina became the first state to vote in favor of independence from England. On April 19, 1775 when the Minutemen and British redcoats fought at Lexington and Concord, and the Revolutionary War began, Robert was 54 years old.

According to a deed, he was a shoemaker. Because he "rendered material aid" to the

Patriots (DAR confirmation, source withheld for privacy), it is likely that Robert Smith,

Jr. made shoes or boots for the American soldiers. In 1789 North Carolina became the

12th state to ratify the constitution. Robert Smith, Jr. lived to see the United States of

America become a free nation. He died in 1795, leaving a will that is reproduced in Table

4.2. Note: the original spelling and punctuation have been maintained, but names have

been changed for privacy.

Table 4.2 Last will and testament of Robert Smith, Jr. (a pseudonym), 1795

***Will of Robert Smith, Jr.*:**
In the name of God Amen I Robert Smith Jr. of _____ County & State of No Carolina being of Sound & parfect mind and memory, blessed to God, do this second Day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred and Ninty five make and publish this my Last Will and Testament in manner following that is to Say -------------

I Lend to my beloved Wife Elisabeth Smith during her natril Life or widowhood all my Estate that I am in possession of at this time and after the Dearth or marrage of my wife I give and Devise in manner and form following:

Item
I give and bequeath to my Eldest Son Noah Smith four Negros by the name of Samuel Abram Soloman & Elias also one Fether Bed & firniture one Whip saw my blacksmith tools and Half my Still

Item
I Give and bequeth to my Son William Smith four negros by the name of Dick Judah Jacob & Litha and ther increase also one fether bedd & firniture and my Desk and the other Half of my Still-------------------------

Item
I Give and bequeath to my Daughter Martha Smith one Negro woman named Anne She & her increase and Twenty Shillings-----------------

Item
I Give and bequeath to my Daughter Elisabeth Smith one negro womant by the name of Selah She and her increase and Twenty Shillings----------

Item

> *[top line torn] ...Children Lacy when eleven & Martha Ten pounds a peace to be*
> *raised out of my Estate----*
>
> *Item*
> *I give and bequeath unto my Gran son John Smith Ten Shillings-------*
>
> *Item*
> *I Give and bequeath unto my Gran Daughter Annie Smith Ten Shillings------*
>
> *and the remander part of my Estate I Leave to be Devided betwen my four Children*
> *that is to say Noah William Martha & Elisabeth Eiquelly by my Exceutors*
>
> *I also appoint Benjamin Jones & my Wife and my Two Sons Noah & William my only*
> *& Sole Executors of this my Last will and testament and I do here by utterly disallow*
> *revoake and disannull all and every other former testament will and legaceses bequests*
> *and Executors by me in any wife before this time named willed and bequeathed*
> *ratifying and Confirming this & no other to be my last will and testament.*
>
> *In Witness there of I have here unto set my Hand and Seal the Day of Year a bove*
> *written ------*
> Signed and Sealed
> Robert Smith, Jr. {Seal}

William Smith, the son of Robert Smith, Jr., was also a patriot during the Revolutionary War. He was a wealthy planter who purchased and sold a great deal of property in North Carolina. He also obtained two government land grants in 1784 (source withheld for privacy). The 1810 Census revealed that he owned eight slaves. He deeded one of his plantations to his two sons in 1826 before his death in 1829. In his will, he bequeathed his slaves by name to his children. Just as in his father's will, the female slaves' names were followed by the term "and their increase," which Betty and I interpreted to mean their children. It suddenly occurred to us that regardless of the circumstances of the pregnancy, any child born to a female slave inherited their mother's slave status; consequently, a pregnant slave added value to the estate.

The same year that William Smith died (1829), an African American abolitionist

named David Walker published a radical anti-slavery call to action entitled *Appeal to the*

Coloured Citizens of the World. This document urged slaves to fight for their freedom

and brought attention to the abuse and oppression of slavery. The North Carolina

legislature quickly banned the inflammatory publication, and passed a statute that

prohibited teaching slaves to read and write. This act, which was passed by the General

Assembly of the State of North Carolina in 1830-1831, states that if a white man or

woman teaches a slave to read, the punishment was a fine of "not less than $100, nor

more than $200," (State Archives of North Carolina, 2012; History is a Weapon, 2015)

and possible imprisonment. However, a free person of color committing the same crime

would be fined, imprisoned, and "whipped, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, nor less than

twenty lashes" (State Archives of North Carolina, 2012). Table 4.3 is an excerpt of that

act.

Table 4.3 Act passed by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, 1830-1831

AN ACT TO PREVENT ALL PERSONS FROM TEACHING SLAVES TO READ OR WRITE, THE USE OF FIGURES EXCEPTED

Whereas the teaching of slaves to read and write, has a tendency to excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion, to the manifest injury of the citizens of this State:

Therefore,
Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That any free person, who shall hereafter teach, or attempt to teach, any slave within the State to read or write, the use of figures excepted, or shall give or sell to such slave or slaves any books or pamphlets, shall be liable to indictment in any court of record in this State having jurisdiction thereof, and upon conviction, shall, at the discretion of the court, if a white man or woman, be fined not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than two hundred dollars, or imprisoned; and if a free person of color, shall be fined, imprisoned, or whipped, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding thirty nine lashes, nor less than twenty lashes.

II. Be it further enacted, That if any slave shall hereafter teach, or attempt to teach, any other slave to read or write, the use of figures excepted, he or she may be carried before any justice of the peace, and on conviction thereof, shall be sentenced to receive thirty nine lashes on his or her bare back.

III. Be it further enacted, That the judges of the Superior Courts and the justices of the County Courts shall give this act in charge to the grand juries of their respective counties.

-Act Passed by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina at the Session of 1830—1831

This piece of legislation stunned Betty. She was upset by the idea that slaves were denied access to education as a measure of control, but she was particularly upset by the disparities in punishment based on race.

On the national front, the Indian Removal Act proposed by President Andrew Jackson was passed by Congress in 1830 (Spring, 2013). This legislation, which was widely supported by white settlers eager to acquire land in the southeast, led to a series of forced relocations of Chickasaw, Choctaw, Muscogee-Creek, Seminole, and Cherokee nations. Known as the Trail of Tears, this removal stripped indigenous peoples of their ancestral lands and sent them, at gunpoint, to federal territory west of the Mississippi. Along the way, many "died of cholera, exposure, contaminated food, and the hazards of frontier travel" (Spring, 2013, p. 29). The physical roundup and removal of the Cherokee was particularly brutal (Spring, 2013).

During our final interview, Betty exclaimed, "My ancestors were patriots. They received a land grant when they came over from England. They fought for freedom. Freedom from taxation, yet they had slaves. They obviously did not see the parallel. They also took land away from the Indians. Why did these people believe this was right?

"I have been thinking a lot about this," she continued. "My ancestor, Robert Smith, was a plantation owner, an elite. But now I realize that he built his wealth on the backs of slaves, and then he willed them to his children along with his blacksmith tools and feather beds… like they were property.

"And the field hands on my grandparent's farm? When Stella (a pseudonym) was sick, my grandmother took food to her. I thought it was an expression of warmth and caring. Culturally, it was not acceptable for them to eat at the table. But she was kind to her. And now I'm wondering if she was just… protecting an investment."

Betty struggled with reconciling her image of her kind, loving family with their racist behavior. "I don't remember them ever treating anybody what I considered bad or ugly or talking ugly, but making a person sit on the front porch to eat is definitely ugly… [laughs] but I didn't know that. It was just the culture of rural southern society at that time."

"Growing up as a little child… in, Eastern North Carolina, in the fifties, it was a different world than it is today. For me, watching them eating outside, or riding on the back of the bus, or having the separate water fountain…. Well, that's just the way it was. Black people weren't of the same… They were different, and you were not supposed to mix. Apparently we were taught, 'Oh, they live separately. We don't belong together.' Culturally, it was just accepted. I think it was just the way I was raised. It was a different time."

Betty cringed when she recalled the offensive "N" word her family used in everyday conversation. "There was a word used… NIGGER. But it was used in everyday language and I never knew that was a bad word until I was older, because I think that that

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was just commonly used to describe the race." She concluded, "I… these were not bad people, you know. They were my relatives. They were my family."

Analysis of Betty's story. Many European Americans can trace their family history to the colonization of the New World. Interpreting Betty's story using a critical lens deconstructs her "pioneer patriot" myth and exposes ways in which white settlers used their power to dominate, exploit, and oppress others (Bell, 1988/1997). According to Loewen (1995/2007), racism in the Western world stems primarily from two related historical processes: taking land from and destroying indigenous peoples and enslaving Africans to work that land" (p. 143). Betty's story brings both of these processes to life. Because "official" American history is traditionally presented from a narrow, Eurocentric point of view, these processes have been distorted and obscured (Loewen, 1995/2007; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Nash, 1995; Thompson & Austin, 2011; and Spring, 2013). In this study, Betty's critical family history project revealed ways in which the revisionist history concept of critical race theory (CRT) can be used to illuminate multiple perspectives of an historic event. For example, reading the traditional account of the war between the Tuscarora Indians and the white settlers, and then reinterpreting it from a revisionist perspective, revealed how information about the land treaty had been omitted and the slaughter of the Native people had been misrepresented. Prior to this, Betty, like many white people, did not realize that she had benefited from the seizure of indigenous people's land (Sleeter, 2014a).

Another CRT concept that is relevant to Betty's story is "whiteness as property" (Harris, 1993). Tracing intergenerational wealth helped expose legacies of unearned opportunities and financial gain that were connected to race. In addition to tangible

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things like land and wealth, CRT scholars identify some intangible privileges connected to whiteness. These intangibles include legal entitlements and status; enhanced earning potential; an expectation of rights, privileges, and benefits; and the right to exclude others (Harris, 2008). Betty's understanding of her ancestor's land grant illustrates both tangible and intangible privileges.

Betty's story also illustrates the importance of context in understanding how she was socialized to think about race and racism. She grew up in the 1950s and 1960s, during a time of racial segregation. Her isolation from people of color- combined with personal and institutionalized sources of socialization- shaped her perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs. When asked if she could remember a specific incident or pivotal moment that helped shape the way she thinks about race and racism, Betty replied, "I think it was the little things. In the area I lived in, and in the age I grew up in, that was just how it was."

4.3 Kev's Story

Kev (a pseudonym) was born in a small town in Georgia in 1969. His father was an electrician and his mother was a homemaker. Kev was the youngest, with two older brothers and one sister. "I'm the baby of four, and there's twelve years' difference between me and my brothers and sister, so I'm quite spoiled," he said. When he was eight years old, his parents moved the family to the grandparents' twenty-two acre farm where they had horses and cows. The family lived in a separate residence on the property and became very involved in a small Pentecostal church nearby. When asked, Kev stated that his neighbors and everyone in the church congregation were white, although he had never thought about it before. He did attend integrated, rural schools. His earliest memory

related to race was that of being bullied in the third grade by a black girl named Mary (a pseudonym).

At the age of nine, Kev experienced some health problems and learned that he was a diabetic. That same year, his maternal grandfather died. Kev recalls that this man was "a drinker, a gambler, and a womanizer whose only redeeming quality was his wife's integrity." He described his grandfather as a "pretty lazy man… He was an alcoholic. He was a cheat. He was... he was not a good character. I really don't even know what his occupation was… If it wasn't for my grandmother, I don't think they would have had anything, because he would have either drunk it or gambled it away." Kev did recall that both of his grandparents worked in a textile mill when his mother was a child. They were uneducated, working class people. He said, "I know they did have, um... a black woman come and, stay as a… a nanny for my mother… to take care of my mother, because they both worked in the mill. Um... I know of no other interactions that they had with black people." Kev's other set of grandparents had seven children, including his father. He recalls that his paternal grandfather was a farmer while his grandmother worked at a local hospital, cleaning and doing laundry. These grandparents both passed away when Kev was fourteen. "My grandfather died in November, and then my grandmother died three months later, exactly to the day … probably from loneliness."

Music was an important part of Kev's life from early on. He learned to play the piano when he was eight. He also picked up the saxophone alongside his older brother, saying, "He played the saxophone and I played the saxophone… we loved music together." In high school, Kev continued to play saxophone and was drum major in the band. He auditioned and performed at the prestigious All-State band competition three

out of four years, and was accepted into the Governor's School for the Arts during his junior and senior years. Kev said, "I loved playing the saxophone. I thought that music was going to be my life. I really thought it was."

One of the friends he made in band was a black boy named John (a pseudonym). Kev recalled, "When I was in high school, my best friend was, was… a black guy… John and I would go hang out together. We'd go shoot hoops together. He was a year behind me. He was in the same class as my girlfriend, and we were in band together." However, Kev's parents frowned upon this relationship: "My parents… didn't quite approve of the relationship I had with John," he said. "They didn't approve of me hanging out with… Mom and Dad didn't know exactly just how much I hung out with John. I mean, he was over at the house every now and then, but it wasn't an awful lot."

In fact, Kev's family explicitly used racist language, and he recalls that it was frequently in response to what they saw on the news. "They used the 'n' word a lot. If they saw a news article, for instance, and it was about somebody going to jail, it always seemed to be a black person," Kev said. "The black people always seemed to be the troublemakers… the drug addicts and the ones out there shootin' each other… and the poor ones…. It's not all of them. But, when you look at the news media, and you see who's involved, and who's going to jail for this and that, it's not always a black person… but… it is an awful lot of the time."

Kev's parents sent clear messages about race, both directly and indirectly. "Any time there were relationships between a white person and a black person and my parents saw it, my family saw it, it was something that just was taboo. You- you know... 'You don't need to hang around with them,' you know. There were a lot of racial slurs going

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around in my family." There were implicit messages about race as well. For example, Kev knew that dating a black girl would have been a disaster. "If I had brought home a black girl... (pause) I- I can't imagine- I can't imagine it working… It would have been a huge problem. If I had brought a girl home... of color, I… would not have been disowned, but I would have been very, very highly unfavored."

Kev continued to do well in high school and took advanced placement classes including physics, calculus, and chemistry. In some subjects, like French, Kev remembers that the proportion of black students to white students was fairly even. "There were a couple of black girls in that [French] class that were very vocal," he said. "They let it be known that they were black and that they were very proud of it." He noted that about half of the students in his high school were black, but that his advanced classes were mostly white. "We had one black guy… he is the only one that I can remember being in those upper level classes," he said. Thinking back on it, Kev realized that the classroom demographics were disproportionate, but "it just wasn't discussed."

Kev graduated from high school in 1987. Soon after, he enrolled in college as a music education major. At the end of his sophomore year, however, he dropped out to get married: "We got pregnant," he said, "and so, at that time, I decided I needed to raise a family instead of worrying about going to school, and I needed to provide, so I took on a full time job." He got a job working on an assembly line at a large manufacturing company, and stayed there for the next six and a half years.

In 1996, Kev's brother, Pete, died unexpectedly from complications after a car accident. Pete was on his way to Atlanta to take an electrician contractor's license test, and fell asleep at the wheel. "He survived the wreck but had a broken hip, a broken arm,

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and a broken ankle," Kev said. "For some reason they waited three days before they did the surgery. He was fine. He was cutting up and laughing…. Then, he went into surgery, and it lasted more than eight hours. He never woke up. He basically drowned on the operating table. His lungs filled up with fluid." This was a devastating loss.

The same year, Kev began a career in ministry. "I started off just as a volunteer music director for a small church. I was there for a year and a half and then I was offered a position as a pastor," he said. He jumped at the chance. The ministry position required him to move to another small town in southern Georgia and live in the church parsonage. Working at the church allowed Kev to go back to college, where he majored in music and happily took classes for almost two years. Unfortunately, his marriage fell apart and his wife left him. "Whenever I got divorced, my entire world just… went out from under me, because the Baptist church does not take too kindly to that," he said. As a result, Kev lost his job, his home, and his wife and children all at the same time. "I tried to continue… but with three children, and paying child support with no job… I did manage to get a part time position at another church, and was working night shift… stocking… and going to school full time… but it didn't work out." The responsibilities of work, children, and school were impossible to manage, and Kev was forced to, once again, drop out of school in order to make ends meet. Fortunately, Kev was able to move back home to his family's twenty-two acre farm. It took him a full year to find a job as a forklift operator in another manufacturing plant. Christine Sleeter (2014a) might describe Kev's ability to move back home with his parents while unemployed as a cushion: "Footholds enable opportunity; cushions protect us from misfortune. Both enable white people as a whole to retain continued disproportionate control over the nation's resources" (p. 11).

In 2005 Kev married again, but in 2012 this marriage ended. Once again he decided to move back to his parents' house and go back to school full time. Having made the decision to major in middle level education, Kev enrolled in my adolescent development class. The discussions and activities related to race and racism took him by surprise. At the beginning of the Spring 2013 semester, he appeared to be quite resistant to anti-racist discourse. He did not see racism as a systemic source of oppression and denied the existence of white privilege. He resented the fact that scholarships and government assistance were available to people who had not "earned" it. He was angry because he felt that he had been the victim of reverse discrimination. He resented the opportunities "for blacks only" because they excluded him. Each week, however, we continued to explore various topics with an emphasis on racism and other forms of oppression as structural and systemic issues. We also talked about socialization and what it means to be white.

Kev was particularly angry about a time when he was not selected for a job, and felt that he was discriminated against because he is a white male. "I've had situations in my own life where I've… felt a sense of reverse discrimination, where it wasn't… 'white privilege.' It was a white disadvantage," he said. In a focus group interview, Kev described being passed over for a promotion at one of the manufacturing plants. He said, "I went to a job interview, and uh, interviewed with two other people that I actually had trained to run machinery for the company we were going to work for. There were two black females and… I trained both of them [on] how to run these machines…. We went through this job interview, and I had a great interview, everything went great, I scored

well on the test… but THEY- the two black women- got the job. [long pause] And I was turned down for the job. I felt like it was… reverse discrimination."

Kev also made an interesting comment related to generational wealth. He said, "I see a difference between privilege and something that's earned, whether it's generational… I may get something from my parents but THEY earned it. They may have gotten something from their parents, but THEIR parents earned it, and it may have come down through the generations, but at some point it was earned. It wasn't something given." On the surface, these comments reflect a belief in the myth of meritocracy- that everyone has equal opportunities and, through hard work and perseverance, anyone can succeed. On a deeper level, however, his tone suggested resentment at what was "given" to those who had not "earned" it, which is somewhat ironic.

In the fall of 2014, Kev agreed to participate in the follow-up critical family history project. For the first interview, he brought a handwritten list of names that went back four generations. He had not been able to find any written records, and his elderly parents' recollections were very limited. The ancestor that Kev chose to focus on was his great great grandfather on his mother's side, Lester Gilmore (a pseudonym). Kev was intrigued by this man because he had been murdered. According to family lore, Lester's daughter, Eileen, was married to a man named Walter Jones (a pseudonym), who was a violent, abusive alcoholic. The couple had a two-year-old son. The violence escalated, and Eileen threatened to leave him and take the child. On September 20, 1911 her father, Lester Gilmore, came to the house to intervene. In a rage, Walter shot and killed his wife and his father-in-law. He was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. The family believes that Walter Jones was the first white man electrocuted in South Carolina.

He died on October 1, 1912 in Anderson, SC at the age of 27 (Blanco, 2015). Statewide, eight men died in the electric chair that year; seven of the eight men were black (Blanco, 2015).

      Analysis of Kev's story. Kev's story illustrates racial socialization in the rural South in the 1970s and 1980s. His critical family history project yielded limited information, but it did reinforce themes of misfortune, victimization, and racial isolation (Leonardo, 2002; Frankenberg, 1993/2005; Lewis, 2001) that he verbalized in his interviews. Kev described growing up in a racially segregated neighborhood and church. His earliest memory related to interactions with people of color is that of being bullied by a black girl. His understandings about race were influenced by the violent negative stereotypes of people of color on television and on the news. He grew up in a home that explicitly used racist language, and his parents did not approve of relationships with people of color. In addition, his story illustrates the process of racially re-segregating schools by tracking mostly white students in upper level classes. These experiences are examples of white racial socialization and racial isolation. Disproportionate underrepresentation of students of color in higher tracked and accelerated classes is an example of school structures and processes that marginalize and subordinate students of color (Yosso, 2002b; Oakes, 1985/2005; Valenzuela, 1999) and contribute to racial isolation.

      As a white rural Southern man, Kev expressed frustration with what he perceived to be reverse discrimination, and wondered why there are scholarships and programs specifically for people of color. His critique of affirmative action reminded me of Guinier's (2004) description of racial liberalism, which leads to the presumption that the

playing field has been leveled by government programs and interventions. Kev's story illustrates the myth of meritocracy, which suggests that school and career achievement is the result of hard work and perseverance, as opposed to systemic advantages and disadvantages related to race and class.

Although his family was working class, this project illustrates that they did build intergenerational wealth by investing in property. The family farm increased in value and continued to offer numerous unearned advantages. According to Sleeter (2014a), "the U.S. Government has continued to assist white people in ways that exclude people of color such as farm aid, unemployment insurance… and Federal Housing Administration regulations that have benefitted white home buyers" (p. 14). As a result, the family has been able to offer "a cushion" (Sleeter, 2014a) whenever Kev experienced misfortune, and "footholds" (Sleeter, 2014a) that gave him multiple opportunities to attend college.

Because Kev was so interested in the conviction and execution of a family member, and because I was interested in linking his family story with larger social issues, I briefly looked at issues related to the United States criminal justice system with a specific focus on race. The Bureau of Justice Statistics has estimated that 28 per cent of all black men will be sent to jail or prison at some point during their lives (Amnesty International, 2003). While African Americans make up 12 per cent of the country's population, they account for 48 per cent of all inmates in state or federal prisons and local jails (Amnesty International, 2003). Blacks are also more likely to receive the death penalty. According to a report published by Amnesty International in 2003, "African Americans are disproportionately represented among people condemned to death in the USA. While they make up 12 per cent of the national population, they account for more

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than 40 per cent of the country's current death row inmates, and one in three of those executed since 1977" (p. 1). I was surprised to learn that as of October 1, 2014, the state of South Carolina has 47 inmates on death row. Of these, 26 are black, 20 are white, and one is Latino (Death Penalty Information Center, 2015). These disparities are evidence of systemic inequities in the social justice system.

4.4 Grace's Story

Grace (a pseudonym) was born in 1981 in a small town in South Carolina. She has one older sister. Her father worked as a maintenance supervisor and her mother worked as a lab technician. "My mother went to work… six weeks after I was born and she's been there ever since," Grace said. Her parents were in their early twenties and had been married for six years when she was born. "I know my mom married very young," Grace said. "She married right after high school, just straight out the gate, and… I guess their marriage started falling apart when I was two. I think I was... maybe four when their divorce was final," she said. The parents' separation made life more difficult. "That threw us into a whole different dynamic with my mom being a single mother," Grace said. "Throughout early childhood, I went to daycare, I went to preschool… that was just a way of life. We didn't have much choice."

Her mother remarried in 1989. Grace was moved to a new school to live with her mother and stepfather, but had weekend visitations with her dad. The family also stopped going to church. "I never really... voiced anything, but I think I held some animosity towards my mom," she said. "I was always a daddy's girl…. I was very close to my dad, but I wouldn't say I was close to my mom, growing up." Eventually Grace's father remarried as well. "I will tell you, I struggled," she said. I "don't know if it was...

intentional, or maybe more subconscious, but I didn't want my stepparents around. And so… I struggled with that. I struggled with the relationship with both of my step-parents." However, Grace describes her life growing up as "comfortable." Both sets of parents took the girls on trips because they wanted to expose them to different things. "We went on vacations, and we traveled a lot," Grace said. "We saw the east coast and the west coast and we saw the Grand Canyon and, when other kids were just going to the beach for the summer, we were going to San Francisco, or something like that, because they wanted to expose us to all these different opportunities that are out there," she said.

Grace remembers both sets of grandparents fondly, but she was closest to her dad's parents. "They were just- they were the 'salt of the earth.' They were poor, and they didn't have anything, but they had love. They showered us in love," Grace said. Her grandparents both came from humble, peach farming backgrounds. They lived in a concrete-block house with concrete floors. At one point the building had been a store. They didn't have a washer and dryer, or air conditioning, but they had a kitchen that had probably been added on, and one bathroom with indoor plumbing. There was a pot-belly stove in the front room. Grace can remember staying at her grandparents' house and it being very cold in the wintertime. "My paternal grandparents were very, very poor," Grace explained. "There's just no way other to describe it other than that they were poor. They were living in poverty. My grandfather died when I was very young- four or five, or so. After my grandfather died, I think my grandmother just threw everything she had into us, and- and just loving us, and being there for us. My dad was an only child, so we were her only two grandkids and, she just… the sun, moon, and stars revolved around us. We were her pride and joy." Grace said, "My grandma would make old fashioned biscuits

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with lard and flour, and mix it in a big wooden bowl. To this day, I can still see that image of my grandmother kneading the dough for the biscuits." She described her grandmother as "six feet tall and skinny as a rail. She wore homemade clothes. She wore pants because she was always working in the fields outside. She never wore shorts, though. Never. It was always long pants, even in the middle of summer. And she always had a colorful scarf on her head whenever she went outside. The scarf was to keep the wind out of her ears. She wore big, horn-rimmed glasses. When I was little, she had a couple of teeth left and at some point during my childhood, she had to have those teeth pulled and got dentures. She wore them, sometimes. (laughs) You know, when you look at people like that and their cheeks are kind of sunk in? So she did have dentures, but around the house she didn't wear them."

As a child, Grace made good grades but described herself as a "Chatty Cathy" in elementary school. In middle school, however, she began to lose her voice. "In middle school, I was a good kid; I was honor roll; I was very interested in what was going on academically." However, at that age, Grace struggled to connect to her peers. "The one thing I will say looking back is that I was definitely socially awkward… I didn't have a lot of friends. I had … some social anxieties. I wasn't a part of the popular crowd, and I wasn't- I didn't hang with the cool kids. Um, I was just kind of an odd bird," she said with a laugh.

She recalls having some black friends in elementary school but not in middle school: "It's not that I was told, 'Oh, you can't hang out with the black kids.' We began to segregate ourselves, and…I think those things became more... socially acceptable, if you will. That the black kids hang with the black kids and the white kids hang with the

white kids… It was more apparent in middle school than it was in elementary school. In middle school, you really start to get into the cliques and, kind of segregating yourselves."

When asked about tracking in the schools she attended, Grace recalled that students began to be segregated in their middle-level classrooms "to an extent. I think in sixth grade, everybody was still just kind of... general. Um, but then, definitely in seventh grade you start to separate them out, and even being a teacher, I see it now… where my sixth graders are all kind of, clumped together and then we'll start pulling out those kids for pre-algebra and kind of setting them apart. So, in sixth grade, not so much. But definitely seventh and eighth grade and I was one of the ones that was pushed to that upper track."

When asked, who is the first black person that you came to know well, and what do you remember about that person? Grace responded, "Now I may be racist here for a minute. (laughs) Um, because I honestly cannot come up with one person. Like, I remember having playmates, like going up through school, but... there was not one... that I just connected with… that I became really good friends with." When thinking about how her parents might have reacted to her friendship with a person of color, Grace stated that gender would have played a huge role in their perception of the relationship. "A black boyfriend would have gotten a much, much different response than a black girlfriend," she said. "I want to think in elementary school, I might have had a black girlfriend come over…for a sleepover, or, you know… and I don't think that really phased my parents. Um, a boyfriend? That would have been totally different…. I don't know, it just… that was one thing that we were really… I don't know that it was ever

explicitly said but it was implied and understood that that was not acceptable." Grace does not remember ever talking "explicitly" with her parents about race. "There were things that were implied. But never did we really sit down and talk about it. And, you know, my parents never explained why they felt the way they did on certain issues. It was just, 'This is the way it will be.'" She added, "There's not one thing that I can pinpoint, to say that's how we knew to avoid intimate relationships with black people. It may be that things came up in casual conversation and my parents expressed opinions and views then. But it was never… my parents never came out and said 'You cannot date a black person.' I don't know that it was ever… explained that way to me, as a child. I just knew."

Grace shared an experience she had regarding two friends in high school. "One had come out as being openly gay, and the other we all suspected... but it wasn't really talked about. I remember having a conversation with my parents… obviously I grew up in the Bible Belt. My parents never told me I couldn't hang out with those people, but they made it known that they weren't... approving of their choices," Grace said. "I started to see some of the stereotypes and some of the... profiling, if you will, of those types of people and, really… discrimination against them." She continued, "I feel bad that many of them are really harassed and discriminated against because of that…. I feel like it is my job, not so much to judge them as to be accepting of them. And love them anyway…. If that's your choice, that is your choice, and as long as you don't start pushing those choices on me, we can be friends, we're good, everything is great."

Grace described a positive experience she had with a black teacher in high school. "I remember I was a junior in high school," she said. "We were going through some difficult times in our family. My stepdad was having open-heart surgery. My English

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teacher... I remember her just pulling me out in the hall and having a genuine, kind of heart-to-heart conversation with me. For me, that was really a moment where I said, 'Okay, we are... really all created equal.' She was black. But… just the compassion that she had, and the willingness to be there for me when I didn't see that from other teachers…. I think that did really have an impact on me and make me a little more understanding that maybe we're not as different as portrayed."

Grace currently teaches seventh grade social studies in a rural, high poverty Title I middle school. She enrolled in my adolescent development class last spring in order to add middle level certification to her teaching credentials. Grace has chosen to work with this age group because she can relate to them: "In middle school, I was... just kind of wandering through life, as most middle schoolers are. You know, I don't really know what I'm doing and can't explain my decisions, and… (chuckles) You know, it's just such an awkward time in your life, and I think that's why I love those kids," she said. "They are at an age where they're still very candid, and you can still see the youth and the innocence, but at the same time they're so impressionable. And I love that. Sometimes, they're impressionable in not good ways. But, they are impressionable nonetheless and- and, you know, I say, "If I can make an impact in just one child's life- then I've done something good," she said.

Reflecting on her own practice as a middle school teacher, Grace recognized that the more advanced classes are "predominantly white." She noted that the student population at her school is approximately fifty percent white; about ten percent are Hispanic and the rest are black. "But I would say the upper level classes are probably at least 90 percent white," she said. "It is not representative of our population." She has also

noticed that academic segregation seems to be connected to behavior. "Those children that are having the discipline issues are not as likely to be in the… higher placement classes," she said. "Those discipline issues tend to be more with the black male students… and unfortunately in the twenty-five years since I've been out of middle school… it hasn't changed. If anything, it's gotten more pronounced and it's gotten a little worse." Grace recalled a conversation she had with another teacher. "I remember there was a comment made last year that almost every student that we sent up for expulsion was a black male… which concerns me. What are we doing to not reach that population?" She continued, "I want to think that part of it is not having a male figure in their lives, a positive male role model… I know especially where I teach, many of them live in a home with mom and grandmother. I say this because during sports seasons… like with football… the boys that are playing football have far fewer behavior interventions, and I can't help but think, 'Yes, it's because they're in a sport, and they know they have to answer to that coach.' And so they've got that positive male role model in that coach and they don't want to let him down. That's my theory. And whether it's right, wrong, or indifferent I'm not sure, but…that's kind of what I see."

She also described a phenomenon that she calls self-segregation. "I had an experience in the beginning of this school year. In my classroom, the tables are split down the middle. On the first day of school, the students entered the room and automatically segregated themselves based on race. The white kids sat on one side and the black kids sat on the other. No one told them where to sit; it wasn't intentional. And it happened in two different classes. I remember thinking, 'What does this mean?'" She added, "I think many times racism is subconscious…. I think in many ways we do it

without even thinking about it. Nobody told them to do it, nobody said anything to them, they just naturally did it," she said.

When asked to reflect on the diversity/social justice activities in my adolescent development class last spring, Grace replied, "I remember the movie [*A Girl Like Me*] about the baby dolls. It just really shocked me…. I was brought up in a house where race wasn't made a priority. It's not something we talked about. It wasn't something where we would say, 'Oh, you can't associate with them because of race.' I had black friends; I had white friends… none of that really mattered. For me to think about this four year old child who's saying... you know, 'This doll is pretty because the doll is white' blew my mind! Now that I'm expecting a baby, I want to make sure that I don't teach my own child about, um, the way we interact with other people, regarding race."

When asked to describe ways that race continues to impact her personally, Grace said, "My husband's sister is married to (pause) um, a black guy, and- and they've faced some challenges. I don't know exactly when they got married, but they've been married for quite some time. They've got three girls. They're just beautiful girls. They've got the most beautiful olive skin. One of them has the very (pause) very black girl hair… like, kinky curly, stereotypical, if you will, black hair. One of them has very white girl hair. And one of them got kind of a mix of the two. She has ringlets, just perfect ringlets. I love mixed race children. I do!" (laughs)

"I will tell you one thing that blew my mind, that I never knew until I was an adult," Grace continued. "When the movie *The Help* came out…. We watched it one night, and my mom disclosed that they had 'help' when she was growing up, and it just totally changed my perception of my grandparents. Not that it was good, bad, or

indifferent, it was the way of the world in those times, but... it just- it really made me think differently about my family and I was like, 'Wow, okay. So… we actually participated in that.' And it didn't make me feel good."

Grace was very interested in the critical family history project, and was able to trace her father's family back four generations. Grace's father was an only child, and his parents were poor farmers. His mother was one of five children; his dad was one of thirteen. According to family oral history, they are descended from Irish immigrants. One family member fought in the Civil War, but the family had few details and no documentation. With help from her father, Grace began filling in her family tree on Ancestry.com. She said, "I specifically asked my dad about the possibility of our family having owned slaves or anything like that, and his exact words to me were, 'The slaves would have owned us.' Um, they were... literally dirt floor poor." Her dad also shared some stories about his grandmother's brother, Jack. Jack was born in 1924. He enlisted in the army in 1945 and served in World War II and Korea. He was married in September 1950 and was honorably discharged from the army in December 1951. The couple had no children. "From what I understand, Jack was quite a character," Grace said. "He was known to be a murderer. He murdered a man for... looking in his horse trough. He shot him. But he wasn't convicted, because there had been some sort of previous grievance between these two men. But yeah, he shot him for looking in his horse trough, and he ultimately went on to became a bounty hunter."

Grace chose to focus her research on her paternal great-grandmother, Ethel Robinson (a pseudonym) because "she definitely lived in a time where race was huge, and she lived in the rural South. She lived in a time when segregation happened. I have

not been able to identify whether they may have had slaves or even help, or anything like that. And, honestly, they were all just farmers, and poor." Ethel was born in 1884 and died in 1974. According to the 1900 Census, Ethel was married at the age of sixteen. By the 1910 Census, she was widowed with two young children. She later remarried and had eleven more children. Her second husband was "a devout preacher's son." That preacher founded a small country church that is still in use, and the family is buried there.

Analysis of Grace's story. Grace's story illustrates white racial socialization and isolation in the rural South in the 1980s and 1990s. As a child, she grew up in an all-white neighborhood and experienced academic re-segregation by being placed in mostly white upper-level classes. Her family provided a number of "footholds" (Sleeter, 2014a) such as opportunities for travel and education. For example, she described traveling to the Grand Canyon and San Francisco because her parents wanted to expose her to different things. With her family's support, Grace was able to attend college, earn a masters degree, and return to school for middle level certification courses. Her family sent implicit messages about race; she does not recall any specific discussions about race, but somehow she knew not to date a person of color.

Grace's story also illustrates the notion of colorblindness. Many of her comments about race suggest a colorblind ideology. In a pilot study focus group, Grace said, "I don't see race. I don't do race." During the critical family history project, she said that while growing up, "Race was not a priority," and, "I had black friends; I had white friends… none of that really mattered." However, it is interesting that she has noticed some segregation patterns in the middle school where she teaches. Sometimes the students sort themselves socially, but the school segregates the students academically. The upper level

classes are 90% white, which does not mirror the school's population. She also noticed that all of the students referred for expulsion were black males. These racialized school practices push students of color to the margins, denying them access to education and reinforcing racial stereotypes of inferiority (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). Grace's story provides a good example of Pierre Bourdieu's (1977/2013) social reproduction theory, in which schools perpetuate and reproduce social inequities. In the next chapter, I will expand upon these analyses and interpretations for all three of the participants.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss, analyze, and interpret the data in order to address each research question and bring it into discussion with the literature. The pilot study data yielded five themes, which will be described in detail below: 1) us/them, 2) denial, 3) colorblindness, 4) meritocracy, and 5) a culture of niceness. Additionally, the data from the critical family history project revealed patterns related to 1) white racial isolation (Leonardo, 2002; Frankenberg, 1993/2005; Lewis, 2001); 2) socialization experiences within the family (Hagerman, 2014), 3) seeing people of color in subservient roles, (Ladson-Billings, 2003), and 4) racial solidarity (Roediger, 1991/2007). I conclude this chapter with a cross-case comparison that highlights some of the similarities and differences across the cases.

5.1 Research Question 1

Question 1: What assumptions and expectations do white pre-service teachers have about young adolescent students of color?

Data collected at the beginning of the pilot study was used to assess my participants' unexamined beliefs, expectations, and stereotyped assumptions coming into the study. My analysis involved the identification and exploration of patterns, relationships, and tensions. I paid attention to pauses, hesitations, and stuttering, especially when using the words "African American" and "black." I noticed that participants laughed inappropriately at times, and that they sometimes changed the

subject from race to class. Over the course of the pilot study, five themes emerged: 1) us/them, 2) denial, 3) colorblindness, 4) meritocracy, and 5) a culture of niceness.

Us/them. In this study, I am referring to us/them as "othering" people whose social identities are different from our own, in ways that judge them to be deficient from a white, middle class perspective. According to Bonilla-Silva (2014), during the Jim Crow era, "most whites believed that minorities were intellectually and morally inferior, that they should be kept apart, and that whites should not mix with any of them" (p. 29). bell hooks (2013) asserts that "the us-and-them paradigm… is binary thinking that keeps dominator culture in place, for one aspect of that culture is the projection outward onto an enemy, an 'other,' whenever things go wrong" (p. 29). Keeping "others" at arm's length dehumanizes them, obscures "invisible systems conferring unsought dominance on certain groups" (McIntosh, 1988, p. 10), and places the blame on those who are oppressed.

In her first interview during the pilot study, Betty discussed her perception of the students she encountered during the service learning project at Westside Middle School, a racially diverse, high poverty school. Throughout the interview she made clear distinctions between "us" and "them." She said, "When I went in, I had an expectation that a lot of the students would come in from lower income family situations. Still, I was surprised at how many of them there were. It was so much different from the schools my kids went to…. Had I not been forewarned, I would have been in shock. It was not like the school my kids went to. I just was surprised. There were a lot of kids that I thought didn't have a chance." Betty also stated that she was nervous but had no "safety concerns." She did wonder, however, if she should hide her pocketbook.

When asked to compare Westside Middle School with her daughter's middle school, Betty flatly stated, "They are not even on the same planet." When asked to elaborate, she said, "The students in my daughter's school… they knew they were going to college. It was not 'if,' it was 'where.' They knew that their parents were going to discipline them in some way, like take away some rights, if their grades were not up to par because school came first." Betty continued, "We lived in an area of really educated people. [We] had an attitude of achievement…." This statement seemed to reflect racialized understandings of parental discipline and how "they" do not value education. This phenomenon was described in a recent study that contrasted two groups of white, upper-middle class parents (Hagerman, 2014). One group chose to send their children to a private school because of concerns about the local public high school's "safety, the behavior of the children who attend the school, and [the] perception that the teachers and administrators are unable to maintain control" (Hagerman, 2014, p. 2604). This choice was connected to racialized understandings about who values education and how different groups of children behave (Hagerman, 2014).

Betty went on to talk about college aspirations at her daughter's school, where most of the students came from middle class, two parent families "who discipline their children and put school first." She seemed to imply that the families at Westside Middle School did not have an attitude of achievement, and I wondered what she thought *did* come first for Westside Middle School students and their parents. When Betty talked about serving as the PTA Hospitality chairman at her daughter's middle school, I got the distinct impression that at "her" kind of school, she was well known and liked. But at THIS kind of school, she had difficulty, and it was not her fault: "I was the PTA

Hospitality chairman. All the kids knew me, all the teachers knew me; it was just a different school."

Grace also made a distinction between her own parents and the parents of her current students with regard to valuing education. She said, "I don't think it's instilled at home. I don't. Umm, you know, and yes… the parents want better for their children, but they're uneducated to the point that they don't even know how to direct their children to be able to help them make a better life for themselves." This comment made me wonder who Grace thinks is directing those children, or whether she thinks they have any direction at all. Betty's and Grace's comments reflect a deficit perspective, but they also ignore systemic oppression and deflect responsibility for racist practices to the people who are marginalized and oppressed.

Kev also made clear distinctions between "us" and "them." During the critical family history project, he spoke at length about the negative, violent stereotypes of people of color that are projected and perpetuated by the media. Harro (2010) addresses this issue and talks about the ways in which we are bombarded by images and brainwashed by our culture. The media socializes us to see people of color as violent, less capable, and less important. Gloria Ladson-Billings (2003) refers to this phenomenon as the hidden, societal curriculum: "This is the hidden curriculum that articulates social locations and social meanings. Students have access to this curriculum whenever they turn on their evening news and see people of color as menacing, dangerous social outcasts" (p. 4). This may help explain why Kev has not yet learned to decode the racialized messages portrayed by the media. He said, "The black people always seem to be the troublemakers… the drug addicts and the ones out there shootin' each other… and

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the poor ones…. It's not all of them. But, when you look at the news media, and you see who's involved, and who's going to jail for this and that, it's not always a black person… but… it is an awful lot of the time."

Denial. The comments organized under the second theme, *denial,* demonstrate initial resistance to our discussions about racism. Throughout the pilot study, Betty deflected the conversation from race to class, denying that race was the issue. For example, she said, "I think everybody has some prejudices. It may not be about race." When talking about the academic achievement gap at Westside Middle School, Betty asserted, "I don't think it's a race thing. It's the poverty."

Kev's denial was about white privilege. During the first week of class, Kev stated, "I do not feel as if I am privileged. There's plenty of opportunities for other races to participate or to receive benefits that I'm not able to… just because I am white…." He went on to say, "Prior to this… I had never heard the term 'white privilege.'" He said, "I don't know why that is, just never heard of it, but I understand what it, uh, implies…. In today's society, I don't believe that it is as prevalent as it was in the fifties and the sixties." Then Kev described being passed over for a promotion at work. He was angry, because he felt that he had been the victim of reverse discrimination. Three people had applied for the job; as a white man, he had been there the longest; he had trained the other two applicants, but the two black women got the job. He felt that he had earned the right to that job, and that instead of white privilege, he had experienced "white disadvantage." He said, "I see a difference between privilege and something that's earned, whether it's generational… I may get something from my parents but THEY earned it. They may have gotten something from their parents, but THEIR parents earned it, and it may have

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come down through the generations, but at some point it was earned. It wasn't something given." I found it ironic that Kev was complaining about unearned privilege while denying its existence.

The third theme, *colorblindness*, speaks to the ways in which white people have been socialized not to "see" or discuss race. Colorblindness is a claim that race does not matter and demands "equal" treatment across the board without regard to race (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Giroux, 1997; Bell, 1988/1997). Bonilla-Silva (2014) conceptualizes colorblindness as a sophisticated, subtle form of racism that covertly structures the social order and maintains the racial status quo. Coming into my adolescent development class, Betty made comments that could be categorized as colorblind. For example, she stated, "If you were to ask me how many whites or blacks are in a classroom, I'd actually have to think about it and see their face because it's not a big issue for me now." Her use of the word "now" was particularly interesting, and I wondered when she thought race *had* been an issue for her. Similarly, during the pilot study Grace said, "My take on race is… that I don't do race, um, or I try not to see race."

Bonilla-Silva (2014) contends that colorblind racism doesn't name race, but uses hidden codes instead. In Grace's school, racism is coded in the language of "test scores," "at-risk students," and "single-parent homes" (Bell, 1988/1997; Giroux, 1997). I believe that Grace is beginning to see some disturbing patterns in her school, but she is not decoding them with a critical lens. For example, she recognizes that "the upper level classes are probably at least 90 percent white," which is not representative of their school population. She has also noticed that academic segregation seems to be connected to behavior. She mentioned that the African American children having discipline problems

are not likely to be in advanced classes, and this made me wonder which happened first: placement in the lower track, or the discipline issues. Yosso (2002b) would describe this racialized practice as part of the school's hidden curriculum, which restricts access to knowledge for particular groups. Grace recalled a recent conversation with another teacher about the fact that almost every student they sent up for expulsion was a black male. However, she attributes the overrepresentation of black males in school suspensions and expulsions to the students' "family structures, or lack thereof." The single parent home label "with no positive male role model" is a racist code label. Yet Grace seems to believe that the fault lies within the family. She displaces the responsibility for the black male students' failure from the school to the home, which absolves her, and her colleagues, of the responsibility for dealing with the problem. Grace reiterated the theme of the oppressed person's responsibility to "break free" of the system when she referred to how hard it is for someone living in poverty "to break free and do something different." This is evidence of the insidious nature of colorblind racism.

Meritocracy. The fourth theme was *meritocracy*. This term refers to the idea that the United States is the land of opportunity, where individuals' achievement is based solely on hard work and talent (Adams, et al, 2010). This ideology assumes that wealth and income are distributed fairly by a meritorious system that rewards hard work with earnings. Participants' comments that reflected meritocracy also demonstrated deficit thinking (García & Guerra, 2004). For example, Betty seemed to question whether people of color value education. Betty said, "These parents and grandparents for generations have not had their parents tell them to get that education. You know you can, you can rise above this…but they have told them, Let's settle for, you know, government subsidies or

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whatever… and so I think it's a cycle. You have to break out of it."

Kev also talked about working hard and valuing education. During the pilot study, he said, "Because my family feels that in order to succeed, college is important and therefore my brothers and I were the first of a generation… Our parents' generation did not go to college but they instilled in us the need to go to college. Okay so now that we are here doing the WORK to get through college… it's, it's something that we are EARNING." Grace agreed and said, "I very much agree with what Kev said, in that many of the things that we classified as "privilege," you know, I work REALLY hard for. I work extremely hard for the opportunity to have health insurance. I mean I guess theoretically it could be a privilege to have health insurance, but I work really hard for that privilege, so I feel like I have earned it." Grace added, "In class we were talking about how a person…we were talking specifically about an African American male…how an African American male who is dressed in a suit and tie, walks into a bank to cash a check, how he would be treated differently because of the way he was dressed over someone who came in with, you know, a ratty old T-shirt and their pants hanging down below their butt, saggy pants, you know, that kind of thing… I think many times the way we present ourselves, well, other people take that and run with it. I've worked hard to present myself in a certain way."

A culture of niceness. McIntyre (1997) describes how "white talk" tactics, including "a culture of niceness," (p. 40) insulate white people from confronting their own roles in the perpetuation of racism. In her study, she found that white participants used "polite discourse" in order to distance themselves from discomfort and responsibility. White talk allowed them to decenter their privileged whiteness, while

"resisting critique and massaging each other's racist attitudes, beliefs, and actions" (p. 46). A "culture of niceness" was evident in the way Betty, in particular, struggled with words related to race categories. She was concerned about using politically correct, socially acceptable terms for people of color. For example, she said, "And when I speak of race, I'm gonna say just, umm, say African American. Because I refer to them as blacks and I don't…I don't know if that is, umm… considered a negative." Betty also framed "prejudice" in a detached way, perhaps as a substitution for racism. I wondered if she was trying to distance herself from her own racism by saying that "everyone" has prejudices: "I think everybody has some prejudices. It may not be about race…. I don't like to think of myself as a prejudiced person," she said. Interestingly, Betty characterized her grandparents' practice of serving the black field hands outside on the porch in a rather polite way: "I don't know if they were not invited… I think they weren't invited to come in. [The grandmother] cooked, she served the meal, but for the blacks… it was always served outside." Betty was very concerned about not hurting anyone's feelings. She said, "When I realized I, I had said some things that could be, probably driven by my prejudice… or may not have been, but were perceived to have been… Then…that bothered me because that is NOT the way you should be. It's just my belief and I get really upset in situations where people are treated badly."

Kev also worked hard to be nice by wording things carefully. For example, during the pilot study he said, "I see that there's many opportunities, um, for other races… that I don't get to take part in, cause I'm white…I see it just more as a… preference." Kev continued, "I do notice that in maybe in the last fifteen years, you see… changes in television, changes in, um, availability for commodities or whatever… um, but television,

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for instance, with the Cosby Show and BET, and these types of things… I think that there's plenty of opportunity for them to be themselves, and… I don't think they would have any reason to be… undermined, or whatever."

Grace emphasized the importance of respect: "Most of our [school's] families, even though they are not necessarily well-to-do, are very hard workers, and… they will scrounge every penny they have to make things happen for their kids." She teaches in a middle school because she wants to make a difference for her students: "If I can make an impact in just one child's life, then I've done something good," she said. When talking about two gay friends in high school, she said, "I feel bad that many of them are really harassed and discriminated against because of that…. I feel like it is my job, not so much to judge them as to be accepting of them. And love them anyway." Grace made it a point to tell me that she loves mixed race children, and described her mixed-race nieces as beautiful, even the girl with the "kinky curly, stereotypical, if you will, black hair."

5.2 Research Question 2

Question 2: How do pre-service teachers' perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs about race shift as they engage in a social justice curriculum and a 20-hour service learning project over the course of one semester?

Throughout the semester I immersed my students in a social justice curriculum and service learning project with the goal of engaging them in critical self-reflection and transformational learning (Mezirow, 1990, 1997, 2009). Each week the students were asked to reflect on their frames of reference and habits of mind (Mezirow, 1997; Mezirow, Taylor, & Associates, 2009). Our frames of reference are the structures through which we understand our experiences. We continue to interpret our experiences in ways

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that fit comfortably with the beliefs we acquired in childhood. Habits of mind "become articulated… [as] the constellation of belief, value judgment, attitude, and feeling that shapes a particular interpretation" (Mezirow, 1997, p. 5-6). This is similar to Bourdieu's notion of habitus (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). An important goal of transformative learning is for individuals to change their frames of reference by critically reflecting on their own assumptions and beliefs. According to Mezirow (1990), "Adulthood is the time for reassessing the assumptions of our formative years that have often resulted in distorted views of reality" (p. 13). Because a major goal of the study was to center race and interrogate racism as a system of domination and oppression (Bell, 1992; Taylor, Gillborn, & Ladson-Billings, 2009; Crenshaw, 2011; Harris, 1993; Delgado and Stefancic, 2012; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001), I concur with Choi (2008), who said that engaging in critical self-reflection "includes questioning the presumption that being white is normal and examining their own socialization process and complicity in racism" (p. 67).

In order to address the study's second question, I collected and compared data over time to assess my participants' growth and shifts in their thinking. I looked for evidence of new insights over the course of the semester. I also asked the participants to reflect back on the class activities and service learning project while engaged in the critical family history project.

Towards the end of the semester during the pilot study, Kev, the 43 year old white male participant who had been the most resistant, observed that some of his prejudice had stemmed from what he believed was unfair affirmative action. He said, "I was... very rigid in my feelings against black people mainly because of things like going into a

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college administrative office and hearing... black girls complaining because they didn't get a scholarship yet. They have scholarships made specifically for black females. And... I'm a white male. Why don't we have... scholarships geared for- specifically for a white male?"

When asked to reflect on the diversity/social justice activities in my adolescent development class last spring, Kev told me that this experience had "turned his thinking upside down." He said that he was beginning to see "barriers" that prevent certain groups of people from "reaching their potential." Kev concluded that his thinking had been transformed. His disorienting event (Mezirow, 2009; Chen, 2014), he said, was the service-learning project, in which he mentored a black male adolescent. Reflecting on the 20-hour service-learning project, Kev said, "Being a mentor, and uh… and seeing the kind of world that he lives in versus the kind of world that I'm so used to living in? Umm… that's, that's probably the biggest thing that I've gotten. I mean… the most helpful for me is just being able to see different perspectives and get a different light on situations that I've never been familiar with."

When asked if and how her thinking about race and racism had changed, Grace said, "I think the biggest thing for me is just an awareness… really understanding where my students are coming from and what their background is, and how it is very different than mine. Even though we grew up within the same county, our experiences are so different. Some of my students have never been anywhere outside of this rural community." When asked to reflect on the activities we did in class, Grace said that her turning point came when we took the Classism Quiz and she learned that corporate CEOs in the United States earned, on average, 300 times more than the average worker. She

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said, "The one about how much more the CEO makes than his employees? Some of those were just kind of mind-boggling… and the thought of the poverty level, and how people work diligently… and then these folks that are making minimum wage? I mean, how do they survive? How do they?" I did note that Grace was referring to class, not race, in these comments. Scholars of critical race theory (CRT) remind us of the need to recenter race and not let class divert attention away from the larger issue of systemic racism (Bell, 1992; Taylor, Gillborn, & Ladson-Billings, 2009; Crenshaw, 2011; Harris, 1993; Delgado and Stefancic, 2012; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001).

By the end of the project, Grace was beginning to see troubling patterns related to discipline and the achievement gap at her school. However, she attributed the overrepresentation of black males in school suspensions and expulsions to the students' family structures, "or lack thereof," which is problematic. Her theory as to why black boys are better behaved during football season struck me as simplistic and stereotypical. She feels sorry for her poor, rural students who, unlike her, have never traveled outside of their small town. In thinking about Grace's interactions with her students, I am reminded of Pierre Bourdieu's social reproduction theory. Bourdieu (1977/2013) uses the term "symbolic violence" to explain how schools and teachers operate in predictable ways that perpetuate and reproduce social inequities.

Kev and Grace both indicated that the adolescent development class, service learning project, and critical family history project had inspired them to want to help others. Grace said, "It [This project] helps me think of my students in a different light and it helps me gain some perspective because I was not raised in that manner. I was raised in a very supportive family." I did note that this statement implied that the students' families

were NOT supportive, which reflects a deficit perspective. Similarly, Kev said, "And in not having the support, the encouragement, the advisement… umm, to come out of that situation? Umm, it makes you want to do something, you know? It makes you want to help 'em out somehow." Warren & Hotchkins (2014) might describe these statements as indicators of false empathy, which occurs when a white person "believes he or she is identifying with a person of color, but in fact is doing so only in a slight, superficial way" (Delgado, 1996, p. 70). False empathy can be problematic, because it can harm the intended beneficiary and perpetuate subordination (Warren & Hotchkins, 2014).

However, by the end of the project, the three participants were each beginning to acknowledge their privilege. Betty said, "I happened to be born white," and then added with surprise, "Umm… I think I was raised to believe that whites were superior. I think I was!" Grace said, "And you know, it makes me reflect on myself and truly see how privileged or blessed or fortunate… I feel like that was kinda how the cards fell for me rather than anything that I have done." Kev finally admitted, "White people get certain benefits in American society just because they are white."

Betty demonstrated a major shift in her thinking about racism as personal prejudice to an understanding of racism as a systemic societal problem when she said, "And it never struck me as… that this was happening to a BIG group of people…It's kind of like you have blinders on. You just don't see it… And yet I realize that I am still slightly prejudiced." Betty also seemed to have a revelatory experience when she was able to make a personal connection to racism. She told this story:

"I had a friend, a good friend. She was a black girl…. One day I was coming up

the stairs with her, and I was complaining because I had applied for this job, and I

said they're not gonna consider me because of age. I said I am being

discriminated against. And she looked at me and said, 'Girl, you don't even

know… what discrimination is,' and I looked at her and it dawned on me, I

probably didn't. She said, 'You don't know what it is to be black.' And I don't!

And then… she said… when we're going across this bridge, look over to the

right… and she said, I'm not sure you can see it, but I have relatives buried there

that were slaves. Yeah, so no… I don't. You know, I can't say I wish I did."

These comments represent a significant shift in Betty's thinking about race and racism.

As the researcher, I experienced some shifts in my own thinking as well. For example, in

my initial analysis of Grace's story, I attributed many of her comments to colorblindness

as conceptualized by Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2014). However, upon further reflection, I

believe that Grace's thinking actually represents a shift from colorblindness to color

evasiveness (Frankenberg, 1993/2005). Frankenberg, whose groundbreaking research

explored whiteness through white women's life histories, argues that "race shapes white

women's lives" (p. 1). She identifies three distinctly different "moments" or paradigms

that reflected her participants' understandings of race: 1) essentialist racism, 2) color

evasiveness, and 3) race-cognizance. She defines essentialist racism as the state in which

race is first understood as "biological inequality" (p. 14). Essentialist racism reflects a

hierarchal understanding of race and is often the result of one's upbringing. Color

evasiveness, on the other hand, is a power-evasive paradigm that reflects the belief that:

We are all the same under the skin; that, culturally, we are converging; that,

materially, we have the same chances in U.S. society; and− the sting in the tail−

any failure to achieve is therefore the fault of the people of color themselves. (p. 14)

Finally, Frankenberg (1993/2005) describes race cognizance as the understanding that, first, "race makes a difference in people's lives and second, that racism is a significant factor in shaping contemporary U.S. society" (p. 157). Race-cognizant thinking reflects a critical perspective, recognizes racial inequalities and white privilege, and acknowledges one's own racist attitudes and beliefs.

Using Frankenberg's descriptions of the three paradigms, I believe that Grace appeared to move from colorblindness to color evasiveness when she recognized that almost every student expelled this year was a black male. The Schott Foundation (2015) and the National Center for Education for Education Statistics (2012) offer compelling evidence that black male suspensions, expulsions, and drop out rates in the U.S. are grossly disproportionate. Yet Grace suggested that the fault lies within the black males because they do not have "a positive male role model in their lives." She attributed the overrepresentation of black males in school suspensions and expulsions to the students' "family structures, or lack thereof." She misplaces responsibility for the problem, which I argue allows the problem to fester. Placing the blame on marginalized students and their families also tells me that she has learned what to say. Her words are code words for racialized practices.

Color evasion differs from colorblindness in that it "actively involves a selective engagement with difference, rather than no engagement at all" (Frankenberg, 1993/2005, p. 143). A color evasive orientation thus "leads white women back into complicity with structural and institutional dimensions of inequality… that leaves hierarchies and power

intact" (p. 143). With regard to the three "moments," or paradigms she identified in her study, Frankenberg (1993/2005) notes that "past the point of their emergence, they can no longer be conceptualized as unfolding chronologically" (p. 140). The participants in her study continued to articulate elements of all three orientations "with elements combined and recombined… deployed with varying degrees of intentionality" (p. 140). In other words, she found that the process of acquiring a race-cognizant orientation was not linear, and much of it was unconscious. I believe that racial literacy works much the same way. In thinking about my research question, *How do pre-service teachers' perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs about race shift as they engage in a social justice curriculum and a 20-hour service learning project over the course of one semester?* I must admit that I had not considered that the participants' shifts might be regressive, bidirectional, and complex. I had presumed that a "shift" meant positive growth.

5.3 Research Question 3

Question 3: What are the implications for understanding racial literacy when white, middle-class, and middle-aged pre-service teachers are engaged in a critical family history project?

Asking students to explore and deconstruct their personal stories "helps them develop insights – academic and personal – about crucial social structural realities" (Mueller, 2011, p. 175). It is vitally important to probe below the surface of the story, and to link private stories with larger public issues (Sleeter, 2011). One way to do this is to look for commonalities across stories. However, this can be difficult. Sleeter (2014b) advises, "No two stories are identical. History is highly complex, and as individual stories are told, what emerges are both the broad patterns and also the nuances and textures of

the diverse people living within and across those patterns" (n.p.). In Betty's, Kev's,

Grace's, and my own stories, I found patterns related to white racial isolation (Leonardo,

2002; Frankenberg, 1993/2005; Lewis, 2001); socialization experiences within the family

(Hagerman, 2014), seeing people of color in subservient roles, (Ladson-Billings, 2003),

and racial solidarity (Roediger, 1991/2007). Table 4.5 synthesizes this study's findings

for each of the participants, including me.

Table 5.1 Cross-Case Comparison

	Betty's story	Deborah's story	Kev's story	Grace's story
Generation/ upbringing	1950s and 1960s	1960s and 1970s	1970s and 1980s	1980s and 1990s
Geographic location	Southeast, rural North Carolina	Northeast, suburban New Jersey	Southeast, rural Georgia	Southeast, rural South Carolina
Socioeconomic status	Middle class (grandparents were poor)	Middle class	Middle class (grandparents were poor)	Middle class (grandparents were poor)
White social isolation	Segregated neighborhood, school, and church	Segregated neighborhood, school, and church	Segregated neighborhood and church	Segregated neighborhood and church
Blacks in subservient roles	Grandparents had black field hands on the farm	Grandparents had a black cleaning lady	Grandparents had a black "nanny"	Grandparents had domestic "help" in the home
Socialization within the family	Implicit racism and unspoken taboos	Implicit racism and unspoken taboos	Explicit racist language	Implicit racism and unspoken taboos
Socialization- media	Black-and-white television shows "Father Knows Best" and "Leave It To Beaver" portray white, idealized families	Color television shows "The Brady Bunch" and "The Partridge Family" portray white, single parent and blended families	Violent, negative stereotypes of people of color on TV and news	
Ideology	A culture of niceness; colorblindness	A culture of niceness; colorblindness	Denial; angry about reverse discrimination; Jim Crow	Colorblindness
Exposes	Exploitation of Tuscarora native people and slavery; shows ways in which white settlers used their power to dominate, exploit, and oppress others	The social construction of race- "becoming" white through assimilation; whiteness as property	Societal curriculum; racial solidarity	Displacement of responsibility
Deconstructs	Deconstructs the	Deconstructs the		

	myth of the "Patriot Pioneer," exploitation of Native people and slavery	"Immigrant Hero" and the myth of meritocracy		
Illustrates	Revisionist history can be used to illuminate multiple perspectives of the same event	White privilege on the ship's manifest; intergenerational wealth through home ownership	False empathy	Social reproduction of inequities in schools
Social issues	Acquisition of land and labor for large plantations	Immigration; urbanization; white flight	Disparities in the criminal justice system; Academic re-segregation	Middle level tracking; Academic re-segregation
Evidence	Ancestor's will leaving slaves and their "increase"	House increased in value from $4,000 to $166,000		
Footholds		Bequest and family loan to pay for college		Opportunities to travel
Cushions		Family support after death of husband	Able to move back home to attend college after both divorces	

White racial isolation. All of the participants, including me, grew up racially isolated from people of color. Betty, Kev, and Grace, and I grew up in all-white, racially segregated neighborhoods and attended segregated churches. Betty and I also attended racially segregated schools. Kev and Grace attended schools that were technically integrated, but they both experienced academic re-segregation when they were tracked in upper level courses that were predominantly white. For Kev and Grace, seeing people of color tracked in the lower level classes in school further isolated them and reinforced the perception of white superiority. Betty described social isolation this way: "Well, that's just the way it was. Black people weren't of the same… They were different, and you were not supposed to mix."

Socialization within the family. The participants' perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs regarding people of color have been shaped largely by the family. Hagerman (2014) explored the role that family plays in white racial socialization. She focused on

choices that parents make about schools and neighborhoods, as well as the everyday ways they talk about race with their children. Betty and Grace grew up in families that sent implicit messages about race. Neither of them could recall specific instances in which a parent or family member overtly discussed race, but there were unspoken rules and taboos. Betty said, "Apparently we were taught, 'Oh, they live separately. We don't belong together.' Culturally, it was just accepted. I think it was just the way I was raised. It was a different time." Somehow, however, Betty learned to fear people of color (Lensmire, 2010). Grace concurred when she said, "There were things that were implied. But never did we really sit down and talk about it. And, you know, my parents never explained why they felt the way they did on certain issues. It was just, 'This is the way it will be.'" Grace added, "There's not one thing that I can pinpoint, to say that's how we knew to avoid intimate relationships with black people. It may be that things came up in casual conversation and my parents expressed opinions and views then. But it was never… my parents never came out and said, 'You cannot date a black person.' I don't know that it was ever… explained that way to me, as a child. I just knew."

Kev's parents, on the other hand, were more direct. For example, Kev had a black friend in high school, but his parents frowned upon this relationship, and so he kept it secret. Kev's parents also sent clear messages about interracial dating. His family frequently made racist comments related to the evening news, which reinforced negative stereotypes of people of color.

People of color in subservient roles. All of the participants grew up seeing people of color in subservient roles: as field hands on the farm, as a "nanny," and as domestic "help" in the home. Gloria Ladson-Billings (2003) describes "a societal

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curriculum that operates within and beyond the school and classroom" (p. 4). Seeing people of color in lower-skilled occupations reinforces the stereotype that they are less capable and less important. Betty described her grandparents' practice of serving a large noonday meal at the farm, but all the black field hands had to eat outside on the porch. Kev indicated that the only contact his grandparents had with people with color was hiring a black woman to care for their daughter. "I know they did have, um... a black woman come and, stay as a… a nanny for my mother, to take care of my mother, because they both worked in the mill," he said. Grace was upset to find out that her mother's parents had had black "help" in their home. She said, "This totally changed my perception of my grandparents… It really made me think differently about my family and I was like, 'Wow, okay. So… we actually participated in that.' And it didn't make me feel good."

     Racial solidarity. One thing that struck me was how Betty, Kev, and Grace all emphasized how poor their families were. Because their families were too poor to have owned slaves, they seemed to believe that they did not have a personal role in the legacy of slavery. For example, Grace said, "I specifically asked my dad about the possibility of our family having owned slaves or anything like that, and his exact words to me were, 'The slaves would have owned us.' Um, they were... literally dirt floor poor." Grace chose to focus her research on a particular ancestor who "definitely lived in a time where race was huge, and she lived in the rural South. She lived in a time when segregation happened. I have not been able to identify whether they may have had slaves or even help, or anything like that. And, honestly, they were all just farmers, and poor." Betty described her grandparents' shotgun house with no indoor plumbing and a single

kerosene heater near the kitchen. Similarly, Grace described her grandparents' concrete-block house with no air conditioning and a pot-belly stove in the front room. Kev also described his family as poor: "They, um... they were pretty poor actually. I mean, they had land. But... you know. You have to work the land to get anything out of it," he said. Betty explained that her dad "was just a tenant farmer, you know? On the farm they had, um, hired hands, who were usually black. On the social ladder, my dad was just one step above… (pause) a hired hand." Betty's, Kev's, and Grace's emphasis on poverty made me think about racial solidarity (Roediger, 1991/2007). Even though their families were poor or working class, they may have distanced themselves from blacks in order to preserve their identification with the dominant white group. Derrick Bell (1992) contends that, as a result of "racial bonding," whites will accept large disparities in economic opportunity in respect to other whites as long as they have a priority over blacks and other people of color for access to the few opportunities available" (p. 9). When poor whites do this, "even those whites who lack wealth and power are sustained in their sense of racial superiority" (Bell, 1997, p. 599).

Chapter 6: Implications and Conclusions

Gloria Ladson-Billings (2011) contends that "we should question the repeated practice of preparing young, white, suburban, middle-class, monolingual English speakers to teach an increasingly diverse student population" (p. 389). She argues that we must address the demographics of teaching by recruiting and retaining more teacher candidates of color. But we must also address the preparation of white pre-service teachers for increasingly diverse classrooms. Gay (2010) asserts that "teachers cannot reasonably be expected to meet these challenges if they have not been adequately been prepared for them….[Teacher education programs] must include skills for culturally responsive teaching in their professional development programs" (p. 251). I argue that racial literacy is a prerequisite for culturally responsive practice, because culturally responsive practice is about more than celebrating diversity. Drawing on the scholarship of Ladson-Billings (2009) and Gay (2010), I define culturally responsive practice as pedagogy that makes school accessible and relevant to students who are racially, culturally, and linguistically diverse. Culturally responsive teachers value and respect their students' cultural knowledge, identity, and heritage while actively interrogating institutionalized ideologies of power and privilege.

Consequently, this study has implications for teacher education programs. We must "reconceptualize our thinking about diversity in teacher education programs and our approaches to preparing teachers for culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms"

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(Ball & Tyson, 2011, p. 406). I argue that the social justice curriculum I developed and adapted for my class offers rich opportunities for critical reflection and transformational learning (Mezirow, 1990, 1991, 1997; Mezirow, Taylor, & Associates, 2009). Teacher educators must create a safe, positive classroom climate and be prepared to negotiate (and model) uncomfortable, difficult conversations about race. The service-learning project with a case study/mentoring component has great potential to engage white pre-service teachers in positive, personal relationships with students of color. Developing these personal relationships can put a face to the abstract concept of racism. The critical family history project (Sleeter, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2014) deconstructs inherited opportunities and privileges, and connects personal stories to larger social issues.

In this chapter, I offer implications for my own practice as a teacher and a researcher. Additionally, I present reflections on the study, recommendations for future research, and concluding thoughts.

6.1 Implications For My Own Practice

Implications as a teacher. The present study supports the idea that racial literacy is a process that can be guided. Although the results of this particular project are specific to this small sample and not generalizable, I plan to implement the critical family history project as an assignment for all of my students in the fall and will continue to collect data each semester.

As a result of this study, I now have several tools to take into my classroom. First, I designed a series of critical family history project protocols for interviews and focus groups with feedback from Dr. Christine Sleeter, as well as my dissertation committee and several colleagues. These protocols contain carefully worded questions

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written from a critical perspective that were "field-tested" and can be adapted for use in the classroom. Second, I now have several good narratives that can be used as case studies with my students. Throughout the study, I noticed that Kev and Grace were very interested in hearing Betty's and my stories. Our focus group sessions were lively and synergistic, and each person added to the analysis of my ancestor's story. This has convinced me that the case studies presented here could be used in my classroom as springboards for discussion. Gillespie (2003) concurs, and suggests teaching white privilege through the use of a case study. She conducted in-depth, taped interviews that were transcribed and crafted as stories designed to promote critical thinking about problematic situations and scenarios. Using those stories, she guided discussions in her classroom so that her students could examine assumptions, analyze whiteness, and apply theories of racial identity development. She concluded that case studies "have the advantage of allowing students to distance themselves in the face of emotionally charged subject matter: the case is about someone else" (Gillespie, 2003, p. 469). I am planning to seek permission from the participants in this study in order to use their narratives for that purpose.

However, I do not think that someone else's story will substitute for one's own. I agree with Sleeter (2013), who says that, "No one's family has been outside race relations and racial power systems. Critical race theory demands that, rather than ignoring race, we pay attention to how our families – whether white or of color — have been located within the racial structure, how that location shaped possibilities open to them, and what kind of relationships their own racial communities had with others" (n.p.). Therefore, despite the

uneven results of my study, I submit that the critical family history project is a powerful tool, and that I can now build on my experience with this project.

Implications as a researcher. The critical family history project as conceived by Christine Sleeter (2008) was designed to be a semester-long class assignment, and not elicited through individual interviews and focus groups as part of a case study. Nevertheless, many aspects of my research design worked well. Throughout the study, however, there were challenges, missed opportunities, and lessons learned.

Each of the cases presented here was unique and complex. I was surprised by how different they all were. Although the participants were all non-traditional students over the age of 25, this turned out to be an oversimplification and I underestimated the differences between their ages.

The critical family history project was powerful, but it was also time-consuming and unpredictable. For example, Betty and I were able to provide a wealth of genealogical information, which enabled us to look deeply into our family's pasts and interpret how that informs the present. However, I found it a bit more challenging to construct and analyze Kev's and Grace's stories because their critical family history projects yielded far less historical information. I had not seriously considered this possibility, but I will likely encounter it again when I implement the critical family history project in my classes. Had the critical family history project been structured as a semester-long class assignment, I might have gotten more dynamic results across participants. However, it is possible that the information just wasn't there. Perhaps having access to one's own family history is a manifestation of privilege. From these lessons I learned that I need to be better prepared to deal with resistance, limited

historical information, and histories that do not correspond to my own. The reality is that some of my students will experience roadblocks over which they have no control, which may result in a wide range of projects in the future.

This project required gathering stories that people tell, but stories do not exist in a vacuum. As the study unfolded, I learned that stories are entangled in memories, emotions, and an individual's sense of self. In addition, stories are not static; they are constantly changing as people make meaning through new experiences. There are conscious stories and unconscious stories, and there are stories that are difficult to tell. Sharing these stories required intimacy and trust.

There was a danger that reinterpreting a participant's story would be intrusive and upsetting to them. I knew that the critical family history project was deeply personal and would likely cause discomfort. For this reason, I made the decision not to share the analyses or conclusions with the participants. I made this decision because I felt that I needed to find a balance between being supportive and seeking truth. Because I chose not to disclose my findings to the participants, however, I had to make the choice to privilege my interpretation over the possibility of a shared interpretation in the end. Consequently, I missed an opportunity to ask the participants to reflect on the data and describe their own racial literacy.

I also made several assumptions regarding the participants' shifts in their understandings of race. I assumed that the participants wanted to change and grow. However, in order to do this, they would have to confront and give up some of their white privilege (McIntosh, 1988; Harris, 1993, 2008). This created another dilemma: I was very concerned that I might focus too much on the individual's emotions, personal

growth, and white identity development. This was problematic because focusing closely on my participant's individual responses could recenter whiteness and shift the focus away from larger systemic issues (Thompson, 2003). Despite these concerns, I am persuaded by Mueller (2011) who contends, "Students are much more apt to consider where they fit in the 'larger web' of systemic racial realities when studying their own histories…" because "centering the lens on themselves brings the content to life" (p. 185).

Finally, I recognize that my participants' representation in this study is markedly uneven. Given the promise of Mezirow's (1990, 1991, 1997) transformative learning theory, and the success of Betty's and my own stories, I assumed that I would have similar findings for Kev and Grace. I did not, and I was disappointed. In hindsight, I realize that my ability to relate to Betty made it easier for me to elicit stories and contextualize her life. I recognize that I missed some opportunities to contextualize Kev's and Grace's lives, because I assumed that the data didn't exist. For example, Grace's discovery that her grandparents had black "help" could have led to a rich understanding of black domestic labor in the 1960s. In addition, Grace's grandmother's brother, Jack, killed a man for looking in his horse trough, but he wasn't convicted. That too, could have been investigated in the context of racial disparities in the criminal justice system during that time period.

6.2 Reflections on the Study

As the project concludes, I am left with more questions than answers. I believe that this project has been a first step towards cultivating racial literacy, which I define as a process that enables us to begin to discern, decode, and challenge racialized messages,

practices, and structures that appear to be normal, but perpetuate systemic inequities that are intimately connected to race (Twine, 2004, 2010: Guinier & Torres, 2002; Guinier 2004; Rogers & Mosley, 2006, 2008; Mosley, 2010; Mosley & Rogers, 2011; Winans, 2010; Stevenson, 2014; Horsford, 2014; Bonilla-Silva, 2014). If I am correct in assuming that racial literacy is a powerful tool for disrupting dysconscious racism (King, 1991), I wonder what will happen for Betty, Kev and Grace now that our conversations have ended? It seemed to me that they were just beginning to examine and challenge their own assumptions and beliefs. Will they continue to do so? I believe that they were just beginning to look for racialized messages, practices, and structures that appear to be normal, but perpetuate systemic inequities. Will they continue to do so? Or, analogous to a foreign language, does racial literacy follow the "use it or lose it" principle? Will they have the courage to resist the powerful forces that pull us all back into the cycle of socialization? (Harro, 2010).

Grace currently teaches at a rural, Title I middle school. Subsequent to this project, I am wondering, will Grace continue to pay attention to the re-segregation that occurs at her school through tracking? Will she speak up and ask why the black male suspension rate at her school is so skewed? Will she maintain the status quo or will she do something about it?

Kev will be student teaching next spring and then presumably entering the teaching profession. I am wondering, How is Kev going to relate to black colleagues? Will he unconsciously assume that they got their education and their job based on merit or through affirmative action? How will Kev relate to black administrators? Will he respect them or will he make stereotyped assumptions about their qualifications? If he

does not get a teaching job for which he thinks he is qualified, will he assume that the competition was unfair? Furthermore, how will Kev interact with students of color? Will he value the social and cultural capital that they bring to the classroom (Bourdieu, 1977/2013), or will he lower his expectations out of sympathy and understanding? Finally, will he be sympathetic to his white male students because he thinks they will face reverse discrimination?

Betty is no longer enrolled at the university. After the service learning project, she decided "not to become a teacher, if that's what teaching is." However, she continued to be excited about participating in this study. She ended our last interview with a gift of muffins and this powerful statement:

> "Over time – it took a while – your purpose has become clear. I feel like I am doing something good. I'm only a speck, but I am part of something big. I'm proud to be a part of that. I've told people – I'm telling lots of people – about this project. I started out doing this for you as a friend. I've seen it grow. I believe you have found a key to unlocking some of this prejudice that I was unaware of. When I see that my relatives fought for this country – part of founding the U.S. – I'm proud of that. But I have mixed emotions. They didn't think that what they were doing was wrong, but they built their wealth by taking land and… on the backs of slaves."

6.3 Recommendations for Future Research

Although this project focused on non-traditionally aged pre-service teachers, it would be interesting to make some cross-generational comparisons. For example, we could compare the critical family history projects of Millenials (Mueller, 2011) with

Generation Xers and Baby Boomers. I am also interested in what this project would look like with pre-service teachers of color. One way to extend the critical family history project would be to pair and contrast white students' stories with parallel stories of students of color, and connect that to the concept of revisionist history from multiple perspectives. Sleeter (2014b) has taken this approach, saying:

> Descendants of slaves and descendants of slave-owners bring a braided history made up of experiences and narratives reflecting opposite but connected positions in a power hierarchy. One story cannot be understood without the other. Descendants of colonizers and descendants of colonized peoples, similarly, stand in relationship to each other. Not only does both sets of stories need to be told, but they need to be understood as historically connected. (n.p.)

Finally, I suggest that this approach can and should be used with in-service teachers, either in a graduate course or through ongoing professional development. This is important because, according to Zumwalt & Craig (2005), the average age of in-service teachers is 42.3, and 29.4% are age 50 and older. Understanding and addressing the "demographic divide" between students of color and their teachers using this approach has promise.

6.4 Concluding Thoughts

The critical family history project was a powerful tool for adding contextual complexity to this interpretive case study. This was key to gaining a better understanding of the racial socialization of white pre-service teachers. However, according to bell hooks (2013), it is more useful to think in terms of white supremacy than racism, "because we usually associate racism with overt discriminatory acts of aggression by

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whites against blacks, whereas white supremacy addresses the ideological and philosophical foundations of racism" (hooks, 2013, p. 177). Furthermore, she contends that white supremacist thinking "is seeping into the heads of children who cannot protect their minds from the ideas entering their consciousness" (hooks, 2013, p. 158). The message of white supremacy is everywhere, in homes, in schools, and the media, and usually goes undetected. Without personal narratives and critical reflection, the concepts of racism and oppression can remain abstract. White people need to hear personal stories to make racism real, and we need to make it real in order to care.

Racism is learned and reproduced in the ways we talk about, represent, and organize our world through speech, text, images, media, and more. We may not even realize that this occurs. We are all socialized, consciously and unconsciously, to believe and conform to dominant narratives that operate within a dynamic system of oppression. Powerful forces socialize us to play prescribed roles in an inequitable social system (Harro, 2010). This socialization process is pervasive, predictable, self-perpetuating, and often unconscious (Harro, 2010).

The vast majority of educators come from white, middle class backgrounds. The powerful institution of school continues to create and reproduce disparities that marginalize and subordinate certain groups, particularly people of color. Teachers are often unknowingly complicit in these practices.

However, change is possible. According to Harro (2010), the decision to disrupt the cycle of socialization may be triggered by a critical incident that can't be ignored. It may be a "last straw" experience. Or, it may be a new awareness or critical

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consciousness that we gain by taking a course or reading a book that causes us to look at things from a different perspective.

In addition to her cycle of socialization, Harro (2010) describes a cycle of liberation. Harro defines liberation as "critical transformation in the language and thinking of Paulo Freiere" (p. 52). The process begins with "waking up," which is triggered by a "critical incident that creates cognitive dissonance" (p. 53). This parallels Mezirow (2009)'s first phase of transformative learning, which he characterizes as a disorienting event or dilemma. The cycle of liberation continues with "getting ready," as we begin to dismantle our beliefs and recognize privilege, which correlates to Mezirow's second phase (self-examination) and third phase (a critical assessment of assumptions).

Subsequent steps in the cycle of liberation (Harro, 2010) include reaching out, building community, creating change, and maintaining change. Harro notes that we can enter and re-enter the cycle of liberation at any point, and it is not necessarily sequential. Change occurs at intrapersonal, interpersonal, and systemic levels, with a goal of equity and social justice. Figure 6.1 illustrates the cycle of liberation.

CHANGE WITHIN THE CORE
OF PEOPLE ABOUT
WHAT THEY BELIEVE
ABOUT THEMSELVES

REACHING OUT

MOVEMENT OUT OF SELF TOWARD
OTHERS, SEEKING EXPERIENCE AND
EXPOSURE, SPEAKING OUT AND
NAMING INJUSTICES

WAKING UP

CRITICAL
INCIDENT
THAT
CREATES
COGNITIVE
DISSONANCE

GETTING READY

EMPOWERMENT OF SELF
INTROSPECTION
EDUCATION
CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING

GAINING:
INSPIRATION
AUTHENTICITY
CONNECTIONS

DISMANTLING:
DIMINISHING BELIEFS,
COLLUSION,
PRIVILEGE,
INTERNALIZED
OPPRESSION,
DEVELOPING ANALYSIS
AND TOOLS

TAKING STANDS
USING TOOLS
EXPLORING +
EXPERIMENTING

INTERPERSONAL:
CHANGE IN HOW
WE VALUE
OTHERS +
SEE THE
WORLD

CORE
SELF-LOVE
HOPE
SELF ESTEEM
BALANCE
JOY
SUPPORT
SECURITY
SPIRITUAL BASE
AUTHENTIC LOVE
OF OTHERS

**BUILDING
COMMUNITY**
WORKING WITH OTHERS
A. PEOPLE "LIKE US" FOR SUPPORT
B. PEOPLE "DIFFERENT FROM US" FOR
BUILDING COALITIONS
QUESTIONING ASSUMPTIONS
RULES, ROLES, AND STRUCTURES
OF SYSTEM

MAINTAINING

INTEGRATING:
SPREADING
HOPE AND
INSPIRATION

LIVING OUR
DREAMS

MODELING
AUTHENTICITY,
INTEGRITY +
WHOLENESS

TAKING CARE OF
SELF + OTHERS

ACCEPTING
ACCOUNTABILITY

COALESCING

ORGANIZING,
ACTION PLANNING
LOBBYING, FUND
RAISING
EDUCATING,
RENAMING REALITY
REFUSING TO COLLUDE,
OR TAKE PRIVILEGE,

BEING A ROLE MODEL,
AN ALLY,
TRANSFORMING
ANGER

**CREATING
CHANGE**

CRITICALLY
TRANSFORMING INSTITUTIONS +
CREATING NEW CULTURE
INFLUENCING: POLICY, ASSUMPTIONS,
STRUCTURES,
DEFINITIONS, RULES
TAKING LEADERSHIP, RISKS,
GUIDING CHANGE, HEALING
POWER TRULY SHARED

MOVING
INTO
ACTION:

FOSTERING
LEADERSHIP
OF TARGETS

SYSTEMIC:
CHANGE IN:
STRUCTURES
ASSUMPTIONS
PHILOSOPHY
RULES AND PROCEDURES
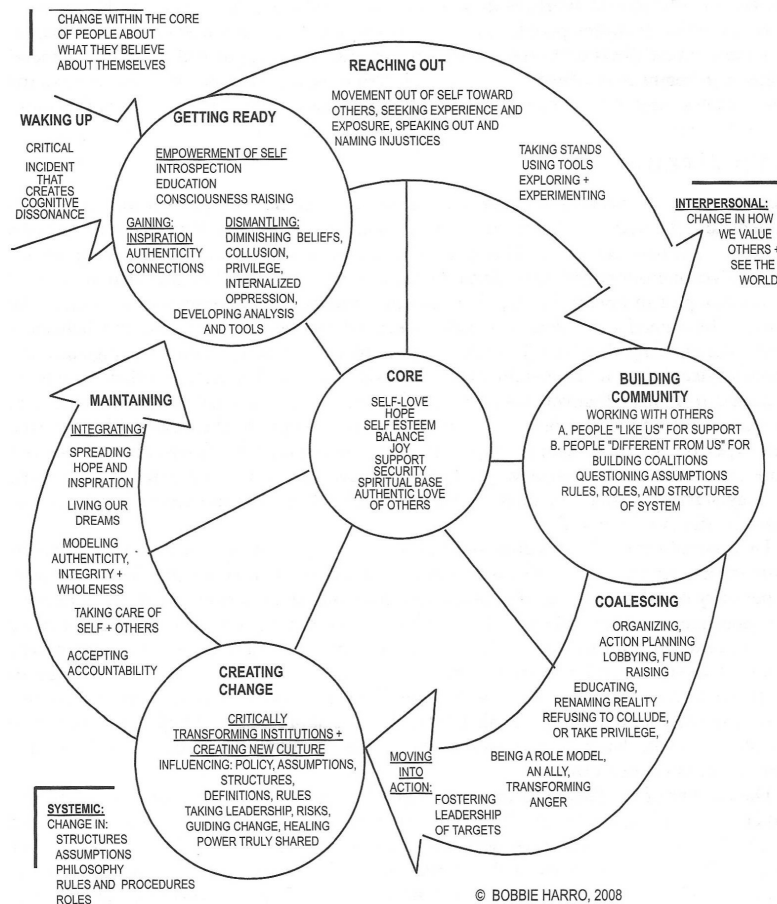ROLES

© BOBBIE HARRO, 2008

Figure 6.1 The Cycle of Liberation (Harro, 2010) Used with permission.

I believe that teacher education programs can address the cycles of socialization and liberation to some extent. Teacher educators can engage their students in critical conversations, teach them to recognize personal and institutionalized racism, and inspire them to take action through transformational learning experiences. However, this study demonstrated only limited impact on the participants' conceptualizations of racism. Although I believe that Betty, Kev, and Grace all made progress and likely have become more racially literate according to my definition, their journey (and mine) has just begun.

It will take much longer than a semester or two to make significant progress on the continuum of racial literacy.

As this study came to a close, Betty was still concerned about not hurting individuals' feelings, Kev was still angry about reverse discrimination, and Grace continued to demonstrate problematic assumptions about causation and responsibility. But given the limited amount of time we had together, I now realize that it would be unrealistic to expect much more than that. The data suggests that this study was just one critical incident, in which the participants began to examine their own beliefs and begin to unlearn problematic assumptions. I can only conclude that these three participants demonstrated shifts in their thinking that signaled the beginnings of racial literacy.

Despite these limitations, the work is important. I argue that racial literacy enables pre-service teachers to begin to see the systemic nature and consequences of racism in our society. It empowers them to perceive institutional and structural inequities that they had not been aware of before. Racial literacy means learning to see how whiteness is interpreted, negotiated, and implicated. "Waking up" and confronting one's own white racial identity is a first step. This may be particularly difficult for older, non-traditionally aged white pre-service teachers. Problematic assumptions and beliefs about race are legacies of the past, and they must be examined and acknowledged if they are to change. We must provide all pre-service teachers with an opportunity to "disrupt their own preconceived notions and assumptions and to challenge the deficit paradigm" (Coffey, 2010, p. 336). Only then can we begin to work towards creating more equitable learning environments.

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Appendix A: Informed Consent

Informed Consent For Pre-Service Teachers

Principal Investigator: Deborah McMurtrie

Introduction and Purpose of the Study

You are invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of the study is to help pre-service teachers understand the unique characteristics and needs of young adolescents from diverse backgrounds. The goal is to explore the issue of cultural responsiveness in middle-level teacher preparation.

I am asking for permission to include you in this study. I am a doctoral candidate at The University of South Carolina, Department of Educational Studies. I am conducting a research study as part of the requirements for my Ph.D. degree in Foundations of Education. This form explains what you will be asked to do if you decide to participate in this study. Please read it carefully and feel free to ask any questions before you make a decision about participating.

Description of Study Procedures

The service learning project is a requirement of EDPY 334. If you choose to participate in my study, you are giving me permission to use the data in my dissertation. If you choose not to participate, I will not use data pertaining to you. There is no penalty for choosing not to participate.

You will be assigned to a classroom at a local middle school. You will select a child to mentor. Please choose a child with a background different than your own, such as socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, or gender.

You will visit this classroom for approximately one hour, twice a week, for 10 weeks. While in the classroom, you will take notes in an observation/reflection journal, help the child with schoolwork, and ask the child questions. Ten questions will be written on index cards and offered each week. The child will choose which questions they want to answer. The child may select, reject, or repeat any of the ten questions each week. Sample questions include, "How would you describe your personality?" "Who do you look up to?" and "What information do you think we should include on your Identity Concept Map?" You will write down the child's responses to the questions and use this information to co-create an Identity Concept Map. The child will help create the Identity Concept Map and will be given a copy at the end of the project.

At the end of the 10-week project, you will turn in the following items: 1) your observation/reflection journal, 2) your student's Identity Concept Map, 3) a written summary and reflection of the service learning experience, and 4) an exit survey.

Risks of Participation

There are no known risks associated with participating in this research.

Benefits of Participation

Taking part in this study will give you an opportunity to develop a personal relationship with a middle school student. You will likely gain insight into young adolescent development.

Costs and Payments

There will be no costs to you for participating in this study, other than for gas expenses you may have. You will not receive any payment for participating in this study.

Confidentiality of Records

Participation will be confidential. Under no circumstances will the participants' names or personal information be shared with anyone. A number will be assigned to each participant at the beginning of the project. This number will be used on project records rather than your name, and no one other than the researcher will be able to link your information with your name. Study information will be stored in locked filing cabinets and in password protected computer files at the University of South Carolina. The results of the study may be published or presented at meetings, but your identity will not be revealed.

Contact Persons

If you have any questions or want more information concerning this research, you may contact me, Deborah McMurtrie, at (803) 641-2834 or DeborahMc@usca.edu. My faculty advisor, Dr. Michelle Bryan, Associate Professor, University of South Carolina, may be contacted at (803) 777-0538. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact Thomas Coggins, Director of the Office of Research Compliance, University of South Carolina, at (803) 777-7095, E-Mail-tcoggins@mailbox.sc.edu

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free not to participate or to withdraw at any time, for whatever reason, without negative consequences. Participation

is not related to regular coursework and participation or withdrawal will have no impact on grades. Your decision to participate will not affect your present or future relationship with The University of South Carolina. In the event that you do withdraw from this study, the information you have already provided will be kept in a confidential manner.

Participant's Signature

I have read the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to participate in this study, although I have been told that I may withdraw at any time without negative consequences. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form for my records and future reference. Select one:

_____ I agree to participate in this study.

_____ I choose NOT to participate in this study.

_____

Printed Name of Participant

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   Date

_____   _____

Deborah H. McMurtrie

September 10, 2014

Signature of Investigator   Date

Parental Consent Form for the Participation of Minors

Principal Investigator: Deborah McMurtrie

Introduction and Purpose of the Study

Your son or daughter is invited to participate in a study. The purpose of the study to help pre-service teachers (undergraduate college students majoring in education) understand the unique characteristics and needs of young adolescents from diverse backgrounds. The goal is to explore the issue of cultural responsiveness in middle level teacher preparation.   I am asking for permission to include your child in this study. My name is Deborah McMurtrie and I am a doctoral candidate at The University of South Carolina, Department of Educational Studies. I am conducting a research study as part of the requirements for my Ph.D. degree in Foundations of Education.

If you allow your child to participate, a pre-service teacher enrolled in my adolescent development class will visit your child's classroom twice a week for 12 weeks. The pre-service teacher will take notes in an observation/reflection journal, help your child with schoolwork, and ask your child questions. The answers to the questions will be used to create an Identity Concept Map. Your child will choose which questions they want to answer each week. Sample questions include, "How would you describe your personality?" "Who do you look up to?" and "What information do you think we should include on your Identity Concept Map?"

Risks of Participation

There are no known risks associated with participating in this research.

Benefits of Participation

Taking part in this study will give your child an opportunity to work one-on-one with a college student mentor. They will work together to create your child's Identity Concept Map, and you will be given a copy at the end of the project.

Confidentiality of Records

Participation will be confidential. Under no circumstances will the students' names or personal information be shared with anyone without your explicit permission. Study information will be stored in locked filing cabinets and in password protected computer files at the University of South Carolina. The results of the study may be published or presented at meetings, but your child's identity will not be revealed.

Contact Persons

If you have any questions or want more information concerning this research, you may contact me, Deborah McMurtrie, at (803) 641-2834 or DeborahMc@usca.edu. My faculty advisor, Dr. Michelle Bryan, Associate Professor, University of South Carolina, may be contacted at (803) 777-0538. If you have any questions or concerns about your child's participation in this study, you may call Thomas Coggins, Director of the Office of Research Compliance, University of South Carolina, at (803) 777-7095.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free not to participate or to withdraw at any time, for whatever reason, without negative consequences. If you choose not to participate, this will not affect your child's grades. Your decision to allow your son or daughter to participate will not affect your or his or her present or future relationship with The University of South Carolina or with your child's school. In the event that you do

withdraw from this study, the information you have already provided will be kept in a confidential manner.

Parent's Signature

You are making a decision to allow your son or daughter to participate in this study. Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above and have decided to allow him or her to participate in the study. If you later decide that you wish to withdraw your permission for your child to participate in the study, simply tell me. You may discontinue his or her participation at any time.

_____   _____

Signature of Parent(s) or Legal Guardian   Date

Child's Signature- Minor Assent

I have read the description of the study in this form, and I have been told what the procedures are and what I will be asked to do in this study. Any questions I had have been answered. I have received permission from my parent(s) to participate in the study, and I agree to participate in it. I know that I can quit the study at any time.

_____   _____

Signature of Child   Date

_____

Printed Name of Child

_____   _____

Signature of Pre-service Teacher/Mentor   Date

Appendix B: Pilot Study Interview Protocol

Interview 1, Part 1 (Purpose: Focused Life History)

1. Tell me about yourself. How did you come to be interested in becoming a teacher?

2. Thinking back to the beginning of the semester, what did you imagine "Westside Middle School" would be like?

3. What concerns did you have about working with young adolescents from diverse backgrounds?

4. How does Westside Middle School compare to the middle school that you or your child attended?

Interview 1, Part 2 (Purpose: Details of the Service Learning Experience)

1. Tell me about the student you decided to mentor. What are some of his/her talents, strengths, interests, and challenges? Did anything about this student surprise you?

2. Tell me about your relationship with this student. How did you come to understand mentoring and/or advocacy in this setting?

3. How would you describe Westside Middle School's student body in terms of racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic dimensions or differences?

4. How would you describe students in this school who are struggling academically?

5. How do the teachers at this school address the needs of struggling students?

Interview 1, Part 3 (Purpose: Reflection on the Meaning)

1. How do the teachers at this school demonstrate that they value and respect diversity?

2. How were you raised to think about issues related to racial and ethnic diversity? What would you teach your children about these issues?

3. In what ways do you think you may have changed as a result of this service learning project?

4. Do you have anything you would like to add that you feel might be important?

Betty Interviews 2 & 3 (Purpose: Follow up and Clarification)

1. In your previous interview, you said, "I feel education is vital to success in life, as I think of success" (line 5). What does success look like for you?

2. You mentioned that before the service learning project began, you had "done a little bit of research on Title 1 schools" (lines 11-12). What did you find out?

3. You mentioned that you were nervous before you started the service learning project at Westside Middle School (lines 38-39). Could you please expand on this?

4. In what ways do you think you may have changed as a result of the project?

5. After the service learning project, you were a substitute at Westside Middle School. What can you tell me about that experience?

6. In your last interview, you mentioned that because you were raised in eastern North Carolina, you "had baggage as far as prejudices…" (lines 52-55) Could you please expand on this?

7. How does the word "prejudice" compare to the word "racism?" (How would others define these words, and then how would YOU define them?)

8. How were you raised to think about issues related to race and ethnic diversity?

9. How did you teach your children about these issues?

10. Is there anything else you would like to share?

Appendix C: Pilot Study Protocol For Focus Groups

Focus Group 1

(Topic: *A Girl Like Me* Film and Peggy McIntosh's White Privilege Article)

1. Please choose a pseudonym for yourself for the purpose of this study.

2. What was your reaction to the film, *A Girl Like Me?*

3. How do you think it felt to be the young black child in the doll study?

4. Have you ever heard the term "white privilege" before? What do you think it means?

5. Do you think that racism is prevalent in our society or is a thing of the past? Why?

Focus Group 2

(Topic: *A Girl Like Me* Film, White Privilege, and Magazine Ads Activity)

1. Please choose a pseudonym for yourself for the purpose of this study.

2. What was your reaction to the film, *A Girl Like Me?*

3. How do you think it felt to be the young black child in the doll study?

4. Have you ever heard the term "white privilege" before? What do you think it means?

5. Do you think that racism is prevalent in our society or is a thing of the past? Why?

6. What was your reaction to the magazine ads activity we did in class today?

7. How do you think it feels to be an African American child in today's society flipping through a People magazine or watching a Disney movie? How do you think it feels to see what beautiful and smart and healthy looks like, and it doesn't look like you?

Focus Group 3

(Topic: Lucky Accident of Birth?)

1. Are you very aware of being older than the other students in this class?

2. Have you ever been discriminated against because of your age, your gender, your appearance, or a disability?

3. Can you think of an example of something you might not have any control over, but that people might respond to in a negative way?

4. Were you born into a family that supported your going to college? If they had not, do you think you still would have ended up here?

5. Do you think that you will take some of the things we have been learning throughout the semester and use them in your classroom?

Appendix D: Pilot Study Protocol For Document Analysis

1. What was your reaction to the film *A Girl Like Me?*

2. What do you think the term "white privilege" means?

3. Were you surprised by anything on Peggy McIntosh's list of daily effects of White Privilege?

4. What was your reaction to the magazine ads activity? Were you surprised at our findings?

5. What did you learn from the students who visited from Camp Long?

6. What was your reaction to the Class and Poverty Awareness Quiz?

7. Were you surprised by your classmates' responses to the "What Do We Think" poll?

8. What are some examples of institutional classism that you have personal experience with or feel strongly about? (agree or disagree) Why?

9. What did you think of the Silent Graffiti activity? Were you surprised by your classmates' responses to any of the categories? (race, ethnicity, culture, poverty, prejudice, stereotypes)

Appendix E: Critical Family History Protocol For Interviews

Individual Interview #1

(October 2014) Purpose: Family Memories

1. Do you have any childhood memories related to race or racism? If so, can you describe them?

2. Tell me about the first black person you knew well. What do you remember about him or her?

3. What do you remember about your grandparents?

4. In thinking about your own family history, how far back can you go? Do you know whether, and how, race affected the lives of your ancestors?

5. Can you identify one ancestor who lived during a time in which race might have had a significant impact on their life?

6. After documenting chronological details such as the person's name, where he or she lived, and major life events such as births, marriages, and deaths, can we verify whether or not this person owned property? If so, what was its value at the time?

Individual Interview #2

(October/November 2014) Purpose: Family Research

1. Tell me about your selected family member's life story.

2. Who was in the story? Who wasn't, and why?

3. How did your family member interact with people of color?

4. How did your ancestor fit into society? To what groups did he or she belong? Was he or she well respected by others? Did he or she have a position of power or authority over others?

5. How did groups at that time compete for limited resources, and how did race play out in such conflicts?

6. Did this person have a will? If so, what assets did he or she pass on to others?

Individual Interview #3

(December 2014/January 2015) Purpose: Historical, Social, and Political Contexts

1. What was going on in the region, nation, and world at that time?

2. How might those events and experiences have impacted your ancestor's understandings of race?

3. How might your ancestor's life have been different if he or she was not white?

4. How was this person's life impacted by power structures and institutionalized racism?

Appendix F: Critical Family History Protocol For Focus Groups

Focus Group Interview #1

(November 2014) Purpose: Focused Life History

1. When you were growing up, how did your family talk about race? Did any members of your family make racist comments or tell racist jokes?

2. Do you have any childhood memories related to race or racism? If so, can you describe them?

3. How many of your neighbors were people of color? How many black or Latino students attended your school? As a teenager, did you have any black friends? Would your parents have welcomed a person of color in your home? How do you know?

4. As a teenager, did you date outside of your race? How would your parents and grandparents have reacted? How do you know?

5. Can you identify key experiences or pivotal moments in your life that shaped your understandings about race and racism?

6. Would you be interested in participating in a critical family history project that will include doing some genealogical research about your ancestors?

Focus Group Interview #2

(February 2015) Purpose: Reflections on the CFH Experience

1. How did you feel about participating in the critical family history project?

2. What evidence did we find of generational white privilege?

3. What similarities and differences do you see across the three cases?

4. Can you identify key experiences or pivotal moments in your critical family history project that changed your understandings about race and racism?

5. How does your ancestor's life inform the present?

6. In what ways do you think you may have changed as a result of this project?

7. After doing this project, do you intend to keep researching other ancestors or branches in your family history?