The Journal of

Educational Foundations

Volume 32 Numbers 1, 2, 3, & 4 2019

Sponsored by Berea College
Berea, Kentucky
Published by Caddo Gap Press

The Journal of Educational Foundations
Volume 32, Numbers 1, 2, 3, & 4 2019

In This Issue....

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The editors thank Berea College
for support for publication of the journal.

Front cover art by Ricardo Levins Morales (http://www.rlmartstudio.com)

Caddo Gap Press: Alan H. Jones, Publisher,
3145 Geary Boulevard, PMB 275, San Francisco, California 94118 U.S.A.
Phone 415/666-3012; E-Mail info@caddogap.com; Website www.caddogap.com

ISSN 1047-8248.

The Journal of Educational Foundations

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Nicholas D. Hartlep
& T. Jameson Brewer

Welcome to yet another change with *The Journal of Educational Foundations (JEF)*. It was just two issues ago that our editorial team wrote an introduction that announced that the journal was under new editorship and sponsorship (Hartlep, Bute, & Brewer, 2018; Hartlep & Brewer, 2018). Now this summer (2019) Nicholas left Metropolitan State University for Berea College, which is the new institutional sponsor of *JEF*. In addition to the change in sponsorship, another major change is that *JEF* will now be published electronically and be open access. Caddo Gap Press, the owner and publisher of the journal, has agreed with the editorial team's goal of democratizing the journal and offering free acess to scholars in the field. The journal will be hosted on the Open Journal System (OJS), a free platform that will also facilitate the peer-review process, the publishing process, and ultimately disseminating issues to a wider audience. The journal will be online, which means we hope you will share the links to the articles and the journal, as well as encourage your colleagues to submit their scholarship to the journal. Because we will no longer be printing issues, we need not worry so much about the number of articles we publish in each issue. Another benefit of the OJS is that we can also publish related documents, such as appreciation for those who have reviewed for the journal, responses to articles, and book reviews. We also need to build our reviewer pool, so please log on to the OJS website and create an account: www.jef.berea.edu/ojs

Jameson Brewer has moved from being the Book Review Editor to Associate Editor. He has always been active with *JEF*, and we are excited

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to announce that Boni Fernandes Wozolek will serve as the journal's new Book Review Editor. Boni brings experience to the role and Nicholas and Jameson are excited for this next chapter in the journal's history. The editors would like to thank Alan H. Jones of Caddo Gap for all that he has done for the publication as well. Also, thanks go to Monte Bute of Metropolitan State University for his editorial labor as well as Rene Antrop-González, previous Dean of the School of Urban Education at Metropolitan State University, and now incoming Dean of the School of Education at State University of New York (SUNY), New Paltz for his advocacy for sponsorship of the journal these previous two years.

JEF remains indexed and peer reviewed. By eliminating individual subscription fees and paywalls, we believe that more people will be able to interact with the journal and its ideas, which is a win-win for everyone. By publishing thoughtful scholarship, and via analytics, we know that *JEF* will continue to be recognized as one of the primary journals in the social foundations of education field and a highly appropriate venue to position scholars and non-scholars' work. Thank you in advance for your support of the journal and we are delighted that *JEF* can and will be a vehicle for democratizing ideas.

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Difficult Knowledge(s) and the False Religion(s) of Schooling

The Journal of Educational Foundations
Vol. 32, No. 1, 2, 3, & 4
2019, pp. 5-23

Scott Jarvie
Kevin J. Burke

Abstract

This analytic essay builds on recent work examining the ways religiosity in U.S. education is manifest in the particular discourses that come to shape popular understandings of the possible in and through schooling. The authors analyze the function of four concepts, in light of recent constructions of religions and their relative positioning as 'true' or 'false,' in order to make a larger point about the ways in which religious understandings of difficult knowledge (Pitt & Britzman, 2003), falsehood, truth, and risk underline that which is im/possible in the U.S. educational project. Building from an "exorbitant moment" (Gallop, 2002) in a Catholic school, and putting it in conversation with recent discourses about ISIS/ISIL, Christianity, and the possibility of a true (and thus, false) religion, the work argues that ultimately schooling, averse to the risk of falsehood, continues to posit a single road to what is true and who has access to truth. This orientation, the authors suggest, is especially manifest in the ongoing moment of educational reform.

Introduction

> Truth is the agreement of our ideas with the ideas of God.
>
> —Jonathan Edwards, *Memoirs*

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In a typical Catholic mass, the General Intercessions, or Prayers of the Faithful, is a time set aside to pray for contemporary persons and events. The moment constitutes an exceptional break from the otherwise rigid traditionalism of the mass, rooted as it is in the extrahistorical continuity of ritual (see, for example, McLaren, 1999), in which the current happenings of the world are brought into the sacred, isolated space of the church. It's also a moment in which the immediate context of the service matters: intercessions at a mass in Nigeria today would look very different from those given in New York 50 years ago, though the rest of the service (e.g., the readings, the Nicene Creed, the Eucharist) might look quite similar. We share this to set up just how the following event could make its way into a Church space which might not be concerned with contemporary Islam (except by its tacit exclusion) otherwise.

The first author, while teaching at a Catholic high school in Chicago, attended an all-school mass in the spring of 2015. During a typical Prayers of the Faithful, sandwiched between intercessions for the recent death of alumni and the impending departure of a group of seniors on a service trip to West Virginia, the lector enjoined the congregation: "We pray for the victims of violence at the hands of ISIS, who practice a false version of Islam. Let us pray to the Lord." The congregation provided their solemn, expected response, "Lord, hear our prayer," and the mass proceeded on, as always.

We call attention here to the ordinariness of this "exorbitant moment" (Gallop, 2002): the rhetoric of religious truth and falsehood, far from seeming odd or inappropriate as it was employed to delegitimize a disturbing religious act, went mostly unnoticed. Indeed, we suggest this rhetoric was not only so common as to seem natural within a Catholic context, it was also natural to the students (this happened as a part of official programming at the school, after all) in the congregation that day. Moreover, we're interested in thinking about how the rhetoric of true and false religion shapes the experiences of students in religious schools, certainly, but also in all schools through pedagogies of religious truth and falsity. If we take seriously the historical context of U.S. education, and recent arguments around the embedded religion of public schooling (e.g., Apple, 2006; Blumenfeld, 2006, Burke & Segall, 2016), then the kinds of discourses present in and available to faculty and students in both religious and public schools may well not be entirely different. In other words: students are taught all the time about what is true and by contrast what is false and we would do well to think about the ways this Manichean distinction (free of nuance as it is) is religious at base, when it takes place within a liturgy, as above, as well as when it occurs in so-called secular contexts. There is little ambiguity around these concepts and some of that has to do with the scientific management-ification of

education (Labaree, 2010; Lagemann, 2002), but it also comes from a deeper wellspring, we think, in religious understandings of im/possibilities in U.S. discourse.

In another context, Mustafa Aykol, writing in *The New York Times* (12/21/15), seeks to undermine the theological underpinnings of ISIS by citing the Islamic concept of "irja," a doctrine "put forward by some Muslim scholars during the very first century of Islam" in the midst of bloody battles around who could lay claim to being "a true Muslim." The tack of the argument is that in answer to the extremity of ISIS, "irja is…[the]theological antidote [to what] the Islamic State presents…as piety" for irja "is…true piety combined with humility." It's not for us to judge the theological claim made by Aykol. Rather what we point towards is the use value of the claim embedded in his argument, nearly identical to that which bled into the Catholic mass noted above: that there are true and false religions in the world. That there is no reflection on the ways in which this argument nicely mirrors that of Aykol's presumed antagonists is precisely the point from our perspective, for he and his counterparts in the Islamic State are embedded in the same discursive frame where true neatly abuts false, asymptotically. That is: there is true and there is false, but such things never overlap. Similarly Graeme Wood's piece in *The Atlantic*, "What ISIS Really Wants" addresses (in flawed ways, of course) the notion of The Islamic State in the Levant (and Syria) in reply to a number of discursive constructions that have arisen around it, just as it arose, and fell, as a world power. He notes that former President Obama had been very careful in stating that the group was "not Islamic"—at least in partial response to jeremiads and cassandras both, really, on the political Right suggesting that the civilized West is at war with the radical and regressive East and thus Islam.

Of course, and to the point of our work, this is not a phenomenon limited to the contemporary Middle East. Indeed Armstrong's (2015) *Fields of Blood* does a nice job of collecting the historical strands of Eastern and Western major religions; this to do the work of establishing how they are linked to state power and particularly violence, nearly all of which can be distilled to a clash of true believers against apostasy and heresy. Agamben (2011) does similar work particularly in a Christian context. It can be dizzying, really, to consider the simultaneity with which we are all, in this frame, heretical and thus, to a degree, ungrievable (Butler, 2010) from any number of perspectives. It's important to note then our argument here isn't particularly about Islam, and certainly not its doctrine, except in the sense that it has been demonized and racialized in the West and specifically in relation to schools (e.g., Gonzalez & Balakit, 2016); we think the ease with which religion becomes racialized through a conflation of the two concepts is vital to consider (Joshi, 2009, p. 45).

The implications of this sort of racialization are easily seen in work like Buecher's (2016) where a high school student, an Afghan refugee who wears hijab is made to stand in for all of the stereotypes and identities that her peers in a Colorado school assume she might claim.

The careful point at the outset here is thus not to take an Orientalist (Said, 1978) (and ahistorical) approach (for a ready antidote see: Carroll, 2001, 2004) that leads to the shining city on the hill in the West, as we want to avoid exacerbating the current Islamophobic moment in which we continue to exist. Nor is it to single out Islam for the pedagogical implications it has in U.S. classrooms, as others have already compellingly done (e.g., Jackson, 2010). To that end we point to Rahimi's (2017) recent piece in the *Huffington Post* on Christian terrorism as just one example of how the rhetoric of true and false religion cuts across faiths:

> Most analysts are hesitant to associate terrorism with Christianity, a world religion with the most followers in the world, and prefer to view such violence as a [sic] mere marginal features of the Christian world. Christianity, they argue, is the religion of love and peace. Those terrorists who claim to be Christians have merely perverted the true teachings of the Bible to justify violence for their personal gain.

(And Rahimi goes on there to convincingly trace the violent history of Christianity that contradicts this very rhetoric). Indeed in seeking to avoid the kind of "theological redlining" of which Joshi writes (2009, p. 52), we further invoke the long history of Christian rhetoric around true and false religion (e.g., Caputo, 2006; Curtis, 2016; Kruse, 2015) as part of a colonial/imperial/evangelical project of bringing Truth to heathens. That certainly is a better target here and there is indeed much to critique.

Our main interest lies in the notion from Wood's piece, as from Aykol's and Rahimi's, that when such a rhetoric of true and false religion is used "we are misled…by a well-intentioned but dishonest campaign to deny the Islamic State's [or Christian terrorist groups'] medieval religious nature." Pundits point to the falsehood of ISIS' brand of Islam or of violence done in Christ's name in order to avoid, we'll argue shortly, the difficult knowledge that religion broadly might be worth critiquing. Or, differently, that true religion might itself well be violent, vicious and deadly. To put a finer point on it, as above in the General Intercessions, this is about the creation of true and false religions and the language that's leveraged to do so, not just in general interest periodicals, but in schools.

Within schools themselves—and U.S. schools particularly—a whole body of literature on hidden Christianity (Bindewald, 2015; Brass, 2011a, 2011b; Burke & Segall, 2016; Macaluso, 2016) attests to the privileging of the truth of (particularly Protestant) Christianity, its values, and ways of thinking, living, and teaching. As a brief example of this, we might

think about the way salvation—for a particular branch of Christianity, perhaps the most important Truth—is baked into assumptions about what teaching is for: saving students. That is, Christianity is often privileged as True in the ways we teach even in secular classrooms; this at the expense of others' un(der)valued (ir)religious beliefs. The trick baked into this privileging is that students (schools, teachers, and society alike) need to be saved from the inherent wickedness of falsehood in order to be brought to the truth. While teachers might be evangelical (i.e. Juzwik & McKenzie, 2015), teaching itself, differently, might be constructed as evangelizing practice whereby error (in whatever form) in public schooling is constructed in the U.S. imagination as tacitly sinful (Burke & Segall, 2016). The ability to construct public schooling as fallen has served certain reform movements quite well[1] and missing the religious nature of, say, *A Nation at Risk* or "No Excuses" approaches to discipline, is to lose the thread of the underlying mission of much reform language, purpose, and structure.

We began with the anecdote at a Catholic school to tell the story of how the first author came to this work, as one way into this larger conversation of how religious rhetoric makes its way into U.S. schools. What we want to engage is the propensity lately—as well as historically—in education (and its rhetoric) to produce argumentative frames similar to these religious constructions of truth and falsehood in order to justify pedagogical, theoretical, and political (all of which we'll argue are inflected by theological) decisions made in the name of schooling. Such frames problematically narrow and limit what counts as true and false in our schools, yet these approaches are on the rise in contemporary U.S. school reform. We ask, then, what exactly is risked when we label certain religious beliefs, interpretations and practices false? Or, perhaps more pointedly, in what ways are our understandings, in education, of what is true and what is false always already undergirded by religious understandings of the possible? On what grounds are these claims justified? And how are such claims employed rhetorically and pedagogically, in the public sphere and the classroom?

The work of the piece, building on prior research (Jarvie & Burke, 2015) regarding the possibilities of leveraging religious schools in engagement with Britzman's (1998) *difficult knowledge*, is to consider the ways in which conceptions of 'falseness' and 'false religion'—and by necessary contrast, truth and true religion—operate rhetorically and pedagogically in schools. We build from the rhetorical examples above to think about the ways in which religion, cast as 'false' in educational settings teaches, just as it closes down certain discourses along the way. Further, though we do situate the initial 'moment' of this research in a religious school, we don't wish to limit the scope of the discussion to the narrow concerns

of, say, Catholic schooling. Some of that intentionality arises from our sense that particularly in the United States, public schooling is always already religiously Christian in nature (see: Blumenfeld, Joshi, & Fairchild 2009; Burke & Segall, 2016) but, further, it comes from a belief that social science is at a crossroads as regards religion and theology (Wexler, 2013). That we may be at a post-secular moment in research, as Wexler claims, allows us to differently conceive of the kinds of questions we ask around the use of religious rhetoric in and around schools and particularly the ways in which such arguments shape notions of truth and falseness.

By attending carefully to a "focus on…religion as structured social practices, social forms, and the social relations of religious practice" (Wexler, 2013, p. 23) we think we can come to differently make sense of the current neoliberal political moment broadly in education as one that understands truth (and falsehood) *religiously* first of all. Or: though we begin with, and read through, religion as understood to be true or false (and seek to trouble such distinctions) what we're really writing about are orientations to truth, falsehood, and risk in ways that bear the very real traces of religious certainty. Eric Foner suggests that "the country's religious roots and its continuing high level of religious faith make Americans more likely to see enemies not just as opponents but as evil" (as cited in Asad, 2003, p. 7). These issues have been heightened in particular in relation to the current federal administration not only amidst the leveraging and counterleveraging of the notion of fake news—not to mention the laughable idea of alternative facts—but also in the appointment of a dominionist Christian as Secretary of Education. One point to make is that this particular religious proclivity at the heights of power in the U.S. system isn't necessarily novel, but we might take the opportunity in the very public relitigation of the nature of what is true in relation to research around schools, to think back through religion as it continues to color the very idea of claims or, say, in relation to evidentiary standards.

We might think, in the immediate, about the ways in which debates around educational reform so often devolve into recriminatory epithets questioning the motives of anyone who dare disagree with, say, charters, or local school control. More to the point, however, is the question of just what makes a discourse "and an action 'religious' or 'secular'?" (Asad, 2003, p. 8). We'd suggest, in some degree that the distinction falls not only to the reader herself (as Asad asserts) but moreso to the discursive im/possibilities made present in particular and limited understandings of truth. Foucault (1972) is useful here as we find that "discourses…constitute" objects even as they "work" them to "the point of transforming" them altogether (p. 32). Noting further and elsewhere

(1980) in thinking through regimes of truth that "we must produce truth as we must produce wealth" while asking the fundamental question: "how is the discourse of truth…able to fix limits to the rights of power?" (p. 93). The object of the true and (its constitutive other) the false requires an examination, most particularly in relation to religion and education and will require an archeology of the presence of religious influences in the production of discourse. Engagement with *difficult knowledge* (Garrett, 2017; Pitt & Britzman, 2003) can help us better make sense of the limitations of our frames here, we think.

Framing the False Religions of Schooling

To get to a more universalized implication for U.S. education in particular, however, we make our way in this essay through four conceptual frames which help us to understand the way religious truth and falsehood get constructed in schools. First, we begin with conceptions of difficult knowledge and falseness, demonstrating the difficult knowledge of religious truth/falsehood and considering how teaching often begins with the assumption of falsehoods (of students, of curricula, of religions). We then move to the other side of the epistemic coin, describing constructions of truth in pedagogy and especially with respect to religion. Having moved through that, we turn to a consideration of risk as a conceptual frame, exploring how, in pedagogical contexts, risking falsehood necessarily (and productively) implicates the self with difficult knowledge. We conclude tying these threads together, making an argument for the usefulness of such risk in engaging religious truth and falsehood in schools as well as offering an alternative way of approaching truth that may help avoid some of the problems of religious truth/falsehood.

Difficult Knowledge

We do this work through Britzman's (1998; see also Pitt & Britzman, 2003)) engagement with difficult knowledge which asks:

> How [is] learning put into question? How [does] learning put the self into question? How [can] this work reverse its content and turn against the learner? And how [can] learning become entangled in the vicissitudes of unhappiness, suffering, conflict, accident, and desire? (p. 30)

These are questions which account for the ways, Garrett (2017) explains, "knowledge may be experienced as unwelcome" (p. 111). Read through the lens of difficult knowledge, how can we make sense of the rhetoric of true and false religion? What does, in other words, dismissing certain versions of religion as false allow schools, policy makers, and public

officials to avoid? Difficult knowledge helps us to think about the ways in which rhetorics of truth and falsehood may be deployed religiously by schools, in the service of exercising and consolidating power in a pursuit, often enough, of not knowing some things while holding forth the value and comfort of knowing other things well.

In prior work with difficult knowledge in Catholic schools, we found that addressing such difficulty required the teacher to risk asking questions and proceeding without fear through answers which engage directly the upsetting aspects of a difficult curriculum, generating crises of learning. Such work may or may not be possible in the current educational milieu, particularly in public schools where teachers are, of course, agents of the State (and thus party to its commitments to certain versions of truth, falsehood and imagined student bodies). Still: the work of thinking about how taking epistemic risks perhaps mitigates the effects of embedded understandings of truth and falsehood seems fine fettle in educational research. That taking those risks may not be possible, again, probably reinforces our point about religious understandings of truth and the potential demonization that comes through challenging claims, particularly in relation to teacher autonomy at the current date.

We tend to think that this engagement with risk might well be considered the work of dealing with the difficult knowledge of false religion in and around schools. If, conceptually, difficult knowledge is grappling (or not) with problems we'd rather not consider, then what is more apropos to think about and through than religion (mostly absent from discussion in education) and falsehood (the negation of that which is supposed to be sought—the truth)? Or: In what ways do religious understandings embedded in how we conceive of schooling make certain forms of truth easy to falsify and eliminate from schooling altogether? We think part of the difficult knowledge of false religion reflects a fear of what is possible to say about religion and schools, and particularly of how that speech might implicate the speaker. Indeed, much of the work of understanding the rhetoric and pedagogy of falseness, in schools especially, may be upsetting, and may end in crisis. That this is so is not, of itself, problematic to us: while crisis can be unsettling, teachers have a duty to provide students with "a learning process that helps them to work through their crises" (Jarvie & Burke, 2015, p. 30). As we learned previously, failure to engage difficult knowledge with students runs the risk of missing out on that which is essential to their formation as persons; this risk is compounded in the context of difficult religious knowledge, the mis/treatment of which, the parsing into truths and falsehoods, (or the avoidance altogether) in schools is our focus here.

Of Falseness

"Falseness" or falsity or falsehood has, to a degree, to do with the impossible. Britzman (2009) writes that "what might be most impossible is the education of the impossible professions…because those who carry out the education of others convey both the experience of their own education and their experience of what is impossible in the profession itself" (p. 20). The impossibility implied in the invocation of false (and by contrast then of course, 'true') religion misses the potential fecundity of the notion that "teachers may hate their education" (p. 22) without rendering their lives in the classroom impossible. That is, in other words, "what was never meant to be education is precisely the responsibility education inherits" (p. 24) and so the real work of the educational project is in engaging the impossible, in addressing falsehood in order to reveal its particular truths. A turn toward falseness, then asks, what might we gain by engaging with Foucault's concept of fearless speech, what he calls *parrhesia*? In one sense we might read this recourse to falseness as a way of engaging "logos itself, the discourse which will give access to truth" (2008, p. 151) as of course truth and falsity are set up as constitutive opposites. Missing, however, in the dismissal of a religion (or of, say, a teacher for insufficiently practicing it well) is the notion that a true Cynic, "the [embodiment] of *parrhesia*, cannot promise not to say anything" (p. 169). Tacit in the making of impossibility, of course, is the limiting of what is able to be true, to be said, to be lived. The risk of difficult knowledge, in the parrhesiastic sense, allows us to conjure falsehood as a route to possibility in education. 'False,' after all, can be the right answer on a test.

To a certain degree no educational project can escape an orientation toward its students that begins from a sense of falseness. This is, famously, the central tenet of nearly all of critical pedagogy/theory: the work of replacing a false consciousness (Freire, 1974) with something more progressive, or humanizing, but generally critical. It's not that this is an unworthy project, per say, but it is an approach to students that suggests falsehood in need of correction. We won't spend time here playing with the possibility that sits in so much of the way standardization currently relies inherently on the interplay between true answers and wrong, false, ones but we think the larger discourse is a reasonable one given the general contours of what is possible in an education that must replace the ignorance, the false beliefs, of any given student, with the curriculum that will bring truth (or the examination of truth, say). Indeed:

> Even good and democratic teachers…impose their views. Such an imposition is inevitable; it derives from the very act of teaching, of making choices among a variety of possible learning opportunities for

> one's students; choices that advance some knowledge, knowing, and knowers over others. (Segall, 2002, p. 98)

Biesta (2014) tries to work around these implications (and indeed any constructivist educator does something of the same thing) by seeking "subjectification" as a way to think of students as beings "coming into presence" (p. 85) rather than as vessels to be banked. But this critique has been around since Dewey (and indeed before him) and certainly more prominently since the kinds of Marxist critiques of Freire which worried about emancipation and the pitfalls of switching poles. What we're suggesting, however, is that even with something like Ranciere's (1991) ignorant schoolmaster teaching that he has "nothing to teach" (p. 15) we're still in territory where a student has come to the situation of schooling expecting a lesson and though the lesson may be about the ignorance of the instructor, that's still a replacing of the false notion the student began with. Bingham (2008) takes a different tack and suggests that "the teacher always needs to be authorized by the student just as much as she needs to enact authority" (p. 38). And while we're sympathetic to his claims about relationality and particularly the value of friendship between and among students and teachers (Jarvie, 2019), we still remain in a frame where the teacher is building the individual situation in which authorization might or might not happen. It's still the teacher's space, as it were, and students are authorized to authorize the teacher. Or not. That this is so doesn't allow us to escape the frame where students must be taught that their coadjuting of authority can happen and matters; they must unlearn their prior false expectations of the teacher and the classroom.

Education, in the end, will always grapple with choices about truth and falsehood and we don't see a way around the sense that students are constantly to be led out of their particular caves and into the light; perhaps and probably this points to the fundamentally religious nature of the project. That doesn't make it unworthy or problematic of itself, but it does suggest an epistemological sense that students are in need of something from teachers. This sets up situations where students, and particularly students who will teach (Garrett & Segall, 2013; Segall & Garrett, 2013) are well served by the narrative of their lacking in order to engage only partially with difficult knowledge. If, after all, students are immersed in false consciousness, what incentive is there for their showing a particular grasp of truth that might, say, elucidate the privilege of their various positionalities?

Of Truth

Religion—and here we mean monotheistic and particularly Abrahamic religions—of course, is uniquely concerned with truth (and by contrast, falsehood, heresy, apostasy). It's no mistake, then, that John, the final of the Christian Gospels (the most literary; the most removed from the literal story of Christ in language and in time) has Jesus asserting, "I am the way, the truth and the light" (14:6). It's not that this assertion of (a) God as truth is particularly unique, but that Jesus was both referred to as rabbi (teacher) and asserted himself not as access to the truth, but as truth embodied, is important. It has implications for how we think about teaching and possibility in education, first of all, but it also points us to the fundamental fact that all religion is pedagogical: it is about teaching. The nature of how that teaching gets engaged may well vary and in some sense is moot for our concerns here, but ultimately the pedagogical project is about replacing false consciousness with truth. There's something to the Christian ritual of (literally or figuratively) eating and drinking God: this is the ingestion of the way, the light, and the truth. Prior to the reforms of Vatican II in the Catholic Church in fact, the Communion wafer, having been transubstantiated into the literal body of Christ, was not to be touched by the hands of the faithful, nor was it to be really even chewed. Placed on the tongue, believers were meant to avoid de-sanctifying the truth of God with their heathen teeth as much as possible. The battle for truth was literally happening in the mouths of believers. The trouble, theologically (and ontologically) was that humans only had momentary access to that full manifestation of truth: sin inevitably intervened, and the false living of being in the world corrupted the serenity of that moment. At that time, and indeed still, Catholics weren't to take the Eucharist without first seeking absolution through the sacrament of Reconciliation where a full confession of sins was made and absolved, after penance. For devout believers: rinse and repeat.

The point here isn't to proselytize but to suggest that this pedagogical relationship where the full truth is only momentarily available to the fallen, and through the ministrations of a preacher in the role of surrogate for the ultimate teacher, the first rabbi, Christ, mirrors the pedagogical relationship in schools. It's not, further, to say that religious schools have unique purchase on this sort of cyclical return to falseness and the weekly/daily bringing of truth from a teacher, but that reading educational practice, policy and theory back through a religious lens might well give us different ways to engage the educational project and its general orientation to truth. If, in other words, students are penalized for chewing over difficult truths because the educational project is really

about their receiving and swallowing lessons whole, then the distinction between religious and irreligious dissolves fairly easily.

We run up against the problem, then, of truth in education. For Foucault (2008), in his later lectures, the question of truth came through the body (bodies) of the parrhesiast "who is the unlimited, permanent, unbearable questioner" (p. 18). He makes a hopeful, for our project here, distinction between the "expert who speaks of *tekhne*" which is equated with "the professor or teacher" who is, in the end, his own mode of veridiction linked to wisdom through tradition (p. 25) and the parrhesiast. *Parrhesia*, Foucault argues, has its own mode of truth-telling which is different from the technical (and the prophetic): "parrhesia [is] courageous frankness of truth-telling; exetasis as practice of the examination and test of the soul…; and finally, care as the objective and end of this…interrogatory frankness" (p. 122). Or, more clearly, again: the parrhesiast "cannot promise not to say anything" (p. 169).

For the sake of clarity, it's worth noting that teaching, as a profession, is full of the kinds of constraints on speech that precisely deny the promise of saying anything in the classroom. That's not an accidental grammatical construction: it's not that teachers can't say everything, though this is certainly true, but that of late and in the midst of the kinds of reforms that have imposed themselves on education writ large (stripping away of collective bargaining rights; rampant de-unionization; etc.) educators quite often really can't say a thing.[2] They risk their jobs should they make impolitic remarks (which we might be ok with, given the ways in which teaching has always been constrained by the kinds of political realities that go along with institutions of universal training) but they also have had their voices taken away in the form of scripted curricula and test-driven standardization. One point to make is that religious school teachers, who were once less protected than their public sector peers, may actually enjoy, in some sense, greater freedom in engaging the parrhesiastic in and around their classrooms.[3] Or more likely, we're coming to a place of convergence whereby the kinds of academic freedom that might have been available to public school teachers are pared down in different though similar ways to the dogmatically limited avenues for expression available to teachers in religious schools (see, for example, Schweber, 2003, and Schweber & Irwin, 2006). No teacher is fully free of constraint; indeed to borrow from Ahmed (2006), bodies that move easily—which is not to say that teacher bodies do, universally, but some might—don't necessarily move freely. Still: given the ways in which religion, as the ultimate truth claim, can be leveraged, it might be worth suggesting that teachers in denominational religious environments might have different leeway to leverage the parrhesiastic and particularly in rebuttal to the kinds of narrow falsehoods that threaten the profession.

And, again, the claims we make about truth and parrhesia here are not primarily about religious schools. Indeed, the point of this work is to understand how religiosity comes to shape conceptions of truth in U.S. schooling generally, public and private. We orient ourselves towards this end because of our understanding that these schools, by way of their history, are always already religious (Burke & Segall, 2016). We touch, then, on religious schooling for the possibilities it offers the parrhesiastic, not as exceptional but rather as an explicit and visible example of what may well be possible in our public schools, if they came to be differently understood, as we see them, if not as religious institutions, certainly as institutions often unquestioningly informed, reformed, and deformed by religious discourses. Of course all religion is about truth, but in this case, it might just be time for teachers in religious schools to begin to take risks around the whole truth of education, as it were.

Risking Falsehood

Part of what makes the fearless speech of turning towards falsehood risky is that it necessitates a certain type of difficult knowledge: knowledge which implicates the self. We found this to be true in our previous work with difficult knowledge in schools (Jarvie & Burke, 2015), noting that in pedagogically engaging with the difficult:

> Much is at risk here: the relationships between not only students and themselves, but also their friends, relatives, role models, and parents; their faith and beliefs; the legitimacy of other members of the faculty and administration; the community at-large; and, of course, my job. (p. 88)

We see such self-implication as part-and-parcel with parrhesia; indeed, this is what makes the speech fearless (and risky) instead of merely transgressive. Telling the truth, about oneself and one's school and one's religion, necessarily risks all three; and yet, in Foucault's telling, such risk is at times the only way towards truths. This may seem contradictory, but it rings (well, not true, but) resonantly for us, in that it explains how a turn towards falsehood might help enlighten rather than further confuse. For Foucault, true speech can only ever be fearless; that is, it can only ever be said (and heard) within a context that makes its telling risky, that threatens the teller. *Parrhesia*, for Foucault (2008), is not only "the courage of truth in the person who speaks and who, regardless of everything, takes the risk of telling the whole truth but it is also the interlocutor's courage in agreeing to accept the hurtful truth that he hears" (p. 13). What we have to conceive of, and what schools often persist in imagining is their mission, is telling hard truths about sin or discipline or less often, content, to students who may not want to hear it. The true

risk of parrhesia, were it to be engaged, would be to open the schools themselves up to the possibility of respecting students and the world enough to give them some level of engagement that would make both refusal of that truth or agreement with it possible. The agreement has been easy, if coerced; the refusal has been little if ever engaged except through exclusion, marginalization, punishment.

There is something, too, about the way education tends to takes up the true and the false that makes risk essential and unavoidable. Papastephanou (2006) argues that in education "risk becomes a monolithic and auto-effective business of either/or: a daring personality 'tries' it all, goes 'where no (wo)man has gone before' and browses over everything within reach" (p. 49) and that education is especially "susceptible to the 'either/or' mentalities" (p. 50) necessitated by an engagement with risk, and, we argue, by religious constructions of truth and falsehood. The goal for us, then, is to think an education which is both willing to risk the false (i.e., a parrhesiastic one) that also seeks a way outside of the often (but not only) reductive religious logic of either/or, true/false, which renders the false a problem, an impossible foundation for education, rather than an avenue for other educational possibilities.

The risks teachers take may provide routes to reckoning with the impossible and the false; but for myriad reasons, teachers often eschew risk in favor of more traditional and tested pedagogical territory. Risk-aversion in teaching manifests in a variety of ways: as resistance to reform implementation and change (Howard, 2013), particularly that which is politically risky (Iredale et al., 2013); as an obsession with teacher effectiveness, teaching outcomes, and data collection (Papastephanou, 2006); as an avoidance of risky classroom activities like discussion (Hills, 2007); and in a deep reluctance to center the class around students, provide them with autonomy and ownership of the curriculum, make use of their knowledge, and incorporate their personal lives and relationships (Clayton, 2007). Quite simply the risk, as Biesta (2014) puts it, is part and parcel with the work:

> Education always involves a risk…The risk is there because, as W.B. Yeats has put it, education is not about filling a bucket but about lighting a fire. The risk is there because education is not an interaction between robots but an encounter between human beings. (p. 1)

We think such risks may open up something worthwhile with respect to truth. Going forward, we hope to see research which explores the generative possibility of risk-taking and truth-questioning in (particularly, but not only) educational environments, informed by theory and theology or rather theology as theory. Such exploration means, very explicitly, engaging with the difficult im/possibility that what we know to be false

(and true) might not be so, or so easily taught. Some of this work, then, will require the teacher to risk asking difficult questions and proceeding without fear through answers that may present crises. In this spirit, Kumashiro (2004) has suggested:

> Learning what we desire not to learn (as when learning that the very ways in which we think, identify, and act are not only partial but also problematic) can be an upsetting process, [and so] crisis should be expected in the process of learning, by both the student and the teacher. (p. 55)

We see broad implications for such considerations of the false, difficult, risky, and impossible in pedagogy, and are left with a series of questions which deserve more extensive treatment: How are claims to falseness produced? Who is served through the rhetorical/pedagogical use of falseness? How do understandings of false religion continue to shape claims to truth in schools? Engaging these questions likely means that schools risk undermining the certainty with which they teach what they teach as true or false. A reckoning with Britzman's (1998) impossible will require that we take seriously "the paradox...that learning is provoked in the failure to learn" (p. 31).

Beyond the Religiosity of Truth in Schooling

As we've argued, it's rather easy to see how religion itself presents a narrow version of truth that depends on the dismissal of the false. Part of our task here is to explain how the religiosity of rhetorics of truth and falsehood come to bear on the (nominally, perhaps) secular spaces of our public schools. There are, we suggest, similar rhetorics in play in these realms of schooling as well: one might look to the school choice movement as a set of ideologies that falsify historical notions of public education and teaching, avoiding the difficult conflicts of collective bargaining for example, in order to legitimize and advance their own beliefs through the framing of truth and falsehood as first mutually exclusive and second as morally separable. The zeal and strategy with which these rhetorics are employed treads close, we think, to religiosity. We might also draw on the role risk plays in our consideration of religious truth to look at the way risk generally gets dismissed within a neoliberal worldview: much of education reform, with its neoliberal roots, is necessarily risk-averse (as markets are, at least in theory). Within this discursive backdrop, pedagogical risk becomes an act of transgression and resistance. This excites us for the possibilities it opens up at the pedagogical level, because this may lead to falsehood; and yet of course in the ways in which reform has set teachers up, this is increasingly impossible.

A shift is needed, then, in moving away from a rhetorical construction

of truth-and-falsehood which renders certain modes of thinking and teaching impossible; which, following Butler (2011), blinds us to the frames we use as educators, religious, and secular, to make sense of the difficult. This may require, in part, a shift away from a dogmatic, truth-seeking religious rhetoric which refuses to see the self as critically implicated in the teaching of difficult knowledge, or indeed as part of what makes it so difficult. As scholars, we see that anecdotal exorbitant moment at a school-mass in Chicago as not an exclusively or even primarily religious one: not as a story which says something about Catholicism or Islam or Catholic schools, but rather as a discursive instance of the type of rhetorical truth-production which goes on daily in our schools, religious and secular, private and public.

We call for, then, an attendance to the way the religious comes to shape secular pedagogy, particularly in the way it frames truth and falsehood to make certain ways of thought, methods of teaching, and modes of being possible. To ignore this is to elide the risk of the difficult knowledge that public education is, by way of its history, always already religious (Burke & Segall, 2016) and as such often treats truth religiously. This ignorance serves certain rhetorical and pedagogical ends and interests, protecting some and denying others, dividing the schooled world into the saved and the damned as it were. The rhetoric of truth and falsehood obscures the violence of this division in serving those interests.

Put another way, we might reconceive of truth and falsehood through a shift towards a more literary understanding of the true and the false. We conclude here with two examples of resistance to the limiting rhetoric of religious truth and falsehood. In a recent interview, Salman Rushdie (Neal, 2016) no stranger himself to what it means to risk blasphemy and violence in challenging religious truth, positions the literary as opening up for critique what has been rendered false by religious rhetoric: "We are asked to define ourselves as this and not that in ways that have to do with religion…The novel knows that this is a problem." What novels and stories can call attention to is a different kind of truth-telling, indeed a difficult one, that schools, religious and secular, often turn away from: truths they're afraid of acknowledging about themselves. It seems to us that what schools so often do is ignore something like Tim O'Brien's (2009) revelation at the end of *The Things They Carried*:

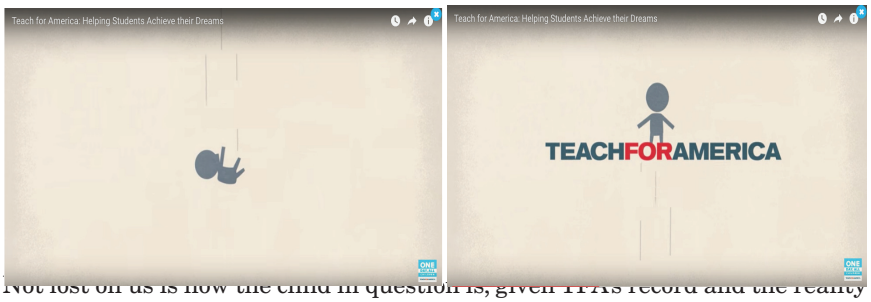
> I'm skimming across the surface of my own history, moving fast, riding the melt beneath the blades, doing loops and spins, and when I take a high leap into the dark and come down thirty years later, I realize it as Tim trying to save Timmy's life with a story. (p. 273)

That is, we think the high leaps into the darkness of falsehood we recommend might be better understood as discursive strategies, as

stories we write in place of truth that make our schools and lives more livable.

Notes

[1] Take, for example, the 2015 video (Figure 1) featured in the "About Us" section of Teach For America's website, which succinctly explains TFA's mission and purpose. Thirty seconds into being schooled on the achievement gap, a child falls from the sky, only to be saved by the Teach for America logo rocketing up like a superhero in flight:



Not lost on us is how the child in question is, given TFA's record and the reality of the larger reform movement in the U.S., likely black or brown, to be saved by a white teacher wielding high expectations.

[2] The irruption of wildcat teacher strikes in conservative, southern states suggest a, perhaps, reorientation of this politics and its embedded power relations, but the long term implications for teacher lives remains to be seen.

[3] Though a spate of recent firings of gay teachers at Catholic schools (e.g., Kuruvilla, 2019) troublingly suggests otherwise.

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Stepping to Center Stage: The Rise of Higher Education as a Field of Study

The Journal of Educational Foundations
Vol. 32, No. 1, 2, 3, & 4
2019, pp. 24-48

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Abstract

Higher Education as a Field of Study is multi-disciplinary in its origin. Given the relative youth of the field, as it was only founded less than 130 years ago, it does not yet have standalone theories or philosophies as the scholarship in the field frequently borrows from its epistemological, methodological, and philosophical ideas from more established social science disciplines and fields. The objective of this paper is to use an historical exploration of higher education in North America to articulate both higher education's foundation, purpose and philosophy. This analysis will aid in categorizing the types of questions the public and government ask of higher education and how higher education as a field of scholarship can impact the future of the governance, pedagogy, the nature of research, and university's societal role. The cumulative effect of this work is ultimately moving this field of study to the center stage of the discussions around higher education.

Keywords: Higher Education, philosophy of education, foundation of education

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Introduction

Both the challenges and positive outcomes of higher education regularly make headlines across the country. Headlines such as racial tensions on campuses, the right to carry concealed weapons on campus, student debt, state funding cuts to higher education, campus sexual harassment, and university presidents forced out of their jobs are common stories featured in the news. In our current climate, what happens on university campuses can be big news pointing to national stories around campus freedom of speech, conflicts between liberal and conservative voices on campus, and faculty or administrators getting fired for comments they make in the news or social media.

At the same time, the benefits that Higher Education can bring to communities and the nation is also part of the national dialogue. For instance, recent reporting by the Bay Area Council Economic Institute brought attention to the fact that startup businesses from the University of California system generated some $20 billion in economic activity for the state. Many of the recent advancements around cancer diagnosis and treatment have come from university-level research. There are also exciting advances around the microscopic world of nanotechnology and the large-scale engineering of internet infrastructures happening on university campuses across the country.

Both the challenges and positive outcomes of higher education support the need for a continued exploration of the empirical and qualitative realities that can express how universities function as enterprises of knowledge, artifact, technical, social/cultural, and leadership production. This work is best framed through faculty and graduate students who focus some or even all of their teaching, learning, and research to higher education as a field of study. This research path is also linked to ensuring infrastructures exist to disseminate and organize the knowledge that is generated. The current reality is that much of this work is being done by both graduate students and faculty who specialize in higher education as a field of study.

With the increasing scrutiny directed at universities around such matters as the value of the endeavor, accountability of public resources, and the liberalization of college campuses, there will be ongoing societal and economic interest in studying higher education. As a result of this, those involved in higher education inquiry and leadership will play a more significant role in answering the difficult questions posed of postsecondary institutions in our day. So that this discussion can be meaningful and purposeful, it is key to fully access the knowledge and research derived from higher education as a field of study within this

growing narrative. The objective of this paper is to use an historical exploration of higher education in North America to articulate both higher education's purpose and philosophy of higher education as a field of study. This analysis will aid in categorizing the types of questions the public and government ask of higher education and how higher education as a field of scholarship can impact the future of the governance, pedagogy, the nature of research, and university's societal role. The cumulative effect of this work is ultimately moving this field of study to the center stage of the discussions around higher education.

Building the Plot

Academic explorations into the philosophy and purpose of a university are many and varied. Examples include Emberley (1996) who debated the current state of the financial, political, and spiritual collapse of universities through the contextual demands placed on the system by the cultural left and the corporate right. Clarifying the university's close relationship to its sociological and intellectual endeavors, Cabal (1993) took a more global perspective in his dialogue of the relevancy and quality of university education. From a more functionalist perspective, Minogue (1973) and Bok (1982) examined the usefulness that knowledge must serve as universities fulfill their external responsibilities to society. Switching focus to the internal responsibilities of universities, Barnett (1990) endeavored to develop a theory for higher education by studying the "fundamental principles on which the idea of higher education has traditionally stood, and the way in which those principles are being undermined" (p. 3).

There is also literature which connects the higher education narrative to key concepts or themes. They are the search for knowledge and truth (Leacock, 1934); the dissemination of knowledge from a master to a student (Brubacher, 1977); the need for internal autonomy (Pincoffs, 1972); the need for knowledge to serve a useful purpose (Jaspers, 1965); and the need for knowledge to be an end in itself (Newman, 1931; Newman, 1952). These concepts have not just risen in recent times but are instead founded on historical notions of what "higher" education should be and how it is different from primary forms of education.

Looking between the lines in these works, the writers were responding to the internal and external questions of their time about a university's connection to the past and how that could be hindering or helping higher education's progress in a modern era. The discussions were also a call for academic and public communities to bring back what once was. They were using higher education as a field of scholarship to express both the historical and future context of universities to the larger community of higher education stakeholders. After an extensive review of the higher

education literature, the authors of this article were able to classify the higher education narrative into four general constructs: the pedagogy of higher education, the concept and role of research in universities, university's connection and impact on society, and governance of higher education institutions. The discussion will now shift to explore how these overarching constructs have been shaped and influenced by a philosophical connection to the idea of a university.

Setting the Scene

The university as a modern institution did not begin to appear until the medieval ages due to a variety of internal and external educational needs (Southern, 1984). However, there is evidence that various forms of higher education were established on the continent of Africa as early as 331 AD (Chambers, 2017). Woldegiorgis and Doevenpeck, (2013) wrote in their historical reflection on Africa's contribution to the inception of the academy that,

> Abjayi et al (1996), for example, have reported the existence of one such academy referred to as the Alexandrian Academy or the Universal Museum Library at Alexandria between 331 and 642 AD. It is also on record that in 859 AD, the Al-Quarawiyyin University was established at Fez in Morocco while the Al-Azhar University at Cairo was established in 970 AD in Egypt (Lulat, 2005). The 2,700 years old tradition of elite education of Ethiopia with an African script called Ge'ez could also be taken as an example of a higher form of education in pre-colonial Africa. (p. 35)

European countries such as England, Normandy, and Italy had an internal need for educated people who could assist in the growth of an expanding and developing nation, and there was also the external respect and recognition that came with being involved in the higher educational enterprise. University education was basically an individual contract established between the students and the master. The local town also benefited because the scholars and students needed to rent out apartments, spaces to study, and food to eat. This process developed into a mutual relationship between the town and the "university". This loose relationship between the students, masters, and the town leads historians to speculate that there was no specific administrative body for these early universities (Southern, 1984). The relationship between the masters, the students, and the local citizens was one of temporary need, so any type of administrative structure was most likely informal and indefinite.

As these higher scholastic endeavors increased in prominence, the crown saw higher education as a resource for a strong contingent of educated graduates whom it could use to support its growing national infrastructure. Evidence indicates that it was out of this need that

the state first became involved in higher education. Similarly, during the medieval era, there had always been a strong connection between the church and learning and this relationship extended to the early universities. The rise of university institutions was also enhanced because the officials of both the church and the state needed a range of knowledge and skill in debate that was not being achieved in the grammar schools of the day. In this context, medieval universities were established under a close connection to both the state and the church with both institutions proposing external responsibilities on the results of higher education. The result was to create an educational climate that was ideal for higher learning and scholastic advancement. With these initial frameworks, there is evidence of a philosophy of higher education being formulated. It was to be a place of higher studies where the learning could be used to benefit society— especially the elite—and political designs. Even in higher education's early construction, there is evidence of pedagogical formations, a connection to society, and a rudimentary governance model.

Some of this advancement then lead to massive changes in the idea of a university during the Enlightenment. In its search for truth and scholastic advancement, the scientific research paradigm of the Enlightenment promised society "freedom, equality, justice, the good life, prosperity, health, stability, peace, higher standards of living, increased control over nature, society, and time, and the eradication of hunger, crime, and poverty" (Bloland, 1995, p. 523). A pretty tall order. One does not have to look very hard to see similar philosophical responsibilities within current university campuses. This is called progress and in modernist language, progress is defined as increasing control over nature and society (Giroux, 1988).

As part of this control, scientists relied on positivistic paradigms of inquiry, which, in turn affected their relationship to reality and truth (Locke, 2015; Wood, 2002). In this positivistic shift, subjects could be objectified, measured, quantified, and categorized. As Auguste Comte developed in his philosophies within "Course of Positive Philosophy", the objects of science could be put into proper place and proper sequence through logical positivism. Drawing upon the philosophies of Immanuel Kant, whole new contexts of research were opened up as these researchers shifted their moral responsibilities to the discovery of universal laws (Wood, 2002).

As more scientists began to explore the boundaries of their moral and physical freedom, their scientific methodologies began to reveal truths, universalities, and laws about the universe and reality. Of fascination was that these truths existed in the universe. Truth and the laws of the universe were not something that had to be created; they were something that could be found and discovered (Comte, 1848). This process was expressed in enlightening findings like Newton's discovery of gravity, or

Darwin's "Origin of the Species". From this evolved one of the general assumptions of the Enlightenment: that truth is not created—it is discovered in the universe. Research activity that "stressed the search for general laws, formal and a priori hypotheses, neutrality with regard to moral issues, standardized assessment devices, the reduction of observed reality, and a distance between observer and observed" (Chesler, 1991, p. 79) became an essential element of knowledge creation in the idea of a university. Universities developed into privileged places where knowledge, truth, and expressions of culture became legitimized. For the first time in history, the university institution became a center where research was a primary focus. With a dynamic pedagogy in place, a more structured governance model, an increased awareness of a social role, and an articulation of research epistemologies, the university was functioning under a philosophical direction that has its footprint in our current higher education institutions.

As a counter narrative to the practical demands of the Industrial revolution, Cardinal John Newman was one of the founding philosophers of the liberal arts system of higher education (Newman, 1931; Newman, 1952). In his work, he called the academic community back to a higher education approach where the benefits to society were derived through pedagogies that formed and shaped the student as a learner and a thinker. He also espoused that research should also be involved in solving the cultural and societal challenges of the day and not be redirected by the boisterous economic agenda.

At this time, a bifurcation in the philosophies of higher education occurred and the scholarship of higher education grew to discuss these two different realities. There was a narrative around the market influence of higher education that served very practical and short-term needs. This was expressed vividly in research that was applied and attempted to meet the immediate needs of a growing industrial sector. Society also needed engineers, accountants, politicians, scientists, and doctors who could develop, support, and create this burgeoning society. The governance of universities strove to create infrastructures that supported a functionalist philosophy of higher education.

Conversely, Newman (1931 & 1952) believed that the study of knowledge should be its own end. The liberal arts educative process involved a Platonic form of philosophical discourse leading to knowledge. Newman believed that external agendas were altering the philosophical foundations of higher education and that the educational endeavor of the university should be to pursue knowledge free from political and economic agendas. In structuring the learning environment this way, Newman was striving to keep the demands of the industrial society distant from influencing university education and its traditional study. In

fact, this pedagogical approach formed the ideology for many of the early universities throughout North America and especially in the mid-west (Nugent, 2015). There were many educational leaders and politicians who saw a different purpose for universities though. This alternative philosophical voice would speak its loudest following World War II. Although not formalized as it is today, this strategic change was an early expression of higher education as a field of study and scholarship.

In the 1940s, the United States was feeling the cultural, political, and social shock of having been involved in World War II. One of the greatest changes that would affect the idea of a university came because of World War II itself (Cardozier, 1993). For the first time, the United States had really seen the potential that research and science could have on the economy and on industry. Out of a practical need, the federal government had turned to research and science to produce all that was required for the war effort. The universities met the challenge with engineers, economists, chemists, biologists, political scientists, and physicists.

As a result of the successful relationship that had been established between the state and the universities during the war years, the federal government realized that it could use universities to educate and train returning veterans as part of their reintegration into North American society. Jaspers (1965) proposed that higher education should serve the individual while responding to national needs. His intention was that a balance needed to be struck between liberal notions where the search for knowledge was an end in itself and knowledge serving practical purposes. He believed this could be achieved by developing both liberal and professional pedagogies of learning.

Writers increasingly began to research the concept of learning in a university and from this five dominant pedagogies for university education began to develop in the scholarship around universities and learning: liberal-perennialism, progressivism, essentialism-behaviorism, humanism, and reconstructionism-critical theory (Barrow & Woods, 1975; Kneller, 1964; Langford, 1969; Scott et al., 1994).

Through liberal-perennialist philosophies—also known as mental discipline—the primary teaching practice was to discipline the mind or exercise it through the study of absolutes, often articulated in the form of principles. In this philosophy, the teacher was an intellectual expert and his or her primary teaching responsibility was to pass this knowledge to the students. For the students, learning was passive and was assessed through deductive, well-reasoned, and argued essays.

In progressivist philosophies, the learner continually interacted with his or her environment and attempted to interpret the meaning of his or her experiences. The role of the teacher was to become a partner or helper where the learner was the center of the learning process and

most learning occurred through reflections on their experiences and through problem solving.

In Essentialist-Behaviorist philosophies, the subject matter was most important with the teacher as the authority. The aim of education was to predict, change, and control students' actions by using available knowledge about the laws of human behavior. Through behaviorism, the teacher would elicit desired behaviors and then extinguish undesirable behavior. Skills were taught through an extrinsic reward and punishment system. Some examples of classroom teaching strategies were competency-based education, mastery learning, self-control, and assertiveness training. Assessment was based on demonstration of a changed behavior in accordance with predetermined behavioral objectives.

The teaching philosophy of humanism or self-actualization had responsibility to the individual as paramount. In turn, teaching strategies and methods evolving from this perspective aimed at promoting growth and self-actualization of the individual through positive relationships with the teacher. The educational tasks were to assist and recognize each person's individual potential, creativity, and freedom. Goals were achieved in community environments.

The aim of education in reconstructionism or critical theory was to create a new social order that would fulfill the basic values of our culture. Those basic values were to be founded on a genuine democracy whose major institutions and resources were controlled by the people themselves. Within this paradigm, the dynamics of power and empowerment were intrinsically intertwined. As such, student empowerment depended upon negotiating, not avoiding, the power dynamics. Critique became an essential practice and skill for the students to develop. In essence, critique calls for a special and suspicious interpretation of those ideologies and institutions that support and maintain ruling power structures. So as one critically reflects in dialogue with others and acts on that reflection, both personal and social transformation occurs. If one explores the questions in the literature and media about a university education, the discussion will most likely center on the weakness or credibility of these pedagogies. Awareness of these higher education philosophies brings meaning and purpose to the issues considered within higher education scholarship. At the same time, increased awareness of these pedagogies and more dynamic communication networks have expanded the mediums through which higher education as a field of study can impact higher educational change through its core pedagogies.

It is now important to concentrate on how studies and questions into higher education have influenced the governance of postsecondary institutions. In exploring the governance element, Canada is a great case in how governance aligned with the idea of what a university

should be. Early Canadian university leaders struggled to define their philosophy and governance structures. Canada's early founding institutions developed in the late 1700s (Cameron, 1991). The structure of these colleges followed in line with the Oxford tradition in both its curriculum and in its theological support for the Church of England (Ontario Department of Education, 1896).

Samuel Baldwin's government was the first to propose a total break from religion in education and began to develop plans for a provincially-run, secular university (Wilson, 1933). This new university would offer an educational curriculum that prepared students for the practicalities of contributing to the economic and industrial growth of a young Canada. The Bill to create the University of Toronto was passed in 1849 (Cameron, 1991). It existed under the direct control of the province and was open to all people who desired to attend. As part of its establishment, the government passed an Act that bound the University of Toronto to the province. The Act of 1849 was "aimed at making the state university a common ground for the youth of the country irrespective of creed" (The Legislative Assembly of Ontario, p. xiii).

The Flavelle Royal Commission Report in 1906 (The Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 1906) established an internal university environment that more closely matched the needs and concerns of the external Canadian environment. The Flavelle report strongly recommended that universities, as institutions of the state, be closely aligned with the needs of the larger Canadian community. Inherent in this governance shift was a philosophy around the social role of the university and how that social role requires a different governance model. To establish unity between the internal needs of the university and the external needs of the public, the university was to govern itself through a Board of Governors and a Senate called bi-cameral governance. The Board of Governors was to have the powers of the Crown vested in it, and the Senate was to direct the academic interests of the University. As such, the internal and external regulating structures of the bi-cameral system were to eliminate the university from being subjected to party politics and in so doing, provide an educative environment conducive to long-range stability. The intent of the "Flavelle Report" was to suggest that the bi-cameral approach would impart strength, continuity, and freedom of action to the governing bodies of the university while also keeping the university in touch with external public sentiment.

Educational philosophers such as W.E.B Du Bois and Benjamin E. Mayes in the mid and late 20th century advocated that the American higher education system also provided opportunities for social uplift and opportunities (Playfair, 2016; Warren, 2011; Gaines, 2012; Jelks, 2012). Colleges and universities have served as the laboratories for many of

the social moments in the United States and around the world. It can be said that the barometer of future social progress can be gauged and predicted based on social causes that are being fought and advocated for by students on college and university campuses.

One can look to the United States and recognize important governance moves through important frameworks such as land-grant universities and the Morrill Act, Historical Black Colleges & Universities (HBCU's), and Oberlin College. One thing is clear though in this governance discussion, the idea of a university is tied to a narrative around its teaching, research, service, and governance.

Why Higher Education as a Field of Study Got This Role

Higher education as a field of study links the concept of higher education to a science. The Science Council defined a "science" as "the pursuit and application of knowledge and understanding of the natural and social world following a systematic methodology based on evidence" (Science Council, 2009). A scientific methodology is one that uses observation, data measurement, evidence, data benchmarks, critical analysis, repetition or transferability, and verification of the testing/analysis. This implies that, as represented in the definition, a science is driven by systematic practices that describe the processes for acquiring knowledge about that discipline. From there, a body of knowledge can be organized around that field of study based on what is derived from systematic practices. A concept that has been developed in this paper. The compilation of this knowledge can then lead to "theoretical and applied understanding of higher education institutions and systems and their interaction with an impact on society" (Hendrickson, 2013, p. 230). What this discussion suggests is that there are contemporary epistemologies and methodologies that are used in the study of higher education as researchers seek understanding around issues of pedagogy, research, governance, and higher education's role in society. Many of the writers referenced in this paper are examples of higher education scholarship in its beginning forms to more complex current analysis. This includes research that is driven by a theoretical or philosophical debate to empirically-based hypotheses.

Higher Education Scholarship Prepares for the Stage

When compared to such ancient academic disciplines as medicine, mathematics, and history, the formal study of higher education using scientific principles is quite new. For the sake of this study we define a discipline as a broad area of knowledge that includes a common set

of research problems, knowledge base, and set of commonly accepted research methods (Card, Chambers, & Freeman, 2016; Kuhn, 1962). Whereas a field is a smaller subset and more focused area of knowledge that specifically addresses problems within a discipline. For instance, medicine given this definition is a discipline, whereas veterinary medicine would be a field that is a subset of the broader/larger discipline of medicine. Higher Education as a Field of Study, according to Goodchild (1996), was first conceived in 1893, when the president of Massachusetts' Clark University, Granville Stanley Hall, provided a course on the problems of colleges and universities. This course was well-received by its students; and during the next several decades, Hall collaborated with others to produce courses with related content. Eventually, this work led to the organization of a Clark University graduate program in higher education.

Jensen (2013) documented the next steps of the emerging field of higher education, which began to develop in the 1930s. Soon after the establishment of the *Journal of Higher Education* in 1930, researchers began gathering data related to higher education concerns and problems. The data demonstrated the need for further research in this field—Master's theses and Doctoral dissertations had already been discussing higher education issues in quantity for the past decade.

Jensen (2013) reported that in the late 1930s, scholars began calling for increased research in the field of higher education, as opposed to "trial and error practices related to leadership and curriculum in higher education" (p. 2). Jensen (2013) also documented proposals for more course offerings in the area of higher education during this time period, as well as the increased attention such courses received in an attempt to market them toward aspiring professors.

Over the remainder of the twentieth century, Jensen (2013) wrote, higher education scholars began to draw attention to the growth of this new field. More publications appeared to expose higher education graduate programs and course offerings. While the research of the 1960s focused primarily on drawing attention to the existence of higher education programs, the research of the 1970s and 1980s began to explore some of the specific problems of the new field (Dressel & Mayhew, 1974; Fife & Goodchild, 1991). Soon, profiles of higher education professors and students appeared in the literature. By the 1990s and 2000s, research became targeted toward needs analysis of the field of administration and quality analysis of existing higher education programs.

Today, higher education programs are conceptualized differently than the 1930s model that emphasized teacher training. According to Altbach (2014), the growth of universities as institutions has resulted in changes to their authority structures. Modern universities are now

normally governed by full-time administrators, rather than professors who divide their time between the performance of administrative and teaching duties. This change in authority structure has necessarily resulted in a shift in the field of higher education toward the preparation of administrators and away from the preparation of professors.

Higher Education Modernizes its Part

According to Altbach (2014), American students of higher education today can expect to prepare themselves for careers as college and university administrators. Thus, in higher education programs across the country, coursework and training are more heavily emphasized than research. Students of higher education are typically instructed regarding the complexities of the institutions they hope to lead, learning of such practical topics as university history and finance (Freeman & Kochan, 2014).

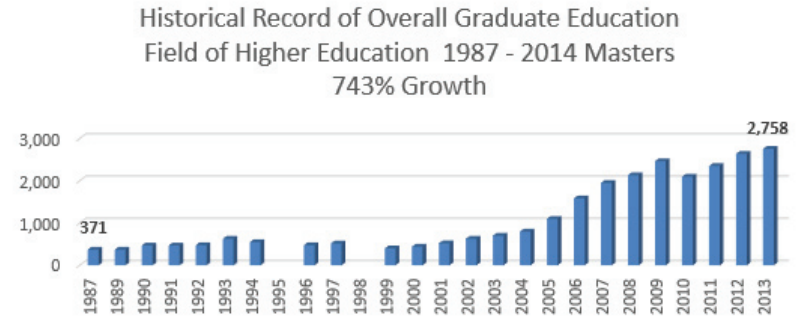
Although the study of higher education is still considered an emerging field in the United States, in Europe it is even newer. According to Scott (as quoted in Kehm, 2015) the American and European models of higher education studies differ, perhaps in correspondence with cultural and political differences. Whereas the American discipline of higher education is an academic and practice-oriented one, focusing on (and researching) administration and leadership concerns, the European model is less of an academic discipline and more of a consultative approach, designed to assist policy-makers (2000). Scott's view of American higher education studies contrasts with that of Boston College's Philip Altbach (2014) and American professors Perucci and McManus (2012) who describe current American higher education studies as interdisciplinary, rather than an established, independent discipline.

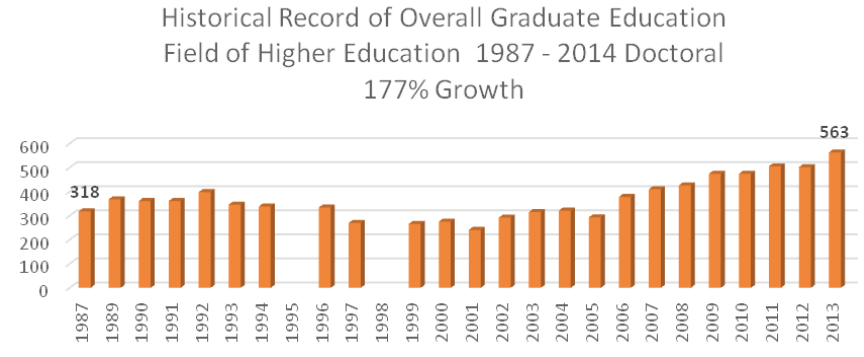
Kienle and Loyd (2005) argued, however, that American institutions "can no longer exist in the ivory tower, or in the relative isolation of traditional American higher education" because of the increasingly global nature of higher education (p. 580). They also contended that higher education students—the future administrators of colleges and universities—should learn how to lead others toward intercultural effectiveness. Thus, it may be wise for students in the field of higher education to be aware of the various views of the field worldwide.

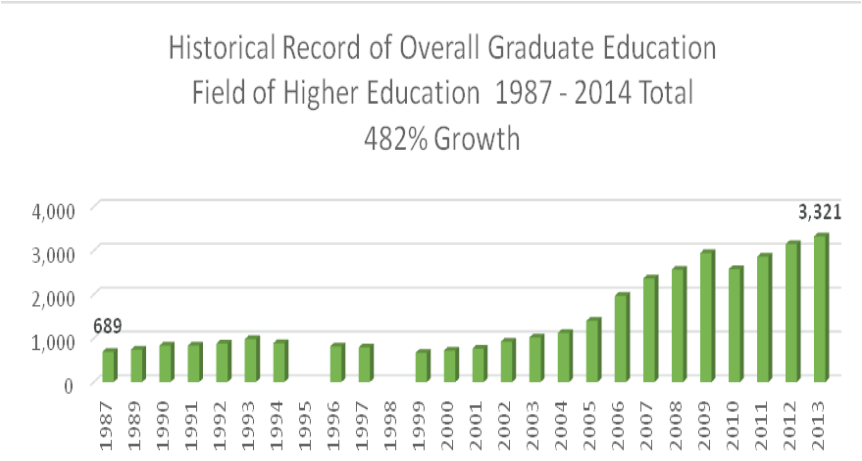
The Scholarship of Higher Education is Legitimized Through Education

From universities earliest inception during the medieval era, this article has described how religious leaders, academics, politicians, and others have thought about and asked questions of the higher education enterprise. Although higher education scholarship has been a necessity

since the inception of higher education in framing the narrative around the institution and what it is to be, only recently has higher education become a field of study in its own right. For instance in Canada, "Robin Harris was appointed the first professor of higher education in Canada in 1964" (Jones, 2012, p. 3). A similar history exists in the US where most doctoral programs in higher education date from the 1960s (Crosson & Nelson, 1986). In a study from 1974, Dressel and Mayhew found there to be 74 graduate programs in higher education. Currently, the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) reports that there are over 260 higher education programs in the US. It is so widespread now that every state except one has at least one university offering a graduate program in Higher Education studies. This same growth in HE programs is happening with students who are interested in attaining their graduate degrees in higher education studies and research. The following data was derived from the Department of Education's Digest of Educational Statistics.

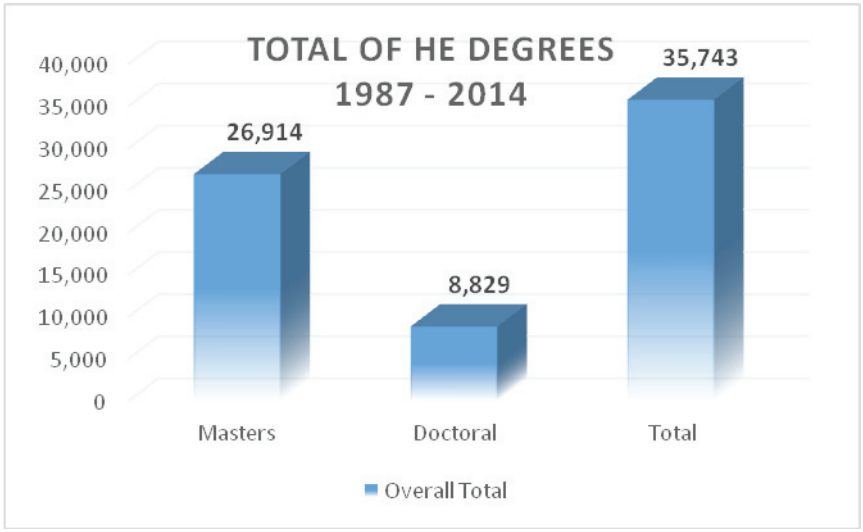






(Note that data was not available for the years 1995 and 1998.)

It is obvious by this data that there has been substantial growth in the number of degrees awarded in the field of higher education showing increased interest in the topic as a field of study. It also shows more and more academics want to contribute to the scholarship and practice of this field.



Over this date range, Higher Education programs have seen a mean percentage growth of 6% per year. This is compared with the field of

Education in general which saw a mean percentage growth of 2.8% per year. When further compared to the field of education in general, there was a 199% increase in Masters degrees, a 167% increase in Doctoral degrees, and 196% increase in degrees overall from 1987 to 2014. Higher Education as a field of study saw increases of 743%, 177%, and 482% respectively which was greater growth in every category compared with the field of Education in general. Taking these numbers to a more overall level, Higher Education as a field of study saw higher rates of growth during this time period than all of graduate education combined. The total combined growth of all graduate education in all fields of study and with Masters and Doctoral studies was 279% compared with Higher Education as a field of study at 482%. Another indicator of growth in this field was that in 1987, HE degrees accounted for 0.2% of all graduate degrees awarded. In 2014, HE accounted for 0.36% of all graduate degrees awarded in the U.S.

While higher education leaders have historically acquired the skills and competencies requisite to their success through performing their duties (learning on the job), changes in the structure of the modern university have led to increasingly complex demands upon administrators. In response to these new demands that was presented in the data here, professionals in the field of higher education have developed broadly applicable graduate programs designed to train up the next generation of education administrators (Freeman, Chambers, & Newton, 2016).

Optimal graduate programs in higher education leadership, according to Freeman and Kochan (2012), are being designed to provide students with a grounding in higher education history, as well as in the practical considerations of institutional budgeting or finance. Additionally, these programs are preparing future administrators by allowing them to learn about the unique culture and context of higher education, where they will eventually become leaders. Finally, graduate programs in higher education are providing students with opportunities to cultivate a wide range of skills necessary to their success as administrators, including management, leadership, and communication skills. Stork, Grant, and Darmo (2015) reported that "The increase in generalist leadership programs has continued unabated" (p. 34). What is important is that these are all people who are practicing, thinking, and writing about higher education as a focus of their professional activities.

Student Affairs

A specialized niche within the field of higher education studies, graduate programs in student affairs leadership are designed to prepare students for highly specific careers in student affairs administration.

According to the American College Personnel Association (ACPA, 2016), there are now over 141 graduate programs at the Master's level in student affairs and higher education leadership.

According to the research of Renn and Jessup-Anger (2008), graduate students in the field of student affairs and higher education leadership benefit most from programs that allow them ample opportunities to gain practical experience. In their words, "experiential learning [is] critical to future success" in this field; it "also allows students to observe multiple professional perspectives and widen the net of possible mentors as they transition into the field" (p. 329).

This is not to imply, of course, that future student affairs professionals cannot or do not benefit from actual course and program content. However, future student affairs professionals would likely be profited by an emphasis on how they can apply what they have learned to their future professions; this seems only appropriate for a degree program whose function it is to produce specialized professionals (Renn & Jessup-Anger, 2008).

Community College

In order to prepare the next generation of community college presidents and administrators, universities have recently begun offering specialized degrees and programs targeted toward future community college leaders (Forthun & Freeman, 2017a). According to Amey (2006), some of these programs are accredited graduate degrees, while others are offered as unaccredited professional development or career preparation courses.

However, Brown's (2001) research indicated that it is advisable for community college administrators to hold Doctorate degrees, preferably in the field of education leadership. Brown reported that "some leadership programs also develop a student's program of study around specific community college leadership goals, i.e., student development, instruction, finance, the presidency, technology, etc." (p. 150).

Interestingly, Hagedorn and Purnamasari (2014) wrote that community college leadership programs tend to attract graduate students of a closer match to community college student demographics than do other graduate programs; community college administrator programs are often populated by women and racial/ethnic minorities. Arguably, this graduate program demographic should help to produce strong role models for future community college students.

Internationalization

In an increasingly global society, the study of higher education leadership cannot be limited to American colleges and universities.

Although higher education leadership itself is a relatively young field, it has already birthed several specialized sub-fields, including international higher education leadership. While international higher education leadership is not a common degree offering, institutions such as Boston College have established a Master's program dedicated to producing leaders equipped to assume international leadership roles in "a university, association, or policymaking organization" (Boston College, 2015). This program provides students with an introduction to international higher education as a field, opportunities to gain practical experience, comparisons of regional and global education higher systems, and with guidance toward producing research in the field.

Executive Higher Education Program

The late Doug Toma in the early 2000s established the first executive higher education doctoral program to prepare the next generation of higher education senior leadership (Selingo, 2003). Similar to the executive masters of business administration E-MBA, these are programs that allow working professionals to develop their knowledge of leadership while simultaneously still engaging in their full-time professional work obligations. (Forthum & Freeman, 2017b) noted,

> In the United States, there are twelve universities that offer an executive doctorate in higher education. While these programs are all designed to target or accommodate working professionals, they vary in cost, program duration, number of graduate credits required, and residency requirements.

Grounding Higher Education as a Field of Scholarship

As academics in the field of higher education and researchers as well, the authors of this article have the great opportunity to supervise doctoral students as they explore the contemporary problems, issues, challenges, and positive attributes around higher education. In this process of inquiry, we are responsible for pushing our students to position their research within a particular theoretical framework or worldview. A theoretical framework is the lens through which these researchers view their topic and which establishes the confines for how the topic will be explored (Grant & Osanloo, 2014). A theoretical framework should address four concepts that link and flow together to form a consistent message about how their topic of inquiry will be pursued. The four elements are: Philosophy, Ontology, Epistemology, and Methodology. Being conscious of these constructs, aligns their study of higher education to the systematic methods necessary of a science or a field of study mentioned earlier in

this paper. There is also a more deepened philosophical element attached to the theory of higher education and higher education as a field of study. This is axiology. Axiology, which stems from two Greek words—*axios* or worth, and *logos* or reason, theory—is a relatively new discipline.

> The problems and issues axiology investigates have been with us from the moment man began to reflect upon conditions of his life, the structure of reality, the order of nature and man's place in it . . . By his very nature man has been primarily interested in how things and events administer to his basic and derivative needs, how they satisfy or frustrate him, how to preserve and promote the good things of life and curtail and erase objects which stiffly his zest for living. A mere glance at the history of philosophy shows how deeply man has been preoccupied with the nature of values . . . Inquiry into the claims, truth, and validity of value judgments is a necessity of life itself. (Hart, 1971, p. 29)

Higher education is not just a thing or a product. Higher education is an emotionally charged space and decisions around the idea of a university are impacted by these emotions and value. Consider the emotions around the single mother using higher education to rise out of poverty creating a new economic reality for her family. Consider the researcher who spends years on a project leading to a discovery that positively changes the lives of people with Alzheimer's. As researchers consider the theory of higher education as a field of study (Thacker & Freeman, 2019) it cannot be done without having a philosophical consciousness about the value of the enterprise. We (the authors) believe as higher educationist that, "to value is to set priorities. It is to choose one thing over another. It is to think about things in relation to each other and decide that one is better than the other" (Clear Direction, Inc., 2001, para 3).

On a macro level, this similar ideology is necessary in order to work within the science of higher education and to experience it within the context of a field of study. To this end, the theoretical foundation of higher education is tied to its responsibility for the development of the individual student where learning for learning's sake is the central tenet. Higher education is about the refinement of culture. The second responsibility is for the university to be responsive to the needs of society and develop learners who can respond to the practicalities of life. Higher education is about meeting the functional needs of society. As Brubacher (1970) stated in his paper on the theory of higher education, there are, it seems, two current theories of a university. "According to the one theory the university has a certain self-authenticating quality which causes it to stand somewhat aloof from the social milieu. According to the other the university finds itself, not standing aloof, but caught up in the stresses and strains of contemporary events" (p. 99).

It is from these two overarching theories that researchers have a

starting philosophical point to engage in an ontological, epistemological, and methodological inquiry into higher education and to develop a knowledge about higher education and its core functions around education, research, service, and governance. Researchers in the field of higher education cannot have "a preoccupation with knowledge without an accompanying theory of that knowledge" (Brubacher, 1970, p. 100). Much of this knowledge building is happening with faculty and students in graduate higher education programs across the country who are actively working to expand the narrative and dialogue around what a university is to be and how it functions.

The philosophical propositions that we outlined in this paper by using a script as a metaphor, (a) establishing a purpose for the field of study, (b) historical longevity, and (c) distinctive scholarship informed by theory and practice, has provided higher education as a field with the credibility to assert its own unique philosophical standing separate and distinct amongst other fields and disciplines.

What Role Will the Field of Study Play in the Future?

In the complex world of higher education, the future of this field of study will be defined by its ability to provide and establish a knowledge base which discusses a wide variety of issues around the four constructs mentioned in this paper: the educational enterprise, the nature and purpose of research, its societal role, and the governance of higher education institutions. This is the narrative that needs to be established. In creating and establishing this knowledge base, graduate higher education programs will be essential in bringing a knowledgeable workforce of leaders and practitioners who understand the dynamics of higher education and its various theories. For instance, there are many educational leadership programs across the country who are members of the Carnegie Project on the Educational Doctorate. The Carnegie Project on the Education Doctorate (CPED) is a Consortium of over 80 colleges and schools of education, which have committed resources to work together to undertake a critical examination of the doctorate in education (EdD) through dialog, experimentation, critical feedback and evaluation. "The professional doctorate in education prepares educators for the application of appropriate and specific practices, the generation of new knowledge, and for the stewardship of the profession" (CPED Website). The practice of graduate educational leadership programs is then designed around the following guiding principles:

> The Professional doctorate in education:
>
> • Is framed around questions of equity, ethics, and social justice to bring about solutions to complex problems of practice.

- Prepares leaders who can construct and apply knowledge to make a positive difference in the lives of individuals, families, organizations, and communities.
- Provides opportunities for candidates to develop and demonstrate collaboration and communication skills to work with diverse communities and to build partnerships.
- Provides field-based opportunities to analyze problems of practice and use multiple frames to develop meaningful solutions.
- Is grounded in and develops a professional knowledge base that integrates both practical and research knowledge, that links theory with systemic and systematic inquiry.
- Emphasizes the generation, transformation, and use of professional knowledge and practice. (CPED Website)

What is evident in these principles is a framework that shapes higher education as a field of study. As Goodchild (2014) shared, "Higher education is a multidisciplinary field of study "(p.16) that is informed by various disciplinary traditions such as psychology, sociology, and law. As we conclude, there are a few issues that will impact the field moving forward.

Higher Education as Both Actor and Director

In the last decade, discussions have intensified regarding the role and importance of providing guidelines and best practices for the field. For instance, some such as Hart and Ludwig (2014) and Colbeck and Southworth (2014) argued that there is no need for universal guidelines and perceive that such an approach would encroach upon the flexibility and autonomy that these programs have enjoyed from their founding. Whereas, (Freeman & Kochan, 2014) and Hagedorn and Purnamasari (2014) vigorously believe that guidelines would enhance the status of the young field and protect the smaller programs from the vicissitudes of possible closure.

The current reality is that the audience is watching higher education. The eyes of accountability and the eyes of those wanting to know are paying attention. We can no longer exist in the ivory towers and hide on the sides of the stage. Writers, thinkers, and academics are coming to the front of the stage to tell the story of higher education. These scholars are informed, educated, and articulate. These individuals, who are increasing in numbers each year, are using scientific practices to wade through rhetoric and direct a narrative that is derived from a philosophical understanding of a theory of knowledge about higher education. They are actors with a story about society, about learning, about understanding, and about leading that we all should see.

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Tempted by Whiteness?: Linguistic Capital and Higher Education in Japan

The Journal of Educational Foundations
Vol. 32, No. 1, 2, 3, & 4
2019, pp. 49-71

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Abstract

This study uses the lens of Critical Whiteness Studies to examine how students and faculty at a Japanese university viewed 'global education' and 'internationalization'—two concepts that have been ardently promoted and pursued in Japan. This investigation and analysis focus on the critical juncture of the modern Japanese higher education system and Whiteness. It sheds light on the under-addressed issue of the racial power dynamics that affect one's perception towards race and race relations and, the impact of Whiteness on Japanese students' self-esteem and identity. By selecting and adopting privileged standpoints, higher education in Japan has reinforced "the White vistas that centuries of racism have carved in our society" (Ross, 2002, p. 255). The findings of this study suggest that views and attitudes toward English education are influenced by Japan's Westernization movement during the Meiji era (i.e., the second half of the 19th century) that privileged and pursued the cultural assets and linguistic capital of Western/White states.

Keywords: global education; Whiteness; linguistic capital

Global Education and Whiteness

The concept of "globalization" is embraced across sectors and disciplines including higher education. The term "globalization" is associated with the process of economic integration and interaction

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among people, information, money, and ideas across borders (Guillén, 2001; Levitt, 1983; Sparke, 2013). Japanese universities have embraced the notion for several decades. For example, educational institutions have sought to promote kokusaika (internationalization), which, in turn, has been reflected in Japan's efforts to gain international recognition as an autonomous, modern, and open society in the post-war era. As documented in numerous social sciences and humanities studies on Japan, the popular discourse about Japan's successful modernization has been linked with its Westernization. Accelerated by U.S. initiated trade relations with Japan in 1853, Japan quickly came under U.S. influence; this alliance affected policy decisions in Japanese national security matters, constitutional amendments, and educational curriculum around which the centrality of the hegemonic ideology of Western superiority were built. Therefore, I argue that Whiteness naturally came to be accepted, normalized, and instilled through the process of re-appropriation and reproduction of the ideology in both institutional and individual practices in Japanese society.

This study uses Critical Whiteness Studies as a lens to examine the international education agenda upheld by Japanese universities. The study probes the case of a government-funded global education program. The investigation and analysis focus on the critical juncture of the Japanese higher education system and Whiteness. It illuminates the under-addressed issue of the racial power dynamics that shape perceptions regarding race and race relations, the impact of racial superiority on self-esteem and identity, and the ways in which adopting a curriculum built around White privilege reinforces "the White vistas that centuries of racism have carved in our society" (Ross, 2002, p. 255). The ultimate goal of multicultural education, according to prominent scholars in the field, is to provide an inclusive curriculum and a learning environment that allows students from culturally diverse backgrounds to access education and achieve educational equity (Banks, 1993).

Critical Race Theory emerged in the 1980s in response to the limitations of Critical Legal Scholarship that had failed to adequately address the pivotal role of race and racism in legal cases and discourses (Delgado, 1987; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Tate, 1997). Recognizing the concept of race as ideologically constructed, rather than biological fact, Critical Race Theorists acknowledge that race is a social construct and yet racism is a harsh everyday reality. In the late 1990s, scholars in the field of higher education began utilizing Critical Race Theory as an analytical lens to re-evaluate and reframe educational research and practices to better understand and address the experiences of students of color affected by racism.

Understanding racism requires recognizing the location and the

standpoint of the privileged. According to Delgado and Stefancic (1997), it is essential to acknowledge the impact of the invisible power of racial privilege bestowed to Whites in order to fully capture the power dynamics in race relations. Critical Whiteness Studies provides an analytic lens to examine racism and race relations by questioning the authorized power of White privilege allowing one to recognize the role of institutionally supported practices that sustain the invisible power of Whiteness. Entering into a critical dialogue on the question of Whiteness begins to disturb benign norms of culture and received wisdom acknowledged as 'natural' and 'truth,' putting the universally assumed intellectual base under serious scrutiny. It is, therefore, critical to unravel myths surrounding race and power, as dissonance and resistance become more prominent, to re-evaluate the racial paradigm. The scholarship on Critical Whiteness Studies in the field of education addresses how the authorized power of Whiteness impacts teacher identity, student experience, curriculum, and self-esteem (Lee, 2005; Lewis, Ketter, & Fabos 2001; McIntyre, 1997; Sleeter, 1993).

In more recent years, studies that probed into the campus racial climate using the Critical Whiteness Studies lens gained prominence. For example, Gusa's study (2010) addresses the impact of White-based academic beliefs and practices on African American students. Similarly, in her study, Koshino (2016) looked into the high dropout rate of African American students at a predominantly White institution in the U.S. where Eurocentric values and perspectives embedded in educational values and practices led to the lower retention rate of African American students. In addition, there is a growing body of work that examines the formation and recreation of racial ideologies surrounding White supremacy and privilege through the worldviews and experiences of White students in higher education. Jackson and Heckman (2002) highlight the sense of White normalcy that White students eagerly adhered to and identified with as members of that race in response to a racial hate crime incident in their college setting. Cabrera (2014) also reported the four interconnected themes identified from the interviews conducted with the 12 White male undergraduate students. These themes included individualized definitions of racism, minimization of issues of racism, White victimization/minority privilege, and minimal change in racial views in college providing some insight into the justifications for the hegemony of normalcy under which White privilege operates. Nakayama and Krizek (1995, p. 291) posit "White" occupies "the uncharted territory" that assumes the power of invisibility impacting all people in every sphere of life. The study investigates the strategies that mark the space of Whiteness by disrupting its centrality and deterritorializing the rhetorically instituted invisible position.

However, these studies were predominantly conducted in the U.S., primarily examining the awareness of White teachers and students, including their attitudes about their racial identities in relation to students of color, and how their racially privileged positions impacted their interactions with them. Studies that challenge and question the role of Whiteness in Japanese higher education classrooms are non-existent, due to deep-seated taboos on the subject in Japan. Critical Whiteness Studies provides a lens for understanding the ways in which Whiteness operates internationally and how this has been incorporated into higher education in Japan. It addresses how Whiteness is embedded and prevalent in the modern higher education system in Japan and received wisdom and skills from the Western states have been uncritically incorporated since the 'enlightenment era' in the 1800s.

Whiteness as Linguistic Capital

Early in the 21st century, with the eminent concerns and the heightened awareness to meet the challenges of globalization, business leaders in partnership with the Japanese government, were the first to respond. For example, in 2012, UNIQLO, a casual clothing store chain, and Rakuten, an electronic commerce company, were two of the first Japanese companies to adopt English as an official language used for internal meetings, and communications, as well as official documents. According to Maeda (2010), many business analysts projected both companies' growth in the domestic market would slow, due to population decline in Japan. This development would demand the establishment of franchises in foreign markets, thus, the adoption of the English policy. The business industry's move to adopt English coincided with the Japanese government's ongoing agenda to potentially adopt English as the second official language of Japan. A critical analysis of globalization argues that the imperialistic approach of domination and exploitation of the capitalist enterprises created the situation. The major economic superpowers concentrate in the imperial countries, most notably, European states, North America, and Japan. These nations' with their political and economic interdependence with the U.S., generated the exploited classes and states highly dependent on the imperial countries' decisive influences that perpetually benefit them. Petras and Veltmeyer (2001, p. 32) describe the ways in which academic institutions have contributed to the imperialist project:

> Academic mentors in prestigious universities of the imperial countries have trained a long list of globalist advocates from dominated countries. Frequently, academics shape the economic programs of dominated countries to maximize the interests of global capital and receive lucrative consultation fees.

Since the late nineteenth century in Japan, there have been continuous attempts to replace the Japanese language with the English language by intellectuals and politicians (Kubota, 1998). The adoption of English as an official language grew out of the era of Civilization and Enlightenment, emerging in the late 1800s. This reform, driven by Western powers, reflected an ideology often conveyed by the popular slogan, kokusaika or internationalization, indicating open-mindedness and progressive education yet often meaning the Eurocentric educational agenda and ability to speak English.

The era of Civilization and Enlightenment surged following the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry of the United States Navy in Japan on his battleship in 1853, demanding to open Japan to diplomatic relations and a trade treaty favorable to the U.S. As Kincheloe and Steinberg (1991, p. 5) explained, this racialized diplomatic contact expanded the imperial powers of superpower nations at this time:

> We believe that a dominant impulse of whiteness took shape around the notion of rationality of the European Enlightenment, with its privileged construction of a transcendental white, male, rational subject who operated at the recesses of power while at the same time giving every indication that he escaped the confines of time and space. In this context, whiteness was naturalized as a universal entity that operated as more than a mere ethnic positionality emerging from a particular time, the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a particular space, Western Europe.

Within the context of European expansion and accelerating world-wide expeditions, Japan had taken the path of accepting and pursuing Western 'wisdom' rooted in both the nostalgic and hegemonic idea of White supremacy. Japan's inability to conduct serious political negotiations with Western powers, in tandem with its early experience of Whiteness during the Perry Expedition, shaped the Japanese education system, national identity, and its status within the international community for decades to come.

The Context

This study was conducted at an institution I will call Progressive University under a special mission to enhance internationalization at its campus in Japan during the 2015-2016 academic year. In 2014, the Japanese government launched a funding initiative aiming to promote globalization of Japanese universities. The ultimate goal of the project was to, according to the director of its Global Education Program, 'reform their institutions and focus on internationalization—with the aim of attaining a global standard' (Japan Times, 2014). The funded universities

were evaluated based on shared performance indicators, including the increased numbers of: full-time foreign faculty and Japanese faculty who received their degrees from foreign universities; subjects taught in foreign languages and; students enrolled in study abroad programs under inter-university agreements (MEXT, 2014). It was during this movement when Progressive University developed and implemented a new Liberal Arts Education Curriculum providing general education courses in English while attempting to meet other demands.

Due to the standard protocol to protect confidentiality of the identification of individuals involved, the details of the conversations that shaped the curriculum must remain minimal. Initially, these English-taught general education courses were primarily staffed by eight individuals including four White persons originally from North America and Europe; four persons having origins in Asia were hired during the 2014-2015 academic year. At the time of the research, two of the White instructors did not have master's degrees. In contrast, all four Asian instructors held PhDs from various fields; some had previously worked as university professors with robust teaching and research experience, and one had worked as an intergovernmental organization program specialist. At the start of the program in Fall 2015, the classes taught by these eight instructors were widely publicized in an effort to secure high enrolment.

According to MacIntosh (1997, p. 1), White privilege is one of the corollary aspects of racism that advantages White people. White privilege, she argues, is 'an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks'. The invisible power has remained unquestioned and unchallenged in Japan's higher education. In this case study, White instructors were routinely hired with lesser credentials than their Asian colleagues; this had the effect of establishing a double standard that contributed to hostile work environment, in which the Asian instructors were forced to confront what McIntosh termed as "an invisible package of unearned assets" (p. 1). Critical Whiteness Studies explores issues of advantage, dominance, and normativity that are produced, reproduced, and coproduced through institutional processes that seek to preserve and sustain Whiteness as merit and/or advantage (Fine, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993). The case study at Progressive University suggests the presence of a double standard regarding job qualifications, affording White privilege in the hiring process.

Another area of kokusaika that the university aimed to promote was the growth in international student enrolment. According to its Institutional Research and Reporting, the university had a large number of international students originating from Asia who were either degree-

seeking or non-degree-seeking students while very few were from the U.S., Europe and other so called 'Western states.' Moreover, no degree-seeking students were enrolled from Europe or the United States. Despite these demographics, the university's internationalization agenda was primarily designed to promote Euro-American-Centric values and practices oriented toward White privilege. Some of these practices included: offering and enhancing English-taught general education courses; predominantly publishing the images of the White instructors on the university's outreach materials, including its Website and flyers. The university's efforts to promote the idealized image of Whiteness embedded in *kokusaika* was also supported by the local media, which featured a few White male instructors on the local news while superficially touching on the topic of globalization. As these images circulated among the university community and through the media, the university's agenda on *kokusaika* implicitly suggested a link between globalization and Whiteness.

Japanese Higher Education and Government Employed Foreigners from European States and the U.S.

According to Kincheloe and Steinberg (1991, p. 5), "in educators' efforts to understand the forces that drive the curriculum and the purposes of Western Education, modernist whiteness is a central player." Thus, higher education is not an exception as a site for the construction of Whiteness or the resistance to it. Rather students encounter a curriculum constructed at the intersection of race, linguistic capital, and, in Japan, the university's internationalization agenda.

Japan's Civilization and Enlightenment era provides an instructive case study of the construction of Whiteness within the Japanese education system. The system was reformed based on the U.S. education model, in tandem with hired foreigner consultants primarily from Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. Each of these countries played key roles in shaping Japan's national identity as a close ally during this time period and in the century ahead. These foreigners were called *Oyatoi gaikokujin* (literally meaning "hired foreigners"); they taught and advised in academia and government to assist Japan's modernization in technology and science. While it is difficult to verify the total number of the hired foreigners, Kanai (1997) estimates that until the system of imperial hired foreigners was abolished in 1899, 600 to 900 foreigners were hired each year over the span of 30 years.

It was in the midst of the Civilization and Enlightenment era when Mori Arinori, Japan's first Minister of Education, proposed the adoption of English as the official language of Japan, abandoning Japanese in favour of English. Mori's doctrine emphasized Westernization and

elitist education, however, was widely condemned by his contemporaries including academics and public intellectuals. Although Mori's plan was not enacted, similar proposals regarding Japan's language policy were routinely introduced in subsequent decades.

The number of the *Oyatoi* gradually decreased as the government faced financial challenges in providing them with high salaries, and the practice was replaced by the Western-educated Japanese returning from their studies abroad (Hara, 1977).

Local Climate and Invisible Privilege

Meet Dave. He is from a Mid-Atlantic state in the United States. He is in his late twenties and has lived in the city where Progressive University is located for several years. He is about six feet tall and has blonde hair and blue eyes. He says he is a Quaker by education, as he attended a Quaker college. He moved to Japan immediately after graduating from an American college, where he majored in Japanese Language. During his undergraduate studies, he lived in Japan for a couple of months while he participated in a short-term study abroad program. He thought that living in Japan would be 'fun' and came to the city through an introduction from a friend. While he had originally planned to return to the U.S. to attend graduate school, his plan changed shortly after moving to Japan. He now owns an American-style Café and also operates English language school. His café has not been very successful since, according to Dave, he had "no skill of managing a restaurant" and that "it's quite difficult to appeal to the good points of something that people aren't used to." Dave thought that running his English language school was easy, as compared to his café:

> English school is easy. You know who your customer is. There are a few types of customers in Japan. You know why they are studying English. Their company says that they have to take TOEIC (The Test of English for International Communication) or they want to live abroad or go to universities abroad or just their general life fulfilment so it's easy to target the customers. In this city, the competition of English school is soft. (Dave)

Dave's experience suggests the relative ease of accessing job opportunities for White people with no expertise or prior experience in either restaurant management or the English school business. Understood within the historical context of the Civilization and Enlightenment Era dating back to the late 1800s, the case study illustrates how White privilege works in modern Japan. As Japanese business and political entities embraced *Kokusaika*, idealized images of Whiteness increasingly emerged. This, in turn, fostered the privileging of Whiteness that has led

to increased opportunities for a person with Dave with his characteristics. When asked what it has meant to be a White man and how that has shaped his experience living in Japan, he recounts:

> On average, I am the most privileged. I could complain about, you know, this is annoying, Japanese university girls want to talk to me because I speak English, you know. Maybe it's true, but in the total picture of my life, that's minor thing, you know. (Dave)

He also acknowledged that being a business owner meant accessing powerful people with influences on local businesses and affairs. For example, at a local networking event convened by a business magazine, he found himself surrounded by influential figures from the local business circles, as he easily drew their attention. He was even invited to appear as a guest on a local television show as an "American who spoke Japanese."

Dave's access to local business circles and open his café and English school exemplifying the systematic and institutionalized supports and protects invisible White privilege in Japanese businesses and industry. This privilege facilitated and eased Dave's process of acculturation and integration into Japanese society. His experience illustrates a prototype of White privilege observed in daily life as a cultural norm in Japan, providing an example of how White privilege operates "an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions," (McIntosh, 1997, p. 1) paving the way for someone like Dave, a blonde-headed, blue-eyed, English-speaking White male to economic and career success. It was in this local context that this study was conducted; this case study will be woven into the participants' reflections in their cross-racial contexts in the learning environment. The role of White privilege in Dave's professional experience in this community in Japan illustrates the ways in which Whiteness is normalized, affirmed, and perpetuated. As discussed below, these dynamics also influence the practices and experiences of students and faculty at Progressive University, as well as its organizational culture.

Method

The data gathered in the study at Progressive University emerged from the interviews conducted with eleven participants. Together, this data provides rich examples of the ways in which the racial/cultural climate of the social and learning environment impact the experiences of both students and instructors.

Data collection

One-on-one interviews were the primary method of data collection. The researcher interviewed a total of eleven participants at Progressive

University, including eight undergraduate students who had taken at least one course from any of the eight instructors, two professors, and one curator of the university's museum. Eligibility criteria for recruiting the students as potential participants of the study included the following: taking at least one English-taught general education course and familiarity with the instructors through their interactions. All students, except one international student from East Asia, identified themselves as born and raised Japanese; three were male and five were female. The two professors were recruited, as both of them had lived and taught at academic institutions in Western English-speaking countries and were willing to provide their insights and thoughts on the cross-racial/cultural learning environment. Finally, the curator also became an ideal participant as her familiarity with the university's history and culture based on her relatively long period of employment provided insights into the inner-working of the institution.

The interviews were conducted during the 2015-2016 academic year. After obtaining informed consents, open-ended in-depth interviews were conducted. Each interview lasted between 45 and 80 minutes. The interviews were conducted in the researcher's office to assure the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. The questions were concerned with the participants' perceptions about campus internationalization efforts, race, and education.

In addition to the interviews, descriptive and reflexive field notes were kept. The descriptive field notes detailed the historical background of the academic institution as a research site and observational notes regarding the interactions between participants and researcher. According to Creswell (2005, p. 214), reflexive field notes serve to "record personal thoughts that researchers have that relate to their insights, hunches, or broad ideas or themes that emerge during the observation". Thus, the reflexive field notes allowed me to constantly examine and acknowledge my emotive responses, the sense I made of events at the site and the people involved as well as questions and ideas and concerns that came to my mind.

Data Analysis

Data sources for this study included participants' information including ages, gender, and status (faculty or staff or student); interview transcripts; and field notes from each interview. Pseudonyms were used throughout the study in order to protect participants anonymity and confidentiality. Data collection and data analysis were conducted in parallel. I used thematic analysis to examine the transcripts and field notes, capturing major themes that emerged from the data to inform deeper discussions. The participant quotes were provided in rich detail

to support the themes (Creswell, 2005). The phases are iterative in that I cycled back and forth between data collection and analysis as the understanding about the information in the data deepened. The coding process included the following steps: divide the data into text segments; label text segments to generate broad themes discussed by the participants most frequently; and examine and eliminate the overlap and redundancy in the data.

Researcher Reflexivity

As the researcher of this study, I was cognizant of how my race, ethnicity, gender, nationality, and my credible position as a faculty member at Progressive University would help build rapport with my participants. I am Japanese by birth. I grew up and went to college in Japan, as did most of the study's participants. My background and familiarity with Japanese universities, and my passion for learning English for cross-cultural understanding allowed me to better connect with the study participants. This helped create a space for affirmation and validation, encouraging them to express themselves and thoughtfully reflect on their experiences. My immersion in the scholarship on critically conscious research, race relations, anti-oppressive education, and Critical Whiteness Studies—as well as my previous experience of teaching the courses on these themes in teacher education programs in U.S. universities also influenced my view regarding the interplay of racial power dynamics. As one who has questioned, and continues to question the construction of my own identity with respect to Whiteness, I embarked upon the journey of unravelling the process of making meaning of the unsettling space with my research participants.

Findings

Four themes emerged, and each is discussed in detail in this section. The interview excerpts were interwoven with the perspectives drawn from the field notes.

Theme 1: Linguistic Status Quo

The interviewees were aware of the power dynamics between instructors and students due to the privileges of the instructors, including, for some, their Whiteness, and for all, the assumption that they have higher English-speaking ability. The interviewees noted the power dynamics related to the language status quo as they reflected on the instructors' privilege of speaking English and choosing not to learn and

speak Japanese. These dynamics resulted in the situation where the blame was entirely placed on the students for their limited English proficiency, rather than critically examining how the language status quo alienated the students, lowering motivation and increasing feelings of resentment, both towards the instructors and English education overall.

As observed in the case of Dave, the local White American expatriate who ran a café and an English school business, being White and an English-speaker allowed him to access local resources and valuable information necessary for him to advance his business and social status. The following students' accounts may explain why a situation such as Dave's would become possible.

Ken pointed out the lack of Japanese proficiency of his instructor. The instructor had been in Japan for more than 10 years, but did not speak Japanese much. Ken found it odd that the instructor had been in Japan for so many years and did not speak the language. Ken also said that the instructor would speak some simple Japanese words and sentences, however, his superficial use of the language reinforced the status quo between the instructor and the Japanese students. As Ken explained, "He would speak simple Japanese. But it did not help me understand or deepen my knowledge on the concepts that really needed to be explained." Ken was also upset and angry when the instructor repeated "Japanese students are shy" in class as if to hide his own lack of competency in Japanese, while putting the blame entirely on the students. Indeed, students who dropped the course felt their limited English proficiency was the reason they struggled with the course content.

Kazuya also felt frustrated and questioned the lack of cultural competency by the instructor in his English-only class:

> I was overwhelmed because it was taught all in English and I was even more frustrated because he did not seem to consider the fact that some of us had no clue what he was saying. He didn't stop, but just carried on with his talking… it was almost like he was ignoring us. Some people pretended that they understood, but none of them actually had clear understanding of the instructions. (Kazuya)

As a result, according to Kazuya, 12 out of 14 students dropped the course. Like Kazuya, Reika found it troubling that many students signed up for the class with high expectations and were willing to participate in class discussions, however, many of these students faced the reality of the pre-established language status quo and the lack of teacher attention to more sensitive issues that the Japanese students were concerned about:

> The idea of taking general education courses taught all in English is intimidating for many students and I think that's the reason

> many students hesitate to take these classes. I believe it's a valuable opportunity to take these courses, but I think it's meaningless, if you are not understanding the content at all. (Reika)

Another student, Chika, took a course on Japanese history taught only in English by a White male instructor. She praised how much she had learned from the course because "he seemed to know more about the Japanese history than I did. I am Japanese but I did not know as much as he knew about Japanese history" (Chika). However, when she was asked what exactly she did in each class period of the course, she was not able to describe what she had done in detail and replied after a long pause by saying, "we were given true or false questions… and we had some discussion about it, I think" (Chika).

Having been asked again, what the questions were and how she answered them, she had a quizzical look on her face and said she did not remember them. While she emphasized that she had learned 'quite a bit', in reality, she did not seem to have gotten much from the course at all. Chika was generally happy if she could immerse herself in the English-speaking environment, so it could well be that the language status quo did not bother her at all.

The university museum curator addressed her concerns in response to the reality of the English-only, teacher-centric instructional style embodied by the White instructors:

> First of all, the students are not even understanding most of what the instructors are saying. How are the students expected to develop those leadership skills or active participation, if they are basically sitting and not understanding? (Curator)

This situation raised the question of the qualifications that one is expected to assume when teaching respective disciplinary areas in higher education. While the university's purpose in offering general education courses in English may reflect its goals of promoting students' English language skills, other competencies, such as cultural sensitivity and responsiveness, and leadership skills must be promoted simultaneously in order to strategically enhance international education. The holistic goal of international education curriculum can not be achieved in an environment such as the one described by the curator.

Theme 2: No Expertise, No Qualifications

Study participants identified instructor credentials as a key component of a quality of education, and they questioned the apparent willingness of the university to disregard hiring standards for White candidates. Participants indicated that they expected instructors to all

be held to some standards, including a minimum level of qualifications and credentials, namely expertise in a given discipline and/or area of study, as well as intercultural competence. However, both students and faculty reported experiencing disappointment and frustration, as they began to understand that some White instructors had been exempted from the general qualification standards.

Nami was an education major student and felt that the teachers' qualifications were particularly important to ensure the quality and credibility of her university education. However, given the fact that some of the instructors were without proper credentials, she felt deceived:

> I don't like it at all. I am serious when it comes to academic work and university education. I am interested in becoming a researcher. It is shocking to know that they do not even have a Master's degree. I feel like I have been cheated. I would like to receive education by people who had proper training as a researcher and qualifies to teach at a university. (Nami)

Ken recounted how he became dubious of the instructor's expertise in what he was teaching when he learned that the instructor created his PowerPoint presentation primarily from Wikipedia:

> I remember that the information on the power point slides that he shared was copied from Wikipedia. I knew it because I came across the same information on Wikipedia when I was studying ahead to be prepared for my next class. He also copied and pasted the images from different Websites without referencing them. I usually read widely about the topics discussed in his class and his information mainly came from the Wikipedia. (Ken)

The plagiarism committed by the instructor raises a question about the vision and the motive of such a learning environment created by the university. The skepticism was also addressed by Hiroshi, who does not plan to take additional classes taught by the White instructors. As he confided, "I looked for information about their academic backgrounds and publication history using different data sources, but nothing came up" (Hiroshi). The students also questioned how the classes, which were lacking in pedagogically-conscious and culturally sensitive instruction, were taught. According to Reika, many of the students enrolled in one of the instructors' classes chose to take her class because they knew she would give them an A without clear justifications as "it was one of those classes that you could earn an easy A without doing anything" (Reika).

> I did not know how the course was graded. There was one presentation at the end of the semester. We were told to form a group randomly with two or three other people maybe. Throughout the entire course, we would sit there just listening to her. Many students lost focus and fell

> asleep… Occasionally, she would ask questions to class but that was it and there was nothing substantial done to engage us in what she was talking about… I was hoping that she would do something more to enhance her teaching, but it never happened. (Reika)

Other enrolled students shared similar experiences. They said that many students chose to take the class because they didn't have to do anything but would get an easy A. The class was strictly teacher-centered and rarely engaged in discussions or other forms of meaningful interaction:

> We were given no chance to talk nor discuss at all… She didn't seem to have a grading criteria so it was like everyone automatically got an A even those who were asleep in class. So my guess is that the word spread and more students enrolled in the course for getting an A effortlessly. Overall, I felt the instructor didn't know what she was doing. (Ken)

These situations were taken seriously by Takashi, a faculty member, at the university. Takashi earned his Ph.D. from a British university and continued his research and taught at another university in the United Kingdom for a couple of years before returning to Japan to begin his current position as an assistant professor at Progressive University. He was concerned about the credential issues addressed by the students:

> I would like to know the disciplines and the areas of study that each instructor in the college has pursued in their graduate schools, their visions toward how their disciplines match the mission of 'global education' that the university is attempting to promote here. I am wary of the fact people teach general education courses without proper qualifications. (Takashi)

For Takashi, the current practice of hiring instructors based on the fact that they looked more Caucasian and spoke English would simply fail to fulfil the mission and goals of international education in higher education:

> I mean, in graduate school, you acquire the necessary knowledge and skills to research. You then educate college students based on the integration of your scholastic interests, research findings, and advanced knowledge. If you don't have these trainings and scholastic integrity, I doubt that one can possibly ensure the credibility of what he is teaching. (Takashi)

For Takashi, this is a clear example of the university's lack of clear vision for global education. For him, global education must start by defining its goals, including the specific competencies such an education seeks to develop. The university must ensure that White instructors and Japanese students are on the same level in terms of respect for culture, the value system, and language. But given the lack of Japanese language skills

and no appropriate academic qualifications, the leadership foreshadows a wrong direction for the program. Apparently, the lack of credentials generated the issues relevant to the quality of teaching and the status quo between the instructors and the students.

Theme 3: Globalization as the Practice of Whiteness

The students also questioned the practice of putting a 'No entry' sign at the bottom of the staircase leading to the instructors' office compartment on the second floor. According to them, students could go upstairs only by getting a 'permission' from the administrator's office:

> I wondered about the way the building was structured… it just seems to pronounce that it is the center of internationalization and we have to go to them. It's always us who has to go to them, not them come to us. (Aya)

In addition to the office isolation, Mei hua also felt that some White instructors made themselves unavailable to her. When she wanted to talk to one of the White male instructors immediately after class, he told her that he didn't want to speak to her unless she made an appointment with him first, and then he walked away. She thought he was "arrogant and had a problem" (Mei hua).

To Hiroshi, the center appeared to be a place where people gathered to learn about American culture and English, which he described as "where people learn English or American village." Although he couldn't explain exactly why, he felt it was because "there are many White people there" (Hiroshi).

Shota is a first-year faculty member at the university. He earned his PhD from an Australian university and taught there as a teaching assistant for a couple of years. He problematized the trend of viewing global education as Europeanization and Americanization in Japanese higher education:

> I don't think this is just the phenomena at this university, but it's all the same in Japan… The foreign languages offered here persistently represent the Eurocentric hegemony as these languages have been taught ever since it was founded. English, among others, is the most powerful language. This political practice is troublesome creating a situation privileging White people without proper academic qualifications. This is disappointing. (Shota)

Indeed, Shota's and other students' assertions underscored the practice of isolating White privilege and centering Whiteness reflected in the students' perception of English education, their purpose of learning English, and how race might have played a role to shape their idealized image of English teacher:

> My biggest reason for taking these courses offered in English is to improve my English and I just appreciate that I can take classes from native English speakers. If it's a White instructor, I mean, a native speaker, I think I can learn English better. I mean I can learn 'correct' English. (Chika)

In response to my question as to whether or not she used the terms 'native speaker' and 'White instructor' interchangeably and if race mattered when learning English from people with different racial backgrounds, Chika answered:

> (Chuckles) I mean I can learn correct English from native English speakers. I really appreciate the opportunity to be able to learn the authentic, correct English from them. This is a perfect opportunity for me to achieve my goal (of learning and improving her English). (Chika)

In this above statement, even as Chika seems to recognize how she inadvertently equated the native speaker with a White instructor, she still seemed to hold the idea of White person being an ideal English teacher without clarifying the distinction between her conscious use of the two terminologies. Chika's desire for learning English from White instructor exemplifies the authority surrounding White privilege.

Nami challenged the image of White people as ideal English teachers and the centrality of Whiteness that seemed to have firmly occupied the international education curriculum in Japanese higher education by addressing the lack of racial diversity among the teachers:

> It's almost like people automatically give credit to White people regardless of their qualifications. They pass without being questioned… Another student thought it was not a problem that they taught these general education courses since they were native English speakers. I asked her if she thought it was a problem, but she was like, no, I think it's fine. (Nami)

Aya had taken a course with one of the White male instructors as she explained her primary purpose of taking the class was to improve her English skills. She took a class with him again the following semester. However, the topic of the course was not her interest since her primary interest was to be in an English-speaking environment:

> I did not care much about the topic of the course and I actually am not fully understanding what has been taught in the course, but I was fine with it because I just wanted to be in an English-speaking environment. (Aya)

While she does not deny her motivation for taking the class without consciously problematizing the issues addressed by Shota and Nami, she raised a question of lack of racial diversity among the instructors by asserting, "I always wondered why there were only… White people. Are

there any Black teachers on this campus?" (Aya). Aya's question about the 'missing race' not only represents the reality of White majority instructors in English education in Japanese universities, but also implied. This is in keeping with Ishihara's argument (1998), which found that White privilege was normalized and authorized as unspoken rules, therefore, taboo among English educators in Japanese universities.

Theme 4: Challenging to De-Center Whiteness

In McIntyre's participatory action research (1997), she examined how her research participants used various speech-tactics in order to avoid critically examining their own Whiteness. They created a discourse that left unchallenged the centrality of Whiteness in race relations by "derailing the conversation, evading questions, dismissing counterarguments, withdrawing from the discussion, remaining silent, interrupting speakers and topics, and colluding each other in creating a 'culture of niceness'" (p. 46). These speech-tactics were called 'White talk' and although the study specifically focused on the characteristics of these speech tactics of White individuals, 'White talk' is pervasively observed in dialogues among all races when they engage in race related conversations. In White talk, people perpetuate their uncritical perspectives by remaining color-blind, and shifting the responsibility to someone else, thus centering Whiteness. Attempts were made to disrupt these uncritical talks by de-centering Whiteness. In their thoughtful reflections, two of the interviewees carefully identified their shifting views and emotive responses to their cross-racial interactions by first centering Whiteness and then by de-centering Whiteness.

First, Aya talked about her experience of hosting a White Australian girl with her family in Japan when she was in high school. She was well aware of her conflicted feelings that she could not dismiss as she went out of her way to please her:

> I was reflecting on my experience of her and how much I was trying to please her by constantly talking to her and taking good care of her. At some point, I became so exhausted that I slowly began distancing myself from her. In the end, I didn't even want to see her any more. (Aya)

At the same time, she was aware how she stereotyped White people:

> I had this idea about them being open-minded and nice… but I realized now that the reason I had such a positive stereotype about them (White people) was that, maybe, I didn't see them just like us and idealized them too much… and that's why we failed to become closer to each other. (Aya)

Instead of defaulting to self-blame by criticizing her language skills or

avoiding the question of White privilege, she carefully analyzed how she might have created an idealized image of White people and acknowledged the racial distance between her and the White Australian girl. She became even more cognizant of the centrality of whiteness through the course that had specifically focused on diversity issues taught by a Japanese professor encouraging her to confront the rarely addressed issue of White privilege in Japanese higher education, thus developing a discourse by challenging the White privilege and de-centering Whiteness:

> In our class, there was no White students and when we talked about White privilege, I knew everyone in the class was aware of it. I was constantly reminded that it was everywhere and how visible it was in our everyday life…I am so aware of this problem now that my worldview was definitely reshaped… I realize now that it's those who have privilege who has to change, not those who don't. (Aya)

Like Aya, Nami was provoked and problematized the centrality of Whiteness, male privileges, and the language status quo through reflecting on her personal relationship with her White boyfriend as well as through careful observation of the socially constructed identity of White men and their behavior in Japanese society:

> I know this British guy and he told me that it was easy to date Japanese women as they are 'easy' and how he actually looked down on Japanese women… and he is married to a Japanese woman… I often have a conflict about my relationship with the White man I am dating. I have always suspected that the reason he liked me was because I was Japanese. (Nami)

As seen in Dave's case earlier in this article, his race, gender, and possibly, nationality helped him access the network of abundant cultural resources making his life smooth. Given the racially, culturally welcoming environment for people of Dave's background, added to the British man's account on his accessibility to Japanese women, Nami was skeptical of her White boyfriend's motivation to be with her and expressed her frustration about her conflicted feelings and further questioned the envious reaction by her Japanese female peers:

> I don't like the response from people in general when I tell them that my boyfriend is from Europe. They are like how lucky you are! Their reaction would have been very different if I were dating a Taiwanese man. Once someone said, 'I wish I had a White boyfriend'. I was so conflicted and I hated it. (Nami)

Nami's affective response to the situation illuminates the absence of critical dialogue about racial privileges and power issues that operate in inter-racial relationships and marriages. It points to an education that carefully teaches people to accept rather than to challenge White male privilege while being aware how the desirable White

male images created undesirable images of Asian men. This implies the possible future research to explore the impact of race and gender on English education, which has rarely explored at Japanese universities.

Discussion

The four themes identified by this research suggest the dissonance, skepticism, and even resistance toward the current implementation of English education and Whiteness. The university's vision and mission for global education lacked clarity according to my research participants, thus questioning the validity of the global education agenda itself. First, there was a sharp dissonance between how global education was promoted as an ideal image by the university and how it was perceived by the interviewees. To the interviewees, the university's goal of global education fixated on the simple idea of English education by White people. There was no substantial engagement with active learning processes such as questioning, assessing, analyzing, and evaluating the complex phenomena that occur at the intersection of imperialism, colonization, race, ethnicity, language, citizenship, economy, politics, beliefs, gender, sexual orientation, and other components. Some of the interviewees challenged White privilege by carefully reflecting on their thoughts, ideas, and behaviors while others challenged the popularly embraced notion of global education.

The interviewees expressed their discomfort about the ways global education was pronounced and implemented by the university. The participants questioned if the current trend of prioritizing English education might run the risk of effacing other aspects of international education. They felt that the purpose of international education had to be rooted in the idea that they must first know their own culture and language well as it provided them with a platform to engage in cross-cultural understanding.

As a result, the concept of 'internationalizing' or 'globalizing' that the university prioritized did not align with the participants' expectations regarding the curriculum and educational practices. Rather, participants had expected that a global education was meant to provide a space where people from different countries and cultures would come together and have meaningful discussions through which 'we discover our stereotypes about each other and analyze how these stereotypes were shaped through media for example' (Kazuya). The process would certainly help the students be self-reflective, eliminating their own prejudices about other cultures, which would hopefully contribute to overcoming the walls between people.

This study was conducted as a means of understanding how

linguistic capital, Whiteness, and English education intersected giving significance to the role of race, dominance, and privilege in the process of the racialization of language education. The critical analysis of such an intersection begs the question of the global education program seen in this study and the clarity of the goals as Japanese society increasingly becomes multilingual and multicultural. The issue of Whiteness has rarely been explored or discussed in Japanese university classes. Overall, the participants' thoughtful reflections challenge the current trends in global education, thereby expanding our existing frame of reference and expanding the ways we think of international/global education.

Implications for Future Research

The findings from the study will serve as a testimony that would guide any future research on English education in international contexts through the lens of Critical Whiteness Studies. Such a research agenda, however, may be met with resistance, due to ideological dissonance resulting from the lack of general awareness about Whiteness. The status quo itself upon which English education and global education are formulated is an often-invisible but quite powerful force standing against change. As seen in Japan's experience of a strong push for 'Enlightenment and Civilization' in response to the Western demands for establishing diplomatic relations for commercial purposes, Japan's economic prosperity and political stability set an unprecedented example of the success by a nation of color in history. This suggests Westernization is crucial to the success of the country and Japan's example remains as a legacy to prove this formula. Thus, changing the formula would require a large-scale educational reform demanding structural transformation and a paradigm shift. Dramatic transformations take time requiring a long-term commitment.

Future research must be aware of this problem and could expand this dimension by carefully examining the sources of resistance and propose an educational agenda that invites all educators to consider the impact of Whiteness as observed in careful analysis of the narratives by the study participants. According to Leonard (2002), it is necessary for one to be familiar with Whiteness in order to confront it, by raising awareness of how one may engage in the vicissitudes of discourses that center, de-center, and re-center Whiteness. The purpose of such a practice and endeavor will hopefully find its way into dismantling the racial status quo while resisting the temptation of Whiteness.

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank the participants of this study who were willing to offer their thoughtful reflections and constructive criticism on what they were learning and how they were learning. Your narratives will be valuable resources for those who are involved in creating the curriculum and the learning environment in this critical moment of paradigm shift in all learning communities in Japan and beyond. I would also like to thank Kevin Kumashiro, Bill Ayers, and Jabari Mahiri for their support, encouragement, and offering constructive comments. This article is also dedicated to you.

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A Qualitative Analysis: Black Male Perceptions of Retention Initiatives at a Rural Predominately White Institution

The Journal of Educational Foundations
Vol. 32, No. 1, 2, 3, & 4
2019, pp. 72-103

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Abstract

In this article, we show that the retention and graduation rate of Black male students at institutions of higher education is dismal when compared to other groups. Approximately, 30% of Black college males who enroll in a four-year institution earn a college degree compared to 57% of White male students (Bohrnstedt et al., 2015). Black men find it difficult to persist and complete a college degree, and reasons behind it should be explored. The purpose of this study is to explore student and administrator perceptions of retention strategies for Black male students attending a Predominantly White Institution (PWI).

Keywords: African American Males, Predominantly White Institution, Student Retention, Rural Education

Introduction

A college degree increases the likelihood of employment, future earnings and personal satisfaction. However, the challenge in earning

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a degree differs based on race, gender and socioeconomic status (Palmer et al., 2014). The United States Congress passed Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to ensure equal opportunity in federally assisted programs and activities (Rudolph, 1990). Thus, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 protected persons from discrimination based on race, color, and ethnicity by institutions of higher education (Rudolph, 1990). Although Predominantly White Institutions (PWI) are more racially integrated, Black college males face unique challenges from their White counterparts, which make them the least likely of all students to be retained and earn a college degree (Harper, 2006; Strayhorn, 2014). Roughly, 30% of Black college males who enroll in a four-year institution earn a college degree compared to 57% of white male students (Bohrnstedt et al., 2015) and less than 30% of Black college males remain at their first college (Palmer et al., 2014). Consequently, the number of Black college males who enroll in college and never earn a degree, are limited in their ability to achieve goals that require an earned degree. While there are numerous reasons that contribute to Black college males departing from college before earning a degree, there are visible and present reasons that are beyond the control of Black males. According to Palmer et al. (2014) many Black college males are from racially segregated and predominantly Black communities and attend PWI more than Historically Black College and Universities (HBCU). Black college males who attend school in rural locations may be confronted with additional pressures than Blacks who attend school in urban environments. Consequently, by acculturating to the majority lifestyle and being surrounded by faculty, students, and staff who are from mostly rural areas, the challenges that Black college males face attending a rural PWI may prove to be more than they anticipated. This study expands knowledge to this area of study by exploring an institutional strategy at a rural PWI aimed to increase Black college male retention and graduation. In addition, this study provides a foundation to understand Black college male perceptions of these institutional strategies and perceptions of the rural environment in which they attend school.

Problem Statement

There is a significant amount of literature on college retention strategies designed to prevent college student departure (Astin, 1997). Most of the retention research focuses on the white student population and little attention has been given to Black and nontraditional students (Harper, 2006). Research on Black college students groups all Black students together instead of focusing on Black students heterogeneously. The limited amount of information surrounding Black college male

retention focuses on students who attend HBCUs, which adds to the complexity institutions face when attempting to increase retention rates for Black college male students who attend PWIs (Watson, 2002).

While colleges and universities are implementing programs to increase Black college male retention, the number of Black college male students who depart from college before earning a degree continues to rise (Baker, 2013). It is unknown why retention programs are not increasing Black college male retention, but present studies do not explore the perceptions of these programs from the perspective of its participants. Due to the limited knowledge on Black college male participants' experiences regarding retention initiatives, institutional leaders have a limited understanding on how to increase Black college male retention. In addition, there is a dearth of literature discussing Black college male retention programs at land-grant PWIs located on rural campuses.

The retention initiative explored in this study focuses on the development and retention of Black male undergraduate and graduate students. This initiative is designed to provide an extra layer of support for Black men as they adjust college life. Each month, participants and facilitators of the initiative gather together to discuss various topics related to the specific needs and interests of its participants. Collectively, participants are assigned a professional mentor and graduate student peer mentor to support them in a variety of ways throughout their collegiate journey. Mentors and participants meet for meals, evening/weekend activities, tutoring, and any discussion pertinent to participants college experience. In this qualitative single-case study inquiry, the authors explored the retention initiative in place to better understand the role this ancillary program plays in advocating and promoting the retention of Black college males who attend a PWI located on a rural college campus. Furthermore, the Black college male student and faculty perceptions of the retention initiative are also explored.

Research Questions

This research was guided by the following questions:

1. How do Black male students perceive the purpose, processes, and effectiveness of a retention initiative aimed to increase Black college male retention?

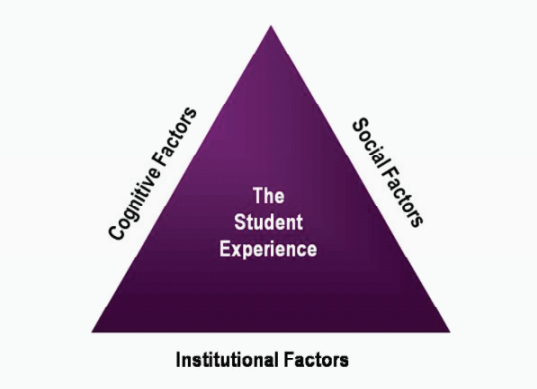
2. How do college administrators perceive the purpose, processes, and effectiveness of a retention initiative aimed to increase Black college male retention?

3. Are there differences in how Black male students and college administrators perceive the purpose, processes, and effectiveness of a retention initiative aimed to increase Black college male retention?

Conceptual Framework

The Geometric Model of Student Persistence and Achievement (Swail, 2004) is a conceptual framework that describes the relationship between students and the institution they attend. The framework places the student at the center of the model and addresses the questions, "What can institutions do to help each student get through college?"; and, "How can institutions help integrate students academically and socially into the campus, as well as support their cognitive and social development?" The geometric model is shaped like a triangle, which denotes a force or impetus on a student. The three forces account for student outcomes: cognitive, social, and institutional factors (see Figure 1). Cognitive factors refer to what a student brings with him or her to college. The cognitive factors include the academic ability such as proficiency in reading, writing and mathematics. An important component of the cognitive factors related to student persistence is a student's decision-making and problem solving. Social factors are important to a student's stability. The social factors include integration with peers and the institution, cultural history, and personal attitudes. Research shows that social integration is important to student retention and students have a hard time persisting if they are not socially connected to the institution. The institutional factors refer to the "practices, strategies, and culture of the college or university

Figure 1
Geometric model of student persistence and achievement (Swail, 2004)



that impact student persistence and achievement" (Swail, Redd, & Perna, 2003, p. 77) such as academic and social support, course content and instruction, and student programming. The geometric model places institutional factors at the base of the triangle because the college forms the foundation for student success (Swail, 2004).

The student achieves equilibrium, a term to describe the mode of student persistence, when the forces from all sides (cognitive, social, and institutional) create a balance. If equilibrium is lost, students risk departing from college. The cognitive dimension relates to students' skills, abilities, and knowledge that empower them to succeed in the classroom. Swail (2004) contends that some external forces, such as peers, faculty, and characteristics that students bring with them to college are also considered cognitive factors. The social dimension relates to cultural history, family influence, financial problems, and socioeconomic status. The institutional dimension relates to everything akin to support or hinder students' ability to navigate and succeed in college. Such factors include financial aid, campus climate, support services, policy and practices, campus-wide facilities and diversity initiatives.

Swail (2004) discusses the process of reaching equilibrium in two stages. The first stage represents a series of variables on each side of the geometric model. Each variable has an effect on student persistence, which suggests that one variable can be equally neutralized by another variable. For example, if a student has strong social factors, but extremely low institutional factors, their ability to persist may come with some challenges. However, certain variables can combine and work with or against other variables. The combination of forces or reciprocity produces a net effect for each of the three planes of the geometric model (Swail, 2004).

The second stage refers to the continuation of reciprocity. The forces generated individually or across axes accounts for the stability or instability of student persistence and ultimately the achievement of equilibrium. The triangle does not have to be equilateral in order to reach stability. The model supports student retention when equilibrium is reached. Equilibrium of the model can be reached by an infinite combination of variables from each of the three axes (see Figure 2).

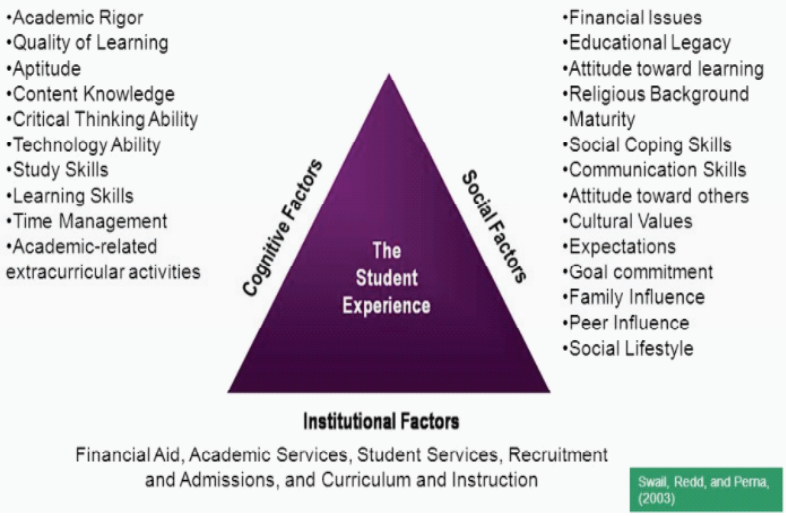
The strength of the geometric model of student persistence and achievement is helpful for understanding the multiple forces that shape Black college male experiences. The model recognizes the role of the institution, student motivation, and personal skills as well as the support of family and peers. Understanding the cognitive and social factors that influence Black college male retention brings awareness to the institution on how to improve institutional practice. Black college males benefit from this geometric model because their needs are placed at the center of the model and the institution has a responsibility to the

success of Black college males. This model is significant to this research study because the primary focus is on the student, contrary to most student-persistent models that place social, cognitive, and institutional factors at the center. Moreover, participants in this study attend a PWI located on a rural campus and some may have entered the university in need of an adjustment period where social, cognitive, and institutional segregation was occurring. Participants discussed their adjustment, if any, to college at a PWI and if the forces (social, cognitive, and institutional) accounted for student outcome and retention. Lastly, membership in the retention initiative is common among participants, and the possible effects the initiative had on participants may help future studies address the significance of this conceptual framework as well as evoke student participant ideas in designing initiatives that serve a specific student population.

Scholarly Significance

Campus-based qualitative research is needed to help institutions identify best practices that aid in retaining Black college men. Most retention programs lack: proven research, specific to the needs of the campus, institutionalized, a strong budget, support and student-centered (Swail, Redd, & Perna, 2003). This qualitative research study draws on the experiences of Black college male students who participated in a

Figure 2
Geometric model of student persistence and achievement (Swail, 2004)



retention initiative. The researchers explored the participant experiences within the retention initiative to comprehend student perspectives concerning the effectiveness of the initiative. The research from this study may aid college practitioners in establishing institutional programs that are specifically tailored to the needs of Black males by considering their perspectives. Black college males are not monolithic and without qualitative research the conversation about Black male retention continues to be too broad. Furthermore, this study may provide faculty and staff valuable insight from the Black male perspectives of their college experiences so that faculty can better assist Black men academically. Consequently, college administrators can better assist Black men by establishing educational practices that are inclusive of Black men as well as institutional programs that increase the engagement of Black men leading to higher retention rates.

Definitions

Effectiveness—the degree to which something is successful in producing a desired result; success; a change which is a result or consequence of an action or other cause.

HBCU—a college or university that was originally founded to educate students of African-American descent.

Processes—a series of actions or steps taken in order to achieve a particular end.

Purposes—the reason for which something is done or created or for which something exists.

PWI—Predominantly White Institution is the term used to describe institutions of higher learning in which whites account for 50% or greater of the student enrollment.

Rural—characterized by geographic isolated area located outside of cities and town; small population size.

Classical Explanation of College Student Retention

Why students leave college before completing a degree has been a question that has intrigued the minds of theorists and educators for many years. College student retention is a phenomenon that poses problems for institutions and the students who attend. Institutions are affected by the instability of institutional enrollment, budgets, and the overall perception of the quality of the institution (Braxton & Hirschy,

2005). College students are affected by student loans, lifetime earnings, and a loss of human capital (Braxton, 2000). According to the Center for Community College Student Engagement (2017), 61% of students who started college in the fall of 2015 returned in the fall of 2016. Asian students have the highest retention rate at 72.9%, while Black students have the lowest retention rate at 54.5% (NSCRC, 2017).

Student retention was a modest inquiry until the explosion of student enrollment in higher education after World War II (Berger & Lyon, 2005). President Roosevelt signed the GI Bill in 1944, which provided World War II veterans money for a college education. By 1950, more than two million veterans had enrolled in higher education and by the 1960s student enrollment also increased among low income and minority students (Berger & Lyon, 2005). The sudden growth also meant the departure of students as well. Colleges and universities across the nation were unprepared to serve fast-growing and diverse populations, and by the end of the 1960s many institutions acknowledged student retention was a common concern (Demetriou & Schmitz-Sciborski, 2011). Consequently, the rise of student retention studies increased during this era (Astin, 1977; Bean, 1980; Spady,1971; Summerskill, 1962; Tinto,1975). For the purpose of this study, student retention refers to the process that leads students to remain at the institution they first enrolled (Tinto, 1987).

Some roots or common themes related to students leaving college include student intent, adjustment, difficulty, incongruence, isolation, obligations, and finances (Tinto, 1993). Freshmen students are the most likely to drop out of school compared to other classification ranks, and only half of an incoming class graduates within four to five years (Bean, 2001). Bean (2001) suggests there is a typical profile of students who are retained year to year; they (a) enroll in college following high school; (b) attend a four-year private or public university seeking a bachelor's degree; (c) are full-time students; (d) come from a white or Asian family whose parents are educated with high annual incomes; (e) attended a high quality high school; (f) received good grades in high school; (g) scored well on college entry exams; (h) intend to graduate and set career goals; (i) participate in college activities and have a positive attitude towards school; and (j) identify the campus as being a good fit (Bean, 2001). The fewer of these characteristics a student has, the more likely they will depart from college before earning a degree (Bean, 2001). The retention of students is important to institutions because without high retention rates, institutions cannot survive. For years, institutions have looked to theory to understand reasons for student departure as well as to design policies and strategies to support retention efforts. In the following section, I highlight student retention theorists who have shed light in understanding the student departure phenomenon.

Factors Related to Black College Male Retention

Black college males have greater access to college than before, but many are not graduating, and an even higher number withdraw from their first institution. Nearly, 1.2 million Black men are enrolled in college and almost 50% attend PWIs compared to 11% who attend HBCUs (Toldson & Lewis, 2012). However, 70% of Black college males who begin college at a PWI depart before earning a degree (Harper, 2006). Recent literature suggests that the factors related to low Black college male retention are not solely the fault of the institution but are also the result of external factors Black men bring with them to college (Harper, 2006). The narrative for each Black college male who departs from their university is different, yet whatever the reasons, the total number of Black male departures is higher than other student groups (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005).

Consequently, the need for PWIs to focus on understanding the challenges Black college males face is paramount. Retention models have been explored to help increase Black college male retention, but Black college men experience factors that affect retention and graduation completion that are not present variables in traditional retention models.

Retention studies have portrayed Black college male students as disadvantaged, underprepared, and defunct (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002; Harper, 2009). Among the studies that have examined Black college male departure, some consistent findings have emerged. As noted by Wood (2012), Black college males were more likely to leave due to family responsibilities (26.9%), program dissatisfaction (23.2%), and other/personal reasons not included among the possible survey responses (21.8%). According to Cuyjet (1997), many Black college males depart because they are underprepared for the academic rigor in higher education due to poor middle and high school systems, low expectations of teachers, peer pressure not to focus on educational attainment, financial hardships, and lack of role models. In addition, Black college males have developmental disadvantages (social, economic, and cultural) that affect their ability to navigate and succeed in college (Cuyjet, 1997). Other researchers have examined other factors, such as student engagement (Tinto, 1993; Harper, 2006), faculty interaction (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005), campus climate (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002), and external factors, i.e., family responsibility (Cuyjet, 2006; Harper, 2006) to understand Black college male departure. Most factors that influence Black college male retention can be organized into three categories: environmental, social, and psychological (Strayhorn, 2013). Environmental factors include Black college male's sense of belonging on campus, involvement

in academic and social activities, campus fit, and diverse surroundings. There is a very limited Black (African American) footprint in the rural sociocultural fabric of the state in which this present study takes place. Previous studies indicate Black students experience a difficult time transitioning in campus climates that are different from their home lives and communities (Harper, 2006). Social factors include academic success, positive peer interactions, support from university faculty and staff, engagement in campus clubs and organizations. Psychological factors include self-esteem, self-worth, self-confidence, and grit.

Methodology

This study examines the qualitative single case study method that was used to explore a retention initiative designed to increase Black college male retention and academic achievement. The authors offers a rationale for selecting a qualitative single case study method and presents a methodology for this study, description of participant samples, the role of the researchers, and issues of study validity. Finally, a description of data collection tools, method of analysis, strategies to increase credibility.

The primary purpose of this qualitative single case study design is to explore and analyze Black college male perceptions of a retention initiative designed to increase Black college male retention. In addition, we explored and analyzed administrator perceptions of the retention initiative. This study was designed to extend prior higher education practices and explore the perceptions of the retention initiative of students who identity as Black and male. To study the phenomenon of low Black college male retention rates, the researchers endeavored: (a) to explore the perspectives of Black college male students participating in a retention initiative, (b) to draw connections across the participants' responses, and (c) to identify themes of participants' involvement in the retention initiative. Are there differences in how Black male students and college administrators perceive the purpose, processes, and effectiveness of a retention initiative aimed to increase Black college male retention?

Site Selection

The site for this research study takes place in a land grant PWI located in a rural environment. The institution is in a homogenous environment that is built around agriculture and coal. The college resides in a state that has one of the oldest populations of any state. Nearly three-quarters of the state is covered by natural forests. One of the first major land battles fought between Union and Confederate soldiers in

the Civil War took place in this state. Additionally, this state has one of the lowest crime rates in the country.

For this study, a pseudonym, Mid-Atlantic College (MAC), was used to identify the research site. The MAC mission statement is: as a land-grant institution, the faculty, staff and students at MAC commit to creating a diverse and inclusive culture that advances education, healthcare and prosperity for all by providing access and opportunity; by advancing high-impact research; and be leading transformation in the state and the world through local, state and global engagement. MAC is supported by five distinct values:

1. Service—we seek opportunities to serve others and are committed to providing the highest quality of service.

2. Curiosity—we ask questions, seek new opportunities and change through innovation.

3. Respect—we are respectful, transparent and inclusive with each other.

4. Accountability—we perform at our very best every day to create an institution this is responsive, efficient and effective.

5. Appreciation—we support and value each other's contributions as we build ONE community.

Based on the school's website, MAC ranks in the top percentage of public colleges and research universities. MAC has an undergraduate school population of over 28,000. The student racial composition is: 79% white, 4% Black, 3.3% Hispanic, 1.8% Asian, and 7.5% non-resident alien. Approximately, 87.5% of the students attend school full time and 12.5% part time. Approximately, 57% of students graduate within six years.

When it comes to ethnic diversity MAC ranks below average among other four-year institutions. Approximately, 85% of MAC faculty are white. According to the national average, both the student and faculty diversity population are below average. MAC boasts a 40:60 male to female student ratio, which is higher than the national average. About 47% of undergraduate students at MAC are from the same state. Approximately, 79% of students make it past their freshman year, which is well above the national average and 57% graduate within three to six years.

This study explores the perceptions of the retention program aimed to increase Black male retention. The case is located at MAC and has been in existence since January 26, 2015. This case has similarities to other institutions, however, in particular, this case was modeled after a neighboring college retention program. The recruitment of Black male undergraduate and graduate students at MAC is done

through advertisements, such as flyers, emails, word of mouth, campus canvassing, large poster boards in high traffic campus spaces, and local barber shops. Student emails are obtained from the university email list-serve. To gain membership into the program, students complete a membership profile form. There is no interview, review of resume, or academic requirements for students to gain access to the program. The participants are predominantly Black men, although some Hispanic, Native American, and white males participate. The mission of the case is to focus on the development and retention of Black male college students. Each month, participants and faculty and graduate student peer mentors get together to discuss various topics (empowerment sessions) related to participants' needs and interests. Participants are assigned to a mentor to support them through their collegiate journey. The mentors and participants can meet as often as they like, but it is strongly encouraged mentor teams meet on a monthly basis outside of regular scheduled monthly empowerment sessions. On average, there are 35 students who participate in the empowerment sessions each month and meet regularly with faculty and graduate student peer mentors.

Sample Participants

The researchers used a purposeful sampling technique in selecting participants for the study. Purposeful sampling is a technique widely used in qualitative research for information-rich cases (Patton, 2002). Purposeful sampling relies on the researcher's judgement when making a unit selection to be studied (e.g., people, cases, organizations, events, or pieces of data). The researchers must identify and select individuals or groups that are knowledgeable about or have experienced the phenomenon being studied (Patton, 2002). Prior to identifying and making a selection, the researchers must understand participants' willingness to participate and their ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate and reflective way (Palinkas et al., 2015).

The retention initiative is a program within the Diversity Office. The researchers contacted the director of the Successful M.A.L.E. (Men Achieving Through Leadership and Engagement) Initiative to get a list of names, phone numbers, and email addresses of active participants in the initiative. Participants in the initiative range from freshmen to graduate students. In addition, the director suggested the researchers contact a few recent graduates who were also active members of the retention initiative. In sum, the researchers contacted 20 active members and recent graduates of M.A.L.E. and 10 agreed to serve as participants for this study. Participants consisted of 1 Graduate Student, 4 Seniors, 1 Junior, 2 Sophomores, and 2 Alumni. The researchers hoped that second

semester freshmen would participate in the study, but none responded to voicemails or emails. In addition, the researchers used pseudo names in place of participant names in order to protect the identity of student participants: CW, CA, CT, ER, EW, KE, RD, JD, JM, and SA.

Furthermore, the researchers also explored the administrators' perceptions of the retention initiative. The administrators are the Chief Diversity Office and the Director of the M.A.L.E. The researchers also used pseudo names in place of participant names in order to protect the identity of administrators. The names of the Chief Diversity Officer are Dr. Grayson (DG) and the Director of M.A.L.E. is Mr. Analyzer (MA). Students and administrators received some of the same questions, so that the researchers could build a foundation of how students and administrators perceived the retention initiative. Administrators provided the concept of the initiative and students provided the inception or thoughts of being part of the initiative. The sample pool included classification rank: sophomores, juniors, seniors, graduate students, and recent graduates. Each of the participants must have served at least one full year in the initiative. Our intent was to understand the collection of perspectives from students in different grade levels. It was important to understand the perceptions of this retention initiative from both the student and administration viewpoint, so that one group did not influence the other. Moreover, purposeful sampling was important for this study to make sense of how the retention initiative was perceived from participants of the program.

Data Collection

The researchers conducted 10 semi-structured interviews with student participants. In addition, the researchers also conducted 2 separate interviews with both administrators. Qualitative interviews are the chief method the researchers used to collect primary data. The principal method of data collection was semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews with participants averaged to be one-hour in length. The researchers conducted semi-structured, open-ended interviews to engage discussion around promoted themes driven by the research questions and conceptual framework. Students and administrators were interviewed, so the researchers could explore how students and administration perceive the case.

The researchers asked students and administrators similar questions, so that parallels could be made about the purpose, process, effectiveness, and influence of the case. Open-ended follow-up questions were asked in addition to the semi-structured questions to give depth and expression to participants' voices. Semi-structured interviews were completed in

one setting. The researchers conducted 12 semi-structured interviews over a three-week period. Semi-structured interviews were each one hour in length. Semi-structured interviews with each student participant were conducted in a private quiet room reserved in the library. The same room was used for each of the 10 student participants. Semi-structured interviews with administrator participants were conducted in their college campus office. Semi-structured interviews were selected so that the researchers would remain open to emergent themes and ideas within a thematic structure. The researchers explored themes and ideas to understand their experiences and assist the researchers in understanding the "what" and "how" of the experience (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

The researchers also used document analysis to give voice to the phenomenon. Document analysis is an example of secondary data. Document analysis is a form of qualitative research that gives voice and meaning around a topic (Bowen, 2009). The most common text used for document analysis is written documents (Bowen, 2009). Bowen (2009) suggests that a wide array of documents is important although researchers should also be concerned with the quality of documents rather than the quantity. For this research study, document analysis had the potential to provide contrasts between the administrators' perceptions of the retention initiative and the written documents prepared by the administrators. In addition, the documents helped contextualize the case study and offered opportunities to probe both administrators and students about activities and events pertinent to the retention initiative.

Finally, the researchers used a focus group method to elicit perspectives about the meaning of truth (Fusch & Ness, 2015). Focus group interviews lead to different types of data not accessible through individual interviews (Merriam, 1998). Focus group interviews are typically flexible, unstructured dialogue between the group and the researchers (Fusch & Ness, 2015). Focus groups were a good way to reach data saturation for this present study because semi-structured interviews take place with the same participants as those in the focus groups. Focus groups add a group perspective about the phenomenon that semi-structured interviews do not.

Data Analysis

The case study analysis method requires the researchers to use varied qualitative data sources including individual interviews, document analysis, and focus groups to gain the perceptions of the study participants. Stake (1995) defined analysis as "a matter of giving meaning to first impressions as well as to final compilations" (p. 71). Merriam's (1998) definition of analysis is an application of constructivist epistemology.

She defined analysis as "the process of making sense out of the data by consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researchers has seen and read, which is the process of making meaning (Merriam, 1998, p. 178). Stake (1995) suggested that researchers should conduct data collection and analysis at the same time.

For the purpose of this research study, the researchers took an exploratory perspective in analyzing data through thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is not tied to a pre-existing framework and can be used with different theoretical frameworks. Through thematic analysis, the researchers are able to collect data in relation to the research question. Thematic analysis introduces patterns or themes through examination and recording repeated phrases that are important in describing the phenomenon within the data. The researchers examined and records patterns for the semi-structured interviews and focus group. This approach focuses on the participants perceptions and experiences related to the phenomenon. The most widely used thematic analysis was developed by Braun and Clarke (2006), who created six steps of thematic analysis:

1. Familiarize yourself with the data.
2. Generate initial codes.
3. Search for themes.
4. Review themes.
5. Defining and naming themes.
6. Producing the report.

The process of reducing data comes in three stages: the free line-by-line coding of the findings, the organization of codes into related areas to construct descriptive themes, and the development of analytical themes (Aronson, 1995). Coding is the process of organizing a large amount of data into smaller segments (Bailey, 2007). Initial coding or open coding is term for breaking up multiple pages of text into more manageable sections that can later be grouped for the analysis stage (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). During this stage, the researchers reads data or listens to the recordings and in turn writes down initial thoughts. Once the researchers became more familiar with the data, it was important to identify preliminary codes. This can be from direct quotes or discovering common ideas and then paraphrasing them. The researchers read every line of data, while understanding some codes will be deleted later and new ones may emerge. The further reduction of data is called axial coding, which is the process of reducing the data by identifying and combining the initial coded data into larger categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

After numerous codes have been found, the researchers identified

all data related to the classified patterns. In conjunction with coding, the researchers also participated in an iterative process called memoing. When memoing it is important the researchers asks questions, pose hypotheses, and sees answers grounded in the data (Bailey, 2009). After coding and memoing, the next step is to combine the related patterns into sub-themes. Themes are derived from patterns like what people say, meanings, feelings, and conversation topics (Aronson, 1995). Themes are meaningless when standing alone but emerge from participants' stories to form a comprehensive picture of their collective experience (Aronson, 1995). When patterns emerge between themes, the researchers obtained feedback from participants to gain a clearer understanding and establish other questions for the participant.

To analyze data from semi-structured interviews and a focus group, the researchers used a thematic analysis approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which allowed them to bring preexisting research questions to the analysis of the data while also investigating entirely unanticipated themes. Thus, deductive and inductive codes, respectively, were identified and used in the analysis. The questions from the interviews were used to create initial, deductive codes. Then, the transcripts were reviewed to identify themes emerging from the text to create inductive codes. Together, these codes comprised the codebook. Specific text passages relating to the codes were compiled into code reports for analysis. In the results presented here, the participants' quotes are used to illustrate the findings. This data analysis was used to analyze the content of the data collection. Patterns or themes relevant to the participants' experiences and perspectives were identified.

Validity of Research

This research study employs multiple research techniques to ensure validity and reliability of the research. Patton (2002) indicated that studies that use only one method are more vulnerable to errors linked to that method (e.g., loaded interview questions, biased or untrue responses) than studies that use multiple methods (p. 248). The researchers used triangulation to help assemble emerging theories (Creswell, 2012). In addition, the researchers employed member checks. Participants reviewed their responses (member checking) to confirm the findings of the research and received their transcript as a document. They were asked to review and reply if there are any discrepancies. Member checks makes sure the researchers captured a true and honest representation of the participants experience (Creswell, 2012).

The Case: The Successful M.A.L.E. Initiative

The Successful M.A.L.E. Initiative or affectionately known as M.A.L.E. was created under the Diversity Office by MA. It was modeled after the first initiative, M.A.N., which was founded by MA in June of 2012. However, the first initiative did not gain the traction that it needed to be supported by the institution at large. MA and DG enlisted the support of the university president to repurpose and relaunch an initiative for men of color on campus. This new initiative would focus on two main tenets: retention and graduation completion. The other components of the initiative would support the retention and graduation completion for men of color. M.A.L.E would be the first retention initiative built into the fabric of the institution for male students of color. In other words, MAC did not have an institutional history of retention initiatives for men of color. The researchers worked closely with one of the university head librarians to research if the university had other programs that supported male students of color, but after looking through the archives for weeks, we did not discover any documents related to programs for male students of color. This does not suggest that there were not informal programs for male students of color, but there were no documented cases.

With the support of the University President, M.A.L.E was supported by professional mentors, administrators, campus departments, and the Office of the President. Although this retention initiative was not established within the university's strategic plan, the college President has publicly supported the initiative and has been an active participant in monthly empowerment sessions. With the expansion of the M.A.L.E. initiative, the responsibility was now a campus wide effort, receiving support from other departments such as Student Life, Housing and Residence Life, and the Black Culture Center. The M.A.L.E. initiative has struggled to be a data-driven program, yet the interviews with students indicate it has been effective aiding in both retention and graduation completion.

M.A.L.E. meets monthly for empowerment sessions and periodically throughout the year for special events and mentor-mentee outings. These sessions are normally run by MA, professional mentors, and graduate student mentors. The active student participants range between 25–30 for monthly empowerment sessions. There are five to 10 active professional and graduate student mentors who attend the monthly empowerment sessions. In addition to the monthly empowerment sessions, the professional mentors are assigned five to seven students and are encouraged to meet with them monthly. Graduate student mentors are also encouraged to meet with professional mentors monthly to discuss potential at-risk students and prepare for monthly empowerment sessions.

The University

The college campus is in a state in the Midwest, nestled between the Appalachian Mountains and has pristine views of the natural landscape. The state was formed in contention with a neighboring state during the American Civil War. Most of the counties in the state are designated as rural. It is known for logging and coal mining. Roughly, three-quarters of the state is comprised of forests. It is one of the least diverse states in the nation with 93.1% of the state being white (National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education, 2008). In addition, it ranks 37th out of 50 of African-American inhabitants. Of its inhabitants, 18.7% have a bachelor's degree or higher (2008). The state is challenged by retention, degree completion, attainment gaps, and enrollment in higher education. This challenge is heightened by the number of high school students who do not enroll in post-secondary schools following graduation. Subsequently, 18.3% of the state population lives in poverty (2008). Historically, the mining and coal industries have been the state's main source of production, and it is also known for outdoor activities, including skiing, whitewater rafting, fishing, hiking, and hunting. The state's population is also aging faster than the U.S. national average. It has a median age of 40 which ranks as the oldest population in the United States (2008). Despite the economic challenges the state experiences, the city where the college is located for this study is ranked by Forbes (2017) as one of the top 10 best small cities in the nation to conduct business. In addition, the college is ranked in the top 150 public universities and in the top 202 best value colleges (Forbes, 2017).

Findings

The findings in this study provide a framework for understanding the need for retention-based initiatives for Black college males, the organizational structure of such initiatives, and how the vision and implementation of the initiative align. These findings support the research questions in this study. The researchers analyzed differences of opinion held by students and administrators. This approach details the common themes within the study as well as any differences so that a complete picture of the findings are shared.

Themes

The identified themes originated from predominant motif coding and were organized in three groups reflective of the components in

the research question 1 and 2—purpose, processes, and effectiveness: Group One (Purpose)—Needs and Obstacles: External and Internal; Group Two (Processes)—Support: Through the Program and Outside the Program; and Group Three (Effectiveness)—Organization: Sense of Family/Community and Ways to Improve the Program. Figure 3 illustrates all themes in this study.

Common Themes and Sub-themes, Within some of the theme are sub-themes that further narrowed and detailed how the participants understood the nature of their respective experience. These were also identified by a careful analysis of the predominant motifs within the experiences of the participants.

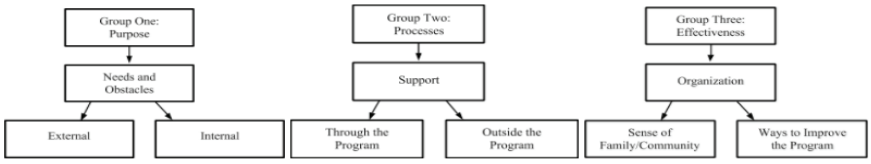
Needs and Obstacles, External Needs and Obstacles, refers to broader cultural and institutional challenges that black students face while attending college. They detail the nature of the circumstances of the individuals' outside world such as interactions with others, the institutional environment and family problems. Internal Needs and Obstacles, expand upon the nature of the inner-self and subjective and personal lives of the individuals as they go through college experience.

Support through the Retention Program, expands on how the program in place is perceived by both students and administrators. Support outside the Retention Program, describes resources that students identified as available outside the targeted retention of the initiative designed to increase Black college male retention. Organization, Sense of Family/Community, details students' reaction to the community that was formed because of the initiative and reasons why they remained members. Finally, Ways to Improve Organization of the Program, details students and administrators' perceptions about the logistics that can make the program to function better and any unmet needs an improved program should address. Figure 2 illustrates these themes and sub-themes.

Group One (Purpose): Needs and Obstacles

External needs and obstacles. External Needs and Obstacles,

Figure 3
Themes and Sub-themes



refers to broader cultural and institutional challenges that black male students uniquely face while attending college. For example, participants reported that they felt as "odd men on campus," which made it difficult to connect to the majority white student population. CW said: "Most classes were Caucasians students and roommate was Caucasian (felt alone in class [])." CA noted: "Black male population is very small." CT echoed: "three black males on my entire (dormitory) floor." Participants shared an overwhelming need to connect with other Black males. They were not visible in their dorm rooms, classrooms, or even in public spaces like the student union and cafeteria. For some participants, the lack of other Black males on campus was new and entirely different than what their home communities and school districts looked like. RD expressed:

> I think the challenge of fitting in on this campus because, as a predominantly white institution, year-round cultures is different from what you're used to, what you grew up in. [ ] You hang around people that don't necessarily have the same culture beliefs or views of certain things that you're used to and it's just different [ ] Adapting to new people, different cultures.

KE agreed with RD's expression of the lack of Black students on campus. He said: "As far as me being here, I wish there was more black students, at a [basic] level, I wish there was more black students, that's all." There is a need for Black college male students to be around and interact with other Black college males. While the number of Black college males on campus is small, there is still a visible number. However, many Black college males are spread out on such an enormous campus leaving rare opportunities for them to connect. MA shared because Black college males have rare opportunities to connect it was important to create a program that brought them all together. MA shared:

> So, having this opportunity, I think for people at a predominately white institution creates this safe, this comfortable space for students of color to be able to debrief, to be able to talk about their experiences, their struggles, their concerns, their issues, their successes.

The participants further elaborated on race related, cultural issues that affected them while in college. They talked about working through the cultural differences, fighting "Black Male" stereotypes, dealing with white privilege, as well as about general difficulties with finding appropriate support from family members. Below are examples that illustrate each of these issues.

Participants talked extensively about the necessity to work through cultural differences and obstacles that affected the Black community as opposed to the white student population. KE reflected:

> I think that is the case, a lot of times we think that [as Black males] college isn't for us. But I also think one the flip side of that, with Black males, we see all these other ways to make it. The primary ways and sometimes our primary role models are actors, rappers and ballers. So it's like, "I don't know how to act so I'm going to gear towards rapping and balling." It's easier, these days, to get your stuff out there.

Many of the first-generation participants also expressed how many of their high school peers took jobs out of high school instead of attending college. The idea that "college is not for us" was a reoccurring theme among some of the participants. Culturally, they were not raised in a community that pushed attending college. While some of them were encouraged by their parents, many of their peers did not subscribe to the thought that college would be beneficial. Instead, the chased dreams of becoming athletes and rappers, which is entirely different from the cultural upbringing of their white counterparts. KE further explained:

> The black community, especially for black men, has become obsolete or non-existent to the fact that black men often find different ways (other than college) to secure and find their own niche not centralized in our community of black resources.

JD remarked:

> A lot of black males come from high schools that are inadequate and don't prepare them the best for college. It's a natural thing that happens based on the way our laws and things like that are set up. They don't know they're behind and they come in thinking with a good attitude, "I'm ready to do this." But really, they're already 10 steps behind. They're going to be working hard, harder than the man next to them, when they get here.

Participants shared that when they arrived at campus they realized that their Black community had not properly prepared them academically and socially for college, especially a PWI. When they spoke with their white peers about the communities in which they grew up in, they quickly realized that culturally Black males entered college lacking the academic and social support their white peers received. In addition to cultural obstacles, participants expressed the need to work hard to live outside the "Black Male" stereotype. There are a number of Black stereotypes that participants expressed, and some are: all black men are athletes, all black men are not intelligent, and all black men are aggressive and competitive. CT explained:

> They [whites] could start taking down some of those stereotypes. Because all these students come from different backgrounds. They don't know what black people are like, they haven't been around black people. If their first experience with them or interaction with them, is them dressed

> nicely, and carrying ourselves the right way, that can help knock down some stereotypes and make for a better campus overall.

CT alluded to the notion that Black men enter college with these stereotypes. They step foot on campus and immediately they have been judged and marginalized. This reality is an up-hill battle for Black men as they attempt to navigate the terrains of a PWI. RD agreed with CT about being placed in a stereotypical box as a Black man on a predominantly white campus who is seeking the same experience as his white peers. RD shared:

> I think, as athletes, they put us in this box of, "you're just a stereotypical black athlete." Trying to live outside of that is definitely a challenge. They weren't really accepting towards the fact that I was a black person looking for extra help. I was kind of tossed to the wayside. And I was also a football player, so a lot of the flack that I caught was "you guys have everything over there so you don't need it." So whether I caught flack because I was on the football team or because of my skin tone, I'm not sure.

The stereotype of being an athlete does not help Black men navigate the campus environment. White peers and faculty do not take Black college men seriously because they assume the majority of Black men are accepted to college to play a sport. Black college males who are not athletes are treated as if they were athletes, and not taken seriously in the classroom. Thus, the stereotype to be aggressive and compete emerges. This "double-edged sword" rudely affects the Black male experience on campus. KE commented on RD's experience as an athlete:

> The fact that it's a double-edged sword as far as motivation and healthy competition. I think we also- we try too hard to impress each other. Sometimes, this crabs in the barrel mentality, people have it but, man, black people is crazy this crabs in a barrel mentality that we have. How we feel the need to [say:] "You went to Miami last year? Alright, I go three times a year. They like to flex with the '03 Benz just because it got the emblem on it. It's like a flip to the axis. How do we successfully compete versus just competing and bringing each other down at the same time?

One reason Black college males have to work harder than their white peers are because of the new college culture they have yet to learn, the number of white peers and faculty who do not take their college aspirations seriously, and as KE echoed, many Black males feel they have to compete with one another in order to be successful. This idea of having to "flex" in all accounts perpetuates aggression and competition. KE alluded to how unhealthy having to "flex" is. There is so much heavy lifting that needs to take place for Black college men to compete at

similar levels as their white peers. Black college males are not doing as well academically as their white peers and institutions must be mindful of the barriers that stand between Black college males and academic success. And once those barriers are defined, the proper measures need to be in place to aide Black college males in their success.

Participants shared that family responsibilities impact their ability to focus on academic work as well as keep them close to home. MAC University was not the number one college choice for any of the participants. Some wanted to attend smaller, private colleges but did not get accepted. Other participants wanted to attend an HBCU, but MAC University was closer to their homes and families then were the HBCUs. Retention programs need to account for special circumstances related to the students' family lifestyle, since many African-American students come from economically, disadvantaged communities. Participants discussed their external needs and obstacles and they also mentioned their internal needs and obstacles that impacted their college experiences.

Internal needs and obstacles. Internal Needs and Obstacles details the inner-self and subjective and personal lives of the participants as they go through their college experience. Two closely related major points emerged within this theme: Lack of Motivation and Lack of Role Models. Participants repeatedly addressed the sub theme Lack of Motivation as an important problem. For instance, SA noted that "some black males come to college without a clear focus." He then continued: "I kind of think of it as it's a lack of motivation. What ya'll are saying how it's a competition, I think we need that more in our communities, so it keeps us all intrinsically motivated because that way, it's something we pursue." KE echoed SA and shared:

> That intrinsic motivation thing you said before was so valid. I'm not saying an 18 year old or a 19 or 20 year old is irreversible as far as their attitude. But once you've been doing stuff that has been built into you for over 15 years it's hard to change that in a few weeks of talking to somebody.

Participants mentioned that Black males have a lack of motivation because they do not see other successful Black males graduating from college. In addition, there are few Black men working in higher education who would inspire and motivate Black men to do well. So, the need for intrinsic motivation is imperative, and if Black males do not develop it or bring it with them to college, they run the risk of dropping out. But the how to develop intrinsic motivation is why retention initiatives are important for Black males. DG shared:

> I think a little bit of a problem with this (retention initiative), is that it was a little social, a little academic. As opposed to being kind of a

> mandatory. So you had self-selection. And what so often you have with self-selection you have the most motivated that will do it and many times those that need it the most really don't realize it until they're in it a couple or three years down the road.

Most of the participants in this study expressed having intrinsic motivation. While this is positive, they represent just a small percentage of Black males on campus. Because of the obstacles that Black college males face on campus, having a retention initiative that is not mandatory usually attracts students who are intrinsically motivated. However, the many Black college male students who have not developed intrinsic motivation are left out of the retention initiative. Moreover, the initiative aides the students who self-select to be part of the program, but it does not help those who may need it the most. Self-selection has a limited number of Black college males involved in M.A.L.E. to help Black college males develop motivation to do well, it is paramount that the initiative find ways to reach more Black college male students. Aside from lack of motivation, participants agreed the lack of mentors and role models in their lives made their involvement in M.A.L.E. purposeful.

Participants' journeys to college did not come from mentors or role models from home. CA explained: "There was no real mentorship and our parents didn't graduate college and even through struggling, found ways to take care of us." JD agreed: "Mentorship is a common thread here at WVU. It doesn't really exist in the black community. [ ] They tend to not be able to find mentorship through core development processes of college." MA expressed:

> A big part of the initiative is to create community among other men of color, to allow for strong and genuine networking and role-modeling and mentoring with professional staff. All of those pieces are important because most men of color have not had this prior to the initiative.

Participants explained that one of the purposes of the initiative was to provide mentors and role models that would help Black college males reach success in college. EW expressed:

> Without this initiative, the university would have a hard time retaining African-American males or African-American students, period. This initiative, gives students mentors and role models. And for many of us, this is the first time we had a mentor who looked like us guiding us.

SA echoed:

> Some of us don't come from the best situations. It's tough for a lot of people, but the M.A.L.E. initiative worked with me where I was and gave me the support I needed. It's tough. People have the emotional support of their families, but it all depends on the type of support they get in college that makes all the difference.

JD agreed:

> As a first-generation student, the guidance alone was cumbersome. It was intimidating to think about. So, stepping foot on campus, I was fortunate enough to do a program called Academic Stars program, which is sort of a transition program for first-generation African-American students on campus. You spend six to eight weeks on campus, really learning the campus, figuring out what your place is here at WVU, figuring out what your place is here at WVU as an African American, and connecting with mentors that guide you along the way.

Participants external and internal needs properly align with the purpose of the retention initiative. They shared obstacles they faced prior to college and after stepping foot on campus. Thus, the creation of the retention initiative helped to mitigate some of these obstacles and guide students to the proper resources. The next theme that developed was Support, which properly aligned with the processes of the retention initiative.

Group Two (processes): Support Through the Program

Support Available Through the Retention Program reflects students' and administrators' perspective on what the program was able to offer Black males on campus. All participants recognized that the retention program at the very least is aiming to address the common obstacle of low retention and graduation rates of Black males on campus.

JD explained: "For me, it was a breath of fresh air to have people that look like me and wanted to have the same amount of success or same type of experiences while they're in college or after college." SA agreed:

> I like the M.A.L.E. initiative because, at the simplest form, it's motivational. You see people that's similar to you and really excel and be the best man they can be. You don't get to see that many places, especially on this campus. Seeing other black men close to your age out there trying to make a name for himself academically, whatever the case may be. It's empowering, honestly.

KE echoed the support the initiative provided:

> It's definitely given me an avenue to some of the professors and administrators, faculty and mentors that I still have and I still keep in contact with to this day. The good thing about it is it's nice to see all those black guys there (empowerment sessions). It feels good. More people to talk to. And if it's a small group, it's more intimate, so you can have those tougher conversations.

RD commented:

> That (retention initiative) gives you a sense of belonging, especially for a lot of people. Most of us are first generation college people, to have a sense of belonging to an organization or a group who make you more comfortable here and your experience a lot better.

Participants agreed that the initiative provided them support in several ways. Although, all participants come from different backgrounds and have different needs, the common theme was they all felt supported through the initiative. For some, sitting in room with other Black college males every month was the support they needed. And for other participants, the initiative was the only space on campus where they felt a sense of belonging and a safe space to be themselves.

CW described the monthly meetings as "sessions away from school where men could meet up and talk about things that affected the lives of Black men." He also thought that this was where the program was the most efficient, "the initiative is extremely effective for what the initiative was to do: Discuss personal issues; Black male students on campus personal relationships with black faculty and staff (because most faculty students I have are white). [ ] It was great to connect with other African American leaders on campus."

Sometimes the discussions addressed frustrations and challenges that students faced. Participants mentioned that M.A.L.E. was the only safe space on campus to discuss sensitive topics without feeling marginalized and most importantly accepted. CT referred to initiative meetings as times when "group members coming together to voice opinions, frustrations, challenges…" to be "very effective."

ER characterized the program as "enlightening (always learning something), opportunistic (always faculty and leaders there to speak with), fulfilling (seeing other brothers who care about the future of their lives)."

EW agreed with other participants:

> I was looking to observe the program to pour in to others and be part of a sense of community or brotherhood to express ideas and concerns. The initiative was a community! It was a support group of men who could challenge my thinking and I could challenge their thinking. The initiative provided opportunities to provide support and a safe place for Black college males.

JD thought about the support within the initiative as a "Place to vent; place where he could make jokes and others understand," where people are "Looking after you as a person." KE highlighted the support of the initiative was "to create a safe space for men of color to discuss all topics and academics, [ ] to facilitate growth, [and provide the] support

system." RD also saw the program as giving an "opportunity to black men on campus (students and non-students) to network, come together and talk in a safe environment."

SA described the initiative as a "help group (support group), [where you can] remain true to yourself." It gives "support through speakers brought from the outside," and "events (once/month) provide extra motivation."

All participants agreed that one of the greatest strengths of the initiative was that it provided support for Black college males. The initiative served as a haven for many participants and the only space on campus where they could intentionally be around other Black college males and discuss topics that were of interest to them. Members of the administration also emphasized that creating a strong support system for Black college males was one of the main goals. DG saw the main initiative functions as "structured to be a place where it was a social outlet and grooming for leadership; [a place to] come together and see other successful people.

MA shared:

> The initiative was formed to create community among other men of color, to allow for strong and genuine support, networking, role-modeling and mentoring with professional staff. I'm a strong believer that when you support students by connecting them to something on campus that they can be involved in (outside of the classroom) then they become passionate about school and the likelihood to retain them increases.

The support within the initiative encouraged participants to remain active members of M.A.L.E. and receive the type of support they needed to persist. Participants also mentioned receiving support outside the program, which aided in their persistence and academic and social pursuits.

Limitations

This study investigated the perceptions of a retention initiative aimed to increase Black college male retention and graduation completion. During this study, the researchers provided descriptive accounts about the lived experiences of a retention initiative based on the stories and reflections of the participants. This study advanced the knowledge of the Black college male experience by addressing the unmet needs of Black college males and acknowledge ways to aid them in their pursuit of excellence through retention and graduation completion. As we reflected on the entirety of this research study, we were extremely pleased with the results, experience, and knowledge gained. However, while reflecting on the enormity of this project, we recognized limitations that should be acknowledged.

Although we do not consider ourselves a limitation, we recognize that as Black males researching Black male students, we are privy to cultural nuances and lived experiences that could influence our connection with the data. In our attempt to maintain the integrity of the data, we constantly checked in with the participants to be certain we provided an accurate account of their stories. While, our presence as Black males does not discredit the study, it would be meaningful to know what the outcomes of the study would be if white men or women served as the researchers.

The location of this study took place at a land-grant PWI located in a rural environment. The experiences of the participants in this study are specific to this school. However, it would be important to examine the experiences of Black college males who attend PWIs located in suburban and urban environments. Some of the cultural artifacts that participants revealed were not accessible to them in this rural environment would be available to them in other geographical locations. Thus, the outcomes of the study may be different. Furthermore, the demographic of the study included Black college men attending a PWI, but if the study included Black college men attending a HBCU, this may show deeper comparisons between Blacks at PWIs versus HBCUs.

All participants were active members of the retention initiative. Their participation helped the researchers construct a better understanding of the purpose, process, and effectiveness of the initiative. However, it is important to know the experiences of Black college males who do not participate in the initiative. How are they able to persist year to year without being part of the initiative? If these men are at the brink of departing from the college, what do they need to persist and graduate? These limitations were not intentional, but they are important to highlight.

Implications

This study highlights the experiences of Black college male students who attend a PWI located in a rural environment. While this study is not a representation of every Black college male students' story, the data provided identifies knowledge beneficial to Black college male development. This timely study is about self-awareness, purpose, processes, effectiveness, adaptation, and development. The researchers attempted to explain the experiences of Black college male students without deviating from their raw accounts and personal stories about college, retention and programs. This study outlined the importance of programs for Black college males that aimed to help them develop and grow in unfamiliar spaces. Based on the data provided, educators, faculty,

and administrators should discuss ways to engage Black college males in multiple spaces on campus that promote their well-being, academic aptitude, social integration, and retention. This study should also prompt parents to engage in conversations with institutions about ways to aid Black college males in addition to ways parents can best support them from afar.

Conclusion

This study was a project that began based off our personal journey through higher education and later gained momentum and support from scholars who research student injustices and the outcomes of those injustices as experienced by students and the institution at large. Through this study, the researchers had the privilege of sharing space with Black college male students who not only aspire to earn a college degree but have ambitions to return to their communities and inspire other Black males to consider college as a realistic, attainable option.

This study does not provide all the answers to the plight of Black men in higher education. Nor does it provide a new theory to help educators create intentional programs or practices that would lead to increased retention efforts for Black college males. Rather, this study is an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon—retention initiatives aimed to increase Black college male persistence. The hope is that the creators of retention initiatives recognize that Black men are not monolithic, and their voices are imperative in designing programs that are tailored for them. In addition, retention initiatives serve as incubators of opportunity and in these spaces are Black males influenced to embrace the culture of the institution, join student organizations, partner with other peers, and develop positive, working relationships with faculty. The impact and influence retention initiatives have on Black college males is essential for their success.

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Getting Explicit About Social Justice in Educational Doctoral Programs in the U.S.: Operationalizing an Elusive Construct in Neoliberal Times

The Journal of Educational Foundations
Vol. 32, No. 1, 2, 3, & 4
2019, pp. 104-123

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Abstract

Through a case study of two doctoral programs situated in the United States, this essay highlights how doctoral programs designed to prepare leaders in K-16 institutions and other contexts can be "framed around questions of equity, ethics, and social justice to bring about solutions to complex problems of practice" (CPED, 2016; Buss, Zambo, Zambo, Perry, & Williams, 2017; Zambo, Buss & Zambo; 2015). More specifically, we argue that programs should be able to clearly and explicitly articulate their distinctive understanding of "social justice" and trace the ways that this understanding is operationalized in particular facets of their program. In

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the following sections, we first offer a brief overview of our educational contexts, our programmatic definitions of social justice, and the ways we put that definition to work in our courses. Importantly, we offer the following as work-in-progress examples to serve as entry points into a larger conversation about operationalizing specific understandings of social justice in education doctorate programs, rather than as exemplars or models.

Introduction

Today's educational context is characterized by an increasingly neoliberal, "corporate" educational reform movement emphasizing accountability and privatization (Porfilio & Ford, 2015), a clamor for "new knowledges" prompted by shifts from a manufacturing to a primarily knowledge economy (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2014), and massive demographic shifts that have changed the makeup of the U.S. student population (Valdés & Castellón, 2011). These factors are responsible, in large, for creating conditions that are expanding the historic, systemic inequalities, which have been continually reproduced by systems of schooling (Bourdieu, 1973). At today's socio-historical moment in the US, there are more children than ever living in poverty, public schools are underfunded, and urban communities are fighting to keep their schools open. Therefore, it is more critical than ever to prepare teachers and leaders to work for social justice in educational settings.

In this conceptual essay, we argue that to more powerfully contribute to the preparation of socially just educators and leaders, educational doctorate programs—both Ed.D. and Ph.D.—must be specific about the ways their programs are "framed around questions of equity, ethics, and social justice to bring about solutions to complex problems of practice" (CPED, 2016; Buss, Zambo, Zambo, Perry, & Williams, 2017; Zambo, Buss & Zambo; 2015). More specifically, we argue that given the socio-political and economic conditions of higher education, programs should be able to clearly and explicitly articulate their distinctive understanding of "social justice" and trace the ways that this understanding is operationalized in particular facets of their program. To contextualize such an endeavor, we provide a case study of own programs, two critical doctoral programs located in the U.S. We believed a qualitative case study approach is best suited to explain how social justice is articulated in two diverse graduate level educational settings. The approach allowed us to detail distinct elements our programs, including course assignments, program supports, and programmatic definition of social justice, along with capturing unique contextual dynamics of associate with each doctoral program, in order to provide an in-depth understanding of social justice in doctoral programs.

In the following sections, we first offer a brief overview of our educational contexts, our programmatic definitions of social justice, and the ways we put that definition to work in our courses. Importantly, we offer the following as work-in-progress examples to serve as entry points into a larger conversation about operationalizing specific understandings of social justice in professional education doctorate programs, rather than as exemplars or models.

Social Justice: Defining and Enacting an Elusive Construct

School leaders are on the front lines of the battle for equitable access for historically marginalized students as well as for ameliorating oppressive practices responsible for unbalanced power relationships in educational institutions (Buss, Zambo, Perry, & Williams, 2017; Ellils, 2016; Hernandez & McKenzie, 2010; Strom & Porfilio, 2017). Accordingly, many scholars have called for increasing attention to be given to the ways educational leaders are prepared to tackle issues of social justice (Jean-Marie, Normore, & Brooks, 2009). However, the term "social justice" is both a term that is used to connote many different meanings as well as a phrase with political consequences (Jean-Marie, Brooks, & Normore, 2009). Indeed, merely using the phrase "social justice" institutionally is a political act. Researchers suggest the term is also fairly new to fields like educational leadership (Shields, 2015; Ellis, 2016). Likewise, its use and operationalization in educational doctorate programs is in a nascent stage.

While studies regarding Ed.D. and Ph.D. programs that include an explicit discussion of a specific social justice stance are difficult to find, inferences may be drawn from research that includes descriptions of programs and their goals. For example, Kutztown University's teacher preparation-focused Ed.D. program, for instance, borrows from Giroux's (1988) notion of 'transformative intellectuals' to construct their social justice orientation. Specifically, they aim for "the empowerment of teachers to facilitate change in their classrooms…[who] seek creative solutions for tackling stifling school and/or district structures and to combat oppressive management pedagogies" (Coates & Sirakkos, 2016, p. 87). The University of Missouri Statewide Collaborative Ed.D. program for educational leaders, describing their recent programmatic restructuring, frames their courses through the lens of critical pedagogy (e.g., Freire, 1993/98) to "promot[e] advocacy, professional reflection, transformative leadership, and ultimately, emancipatory leadership." (Cleaver Simmons & Fellabaum, 2016, p. 119). Without citing specific literature, Northeastern describes its social justice agenda as one that begins with interrogating the self and one's implicit biases and assumptions, and over the course of

the program, moving outward to explore how these manifest in institutions and larger systems to perpetuate inequalities (Lohman & Ewell, 2016). As another example, Fielding University describes developing "scholar activists" who can "gain the knowledge and skills for understanding, evaluating, and changing conditions in the world that are responsible for social/ecological injustices" (Distefano & Tiner-Sewell, 2016, p. 103).

In preparing leaders, a major tension arises between coping with current neoliberal trends, such as the pressures of accountability systems and systematic defunding of public schools, on the one hand, and working to address systemic inequalities on the other. Many programs focus on solving the challenges presented by the former rather than focusing on the latter. As Wakiaga (2016) suggests, educational leadership programs must be able to structure their programs in ways that include an explicit focus on issues of social justice and on preparing leaders with the right knowledge and skills to address these issues in their specific contexts. She notes, "Education that has a social justice component needs to move beyond functionalist and vocationalist perspectives and into a transformative perspective in which learners are prepared for active participation as global citizens" (p. 39).

To do so, we take the position that it is imperative that programs claiming a social justice orientation also examine the ways they are actually enacting that orientation within facets of their programs. Perhaps the most visible connection may be through program curriculum. However, programs that collectively espouse such an orientation do not always ensure that corresponding topics become an explicit part of coursework. For example, in a qualitative study of an Ed.D. program with a social justice focus, Hay & Reedy (2016) found that faculty did not specifically plan their courses around social justice topics, but instead, took an overall constructivist pedagogical approach and expected that student-generated conversation would organically arise. Unfortunately, the approach did not achieve the faculty's desired outcome. Students did not perceive that they gained specific knowledge and skills for tackling inequities in their leadership settings. In contrast, faculty at the University of Missouri collaborated to create and align courses deliberately framed by their programmatic critical pedagogy focus (Cleaver, Simmons & Fellabaum, 2016). From their qualitative evaluation of students' experiences in one of the courses, course participants reported that the course was transformative as well as practical. Another important finding was the benefit of ensuring that the course instructor's pedagogy itself mirrored the critical pedagogy content. The authors contend:

> Traditionally, core classes are isolated from the antiracist or oppressive curriculum in such a manner that students are provided options to judge the relevance and significance of such non-traditional curriculum.

> However, in the case of directly aligning the instructional themes to connect with such themes found in the instruction for organizational analysis, the students were provided a platform to gain more respect for the relevance of the oppressive curriculum. (p. 132)

Other dimensions of programs may not be quite as visible as curriculum, but are nonetheless important to ensure coherence with a social justice orientation. For example, students of color tend to have a more complex doctoral trajectory than their white peers (Felder, Stevenson, & Gasman, 2014; Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011), and these students are more likely to feel isolated or excluded in their classes (Gildersleeve, et al., 2011). As a result, they often take longer to complete their studies and/or drop out (Gardner & Holley, 2011). Thus, social-justice focused programs should ensure that non-traditional doctoral students have additional supports, such as mentoring (Hall & Burns, 2009). Mentoring not only supports students' academic success, but also socializes them into the culture of doctoral studies, which encompasses "coded systems of behavior [such as]…building relationships with faculty, establishing a research agenda …and development of one's academic voice" (Felder et al. 2014, p. 36).

Defining Social Justice Programmatically

California State University East Bay's Ed.D. Educational Leadership doctoral program takes an explicitly critical understanding of social justice, maintaining that education for social justice means interrupting systems and structures that perpetuate and expand oppressions in our society, particularly for historically marginalized populations of students. The program was established in 2008. It is situated in a public regional university on the pacific coast of the United States. The university itself, which is classified as a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) and an Asian American Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institution (AANAPISI), is one of the most diverse in the nation (California State University East Bay, 2015).

The Ed.D. program prepares students to take leadership positions in K-16 education institutions as well as institutions that focus on improving the quality of life of students. For instance, recent graduates of the program include superintendents, schoolteachers, social workers, university administrators, and higher education faculty. The program reflects the diversity of the rest of the campus. Students in the last several cohorts identify as Latino, Black, Asian, and Middle Eastern, while about 1/3 of students identify at White. Since most of the students have dealt with institutional forms of oppression in schools and other social contexts, they are generally open to learn how scholars and leaders

conceptualize social justice, how scholars engage in research with a social-justice orientation and how leaders promulgate social justice inside and outside of educational institutions.

The programmatic understanding of social justice is informed by several intellectual fields dedicated to understanding what is responsible for oppression, power differentials, and inequalities in schools and society. Some of the sub-disciplines informing the program include transformative leadership (Shields, 2015), critical social theor(ies) (Calhoun, 1995) and critical pedagog(ies) (Freire, 1993/8; Giroux, 1988; hooks, 1994).

Critical pedagogy originated from the intellectual work generated by Frankfurt School critical social theorists in Germany during the early 1920s (Darder, Baltadano, & Torres, 2009). These theorists, including Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Jürgen Habermas, collectively unpacked the role that institutions, culture, knowledge, language and desire played in giving rise to authoritarian politics, global conflicts, oppression, and inequality in nascent industrialized societies and the territories colonized by Western imperial powers (Giroux, 2009). They also offered insights regarding how to develop alternative social arrangements where freedom, joy and love may flourish. In the 1960s, Paulo Freire's cultural and intellectual work built upon the ideas of the Frankfurt School. His work (e.g., Freire 1970, 1985, 1998) provided needed guideposts for educators to guide students and citizens to understand the factors and conditions responsible for oppression in schools and society as well as to recognize the possibilities for building anti-oppressive schools and social systems. Among his noted accomplishments, Freire created literacy campaigns across Latin America in the 1960s with poor, illiterate peasants dealing with unjust social conditions in their community, working collaboratively to create critical consciousness (Gibson, 2007).

Over the past several decades, numerous critical scholars and educators across the globe have embraced Freire's work because of its overt stance towards social justice and transformation. However, many critical pedagogues disagree about what they consider to be the sources of unbalanced power relationships and oppression in schools and other social contexts. (Malott & Porfilio, 2011). Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2009). Consequently, critical pedagogy now consists of insights from several intellectual fields, including feminist studies, environmental studies, critical race theory, cultural studies, and Indigenous studies (Porfilio & Ford, 2015; Darder, Baltodanto, Torres, 2009; McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007). Although there are some commonalities, each of these traditions provides a different perspective regarding what gives rise to social maladies, such as racism, sexism, environmental degradation, classism, homophobia, and ableism, and offers its view of the steps necessary to

"remake schools on the ideal of justice, equity, and democracy" (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2009, p.3).

Over the past two decades, several scholars, such as Kathleen M. Brown, Michael Dantley, Kathryn Bell McKenzie, and Carolyn Shields, have laid the groundwork for reconceptualizing the nature of leadership in the preparation of educational leaders. Rather than viewing leadership merely by the roles associated with those who hold specific leadership positions or the traits or qualities needed to succeed in these positions, the aforementioned scholars have made it clear that educational leadership must be viewed as a transformative cultural practice. Leadership must be predicated on improving the social world as well as the academic achievement of students, especially for students who encounter oppression inside and outside of classrooms (Brown, 2006; Dantley & Green, 2015; McKenzie, Skrla, Scheurich, 2006; Shields, 2015). To ensure school leaders generate the knowledge, skills, courage, and dispositions necessary to challenge unjust policies, practices, and arrangements in schools and other contexts, scholars who embrace a transformative approach to leadership have argued a social justice orientation must be woven into the fabric of educational leadership curriculum, pedagogy, programs and policies (Brown, 2006, p. 78).

Washington State University's Ph.D. in Cultural Studies and Social Thought in Education (CSSTE) focuses dually on issues of social justice and sustainability, and its understanding of social and environmental justice is informed by diverse array of theoretical traditions. The programs commitment to critical perspectives in education are cleared stated in their handbook (2019) where the missions reads:

> The Cultural Studies and Social Thought in Education Ph.D. program addresses issues of culture and power as they play out in contemporary and historical contexts of education and schooling. We seek to develop scholars and practitioners who will stimulate positive change in educational institutions and the communities that they serve. (p. 5)

Within the program there are critical faculty that draw from the field of critical pedagogy (Freire, 1993,1998; hooks, 1994; McLaren, 2006; Darder, 2016) and ecocritical pedagogical frameworks (Bowers, 1993, 2001; Gruenewald, 2003; Kahn, 2010; Martusewicz, Edmundson, & Lupinacci 2015; Lupinacci & Happel-Parkins, 2015; 2016). Additionally, diverse facu;lty in the college draw from an array of critical theoretical frameworks to design and offer courses that provide students with the experiential graduate studies at the intersections of theory and practice. The CSSTE orogram has unique student learning objectives that ensure criticality in the classroom and community and are clearly outlined in the programs handbook (CSSTE Program Faculty, 2019) which states:

"After completing the CSSTE Doctoral Degree Program students will demonstrate an understanding and valuing of diversity and social justice through his/her/their scholarly work" (p. 5). The CSSTE program on average has on in recent years approximately 30 active doctoral students and/or candidates comprised of a majority of underrepresented scholars in higher education. The program is deeply committed to valuing diversity and practicing such commitments in its admission, teaching, advising, and mentoring through into careers. This kind of critical work is often called into question in recent political times and the College's conceptual framework has been crucial as a document with strong influence on administrative decisions.

The College of Education's conceptual framework expresses as one of its core values a commitment to diversity and importance of interrupting the status quo systems of privilege and power. A critical contingency of faculty in the program strives to recognize that 21st century challenges of social justice and sustainability require a strong commitment to understanding and interrupting the complex relationships that constitute, and are constituted by, dominant discourses and discursive practices of Modernity in schools and society. Furthermore, it is essential that such interruptions be intricately and intimately intertwined with our own work in relationship to the tasks we ask of our students and future students. The program has an ecocritical approach committed to the role of educational leaders being scholar-activists and researchers committed to social justice and sustainability in education. Furthermore, specific ecocritical courses require students to address how schools, and the associated teaching and learning, are shaped by systems of exploitation, violence, and a refusal to understand and embrace mutuality and interdependence (Lupinacci & Happel-Parkins, 2015). To respond to the unjust suffering reproduced and experienced our current social, economic, and environmental contexts, ecocritical educators, and educational leaders, have the responsibility to examine and address how relationships in schools create, support, and sustain unjust social suffering and environmental degradation (Lupinacci, 2017). When faced with such a challenge, ecocritical educators, and leaders, ask: How is it that exploitation, and the associated unjust social suffering and environmental degradation, is rationalized, justified, and/or ignored? Furthermore, what role can, and do, our schools play toward alleviating and eliminating such conditions? In an attempt to address these questions, this growing critical contingency associated with program 2 takes the position that we, as scholar–activist educators, must put to work an ecocritical approach to inequities for all in education.

The CSSTE Ph.D. program is designed for diverse students from around the world and region to attend year-round courses delivered through a variety of means that primarily consist of in person on-campus

meetings, and the occasional use of video conferencing to connect groups of students to course offered by faculty on other campuses and for students whose research and activism places them in remote locations. Moreover, each group of students—which are comprised of an intentional selection of students with diverse and critical perspectives, hopes, dreams, and desires to see education radically re-envisioned and bring to the program leadership from diverse backgrounds and professional positions.

Over the course of the four-year program, students take required courses in Social Foundations, Research, and then electives to support their individual research interests. Students then fill out their programs with specialized electives and continue on to preliminary exams and the dissertation. A typical program of study for students consists of 15 credits in Foundations courses, which consist of the five of the following three credit courses: Cultural Studies in Education; Social Theory in Education; Gender Power, and Education; and Race, Identity, and Representation. They take five of the following three credit courses for Research: Epistemology and Inquiry in Educational Research, Principles of Doctoral Research; Qualitative Methods; and Quantitative Methods. Students are also required to take 9 credits of course electives (Philosophy of Education; Social Foundations of Education; Environment, Culture, and Education; Place-based Education; Youth Cultures in Education; Curriculum Theory; Globalization and Identity in Education; and Multicultural Education in a Global Society) as well as from advanced research methods courses (Discourse Analysis, Critical Ethnography, Arts-based Research, and Single Subject Design). These courses are all regularly offered and generally full because of how much they draw an interest from other education graduate programs like human development, sociology, English, rhetoric and composition, and communications students.

Operationalizing Social Justice

Articulating a clear definition of social justice in education is only a beginning to help students promulgate a vision of social justice in their work as leaders in and beyond educational institutions. The important work lies in putting that definition to work through different program facets. For example, in relationship to its understanding of social justice, Washington State University's Ph.D. program engages a combination of coursework and field experience in connection with inquiry practices of a variety of research methods that often culminate to action research. Expressing the goal of the program in the handbook, the program committee states: "The ultimate goal is to prepare educational leaders who work together toward the goals of educational and institutional improvement and social justice" (Educational Leadership Program

Committee, 2015 p. 9). Further, in the breakdown of outcomes two of the five outcomes explicitly express a commitment to social justice. These include:

> (a) Identifying and analyzing the theories, research, and policies, related to the study of K-12 educational/teacher leadership: ethics and social justice; inquiry; policy; and leadership development; and (b) Articulating core values and modeling the guiding principles of the profession including: commitment to social justice; understanding of ethical responsibilities of leadership; effective and respectful interaction with others of similar and diverse cultures, values, and perspectives; commitment to school improvement and a positive impact on student learning (Educational Leadership Program Committee, p. 9)

Additionally, the College of Education associated with the Ph.D. program at Washington State University (2009) states:

> The College of Education contributes to the theory and practice of the broad field of education, and dedicates itself to understanding and respecting learners in diverse cultural contexts. We facilitate engaged learning and ethical leadership in schools and clinical settings. We seek collaboration with diverse constituencies, recognizing our local and global responsibilities to communities, environments, and future generations. (p. 4)

Visually represented on the walls of the classrooms and in every syllabi and program handbook is a shortened graphic illustration of the statement—"Collaboration with diverse communities of learners in cultural context, engaged learning with meaning and purpose, and ethical leadership toward a sustainable and just future." This statement organizes the three concepts of learners, learning, and leadership in a Venn diagram (see Figure 1), and also serves as a powerful tool for connecting students and teachers with the college's commitment to developing scholarly practitioners through signature pedagogy, inquiry as practice, and problems of practice.

These guiding frameworks play a large role in holding us, as ethical leaders in education, accountable to social justice and sustainability. Seeing social justice and sustainability as complex, but interconnected challenges for both current and future generations, we engage through coursework and the designing and conducting collaborative research in a self-reflexive ecocritical pedagogical process. This process is framed primarily by engaging in the process of recognizing the relationship between language, culture, knowledge, and power specifically in relationship to any set of diverse problems of practice. In our conceptualization of this particular graduate program at the institution associated with the doctoral program at Washington State University, we differentiate it from more traditional approaches to educational doctoral

coursework that tends to separate teachers from administrators. The CSSTE Ph.D. envisions the classrooms as collaborative spaces where local, national, and international problems of practice are not only identified and examined, but also proposed solutions are discussed across traditional professional barriers. This program fosters a space to develop a very different kind of scholar activist and educational leader—leaders that take social justice and sustainability very seriously and that are focused on all levels of public education supporting such initiatives.

Despite the college's larger commitment to social justice and sustainability, keeping a strong emphasis on social justice and sustainability waivers from course to course. Responding to the difficulty of getting explicit about these goals in all program courses; a group of faculty commit to teaching in the program's summer institute where they are able to work together closely and intensely with students toward addressing how scholar-practitioner research can and ought to be in support of social justice and sustainability. In theory, the college's conceptual framework and CPED's definition of the educational doctorate are considered as influential to all of the courses and if not in each course then at a multitude of points through a student's program.

One illustration of this emphasis can be found in a course elective on Adult Learning and Professional Development. Following a critical and ethical autoethnography assignment where students reflect on their roles in their workplace and their own professional learning as adult learners,

Figure 1
WSU College's Conceptual Framework. (WSU College of Education Faculty; 2009, p. 3)

the students are required to do a critical needs assessment of their schools or community organization. As part of learning to generate professional development strategies and plans for addressing current problems of practice in educational or other organizational settings, the students work collaboratively with one another, members of their community, and with their instructors to identify needs and critically examine the root causes of those needs. Additionally, while students are engaged in identifying critical needs in their community they are concurrently learning about leadership mindsets (Kaser & Halbert; 2009) and how to support communities of adult learners and the complexities of changing mindsets (Kegan & Lahey, 2001). The final project is a professional development plan that meets the needs of a diverse array of adult learners and directly addresses a need connected to social justice and sustainability and emerges from working closely to include listening to and partnering with their broader school and surrounding community.

Following two years of course work in which students take courses as previously described, Adult Learning students meet in a special summer course themed around social justice and sustainability with connected course work linked to a shared reading of and responding to an annual report on the state of educational policy in the U.S. and addressing closing the opportunity gaps in public schools, ending the school-to-prison pipeline, recognizing and valuing diverse cultures, abilities, and identities in schools and communities, and taking informed action with regard to climate change. From such experiences we are seeing practitioner research on addressing aspects of school discipline programs, inclusive education for LGBTQ and students with disabilities, culturally relevant pedagogy, critically examining STEM curriculum, place-based education, land-based education, and decolonizing and indigenizing education. All of which students must propose and defend their research projects by including how their work not only meets scholarly criteria for strong research and addresses a gap in educational research, but also every student must draw from previous coursework and ethically addresses how their research responds—often critically—to federal, state, and local policy and contributes toward leadership for social justice.

The program faculty in the committee's current configuration, and program leadership, is at the moment working to curriculum map the courses with a specific emphasis on the role each course not only play in the scope and sequence of the program but also toward the development of scholar-activist practitioners committed to social justice and sustainability. The hope is that through this process emerging from a self and group examination of understanding of the program's objectives in relationship to CPED and the college's conceptual framework, there will be a clearer understanding of a signature pedagogy and inquiry

process anchored in addressing problems of practice toward supporting social justice and sustainability. At the current moment, this work is in process and leaning toward more Arts-based Action Research models that involve community engagement and methods drawing heavily from Participatory Action Research (PAR) and Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) influencing both the pedagogy in the courses taught and the connected inquiry projects and research dissertations.

Within the Educational Leadership for Social Justice program at CSU East Bay, critical understandings of social justice also run throughout the coursework. For example, early in the doctoral program, students enroll in Purposes of Leadership, where they learn various theories related to leadership and are required to outline specifically how aspects of transformative leadership can inform their practices in schools. They also take Leadership for Equity I, where they learn why difference in schools and society is linked to oppression and inequalities, and build their understanding of characteristics of socially just schools and societies. Building on this knowledge, they continue to Leadership for Equity II, where students have the opportunity to examine insights from various critical theories, including feminist theory, queer theory, critical race theory, and Marxist theory in order to better understand pressing problems facing schools, youth, and society (Case, 1990; Leonardo, 2013; Mouffe, 2014; Pinar, 2012)

In these courses, we offer active opportunities to engage with and enact critically-oriented ideas of social justice. For example, in Leadership for Equity I, a key idea is that to become leaders who are equipped to eliminate oppression and social justice in schools and society, individuals must first begin to locate themselves as social beings—they must know where they come from, know why they believe what they believe, and be able to draw lines to the past that explain their present day views. To do so, we assign students to develop critical stories of themselves, or critical autoethnographies, in which they reflect on how their race, class, gender, sexuality, class status, political identity, and so on have affected them as students, educators and community members. As a final product, students create a digital story that communicates specific conversations, experiences, and memories, instances, events and interactions that have shaped their identities and worldviews. They then engage with each other's digital stories. This assignment provides the opportunity to analyze how systems of power have impacted their lives and their cohort members, as well as raises their awareness of ways power imbalances, injustice, inequalities and oppression dominate social life in schools and in the wider society.

We also argue that understandings of social justice must be aligned with the research methodologies that are taught in doctoral programs. In

the Educational Leadership Social Justice Ed.D. program, the majority of our students are people of color; thus, we take as a starting point the understanding that, as practitioners of color, our students' voices have been doubly marginalized in the educational research literature. Accordingly, we emphasize the personal as political, encouraging students to explore methodologies such as self- study and autoethnography, and encouraging writing from a first-person perspective. In research classes, we problematize 'traditional' methods for seeking of a single truth at the expense of others, and the way the "distant researcher" myth of objectivity has allowed the (usually white male) researcher to interpret the story of the "other" without claiming responsibility for that interpretation. We also highlight participatory approaches and critical, feminist, queer, and indigenous methodological perspectives.

Finally, we propose that a doctoral program's understanding of social justice must also be carried through to the supports that are offered its "non-traditional" doctoral students—such as students of color, first generation college graduates, high-poverty students, and English language learners (categories that, of course, overlap). One prominent example concerns that of writing supports. Across doctoral programs, the issue of academic writing tends to surface—yet academic writing is not normally included as an explicit part of the doctoral curriculum. Students are expected to arrive with advanced academic literacy skills, and those that have not had prior access to learning this privileged, elite form of language are at a major disadvantage. As such, writing at the doctoral level becomes a social justice issue. At CSU East Bay, we adopt a sociocultural view of student development (Vygotsky, 1978; Lave & Wenger, 1991) rather than expecting them to come in with particular skills, we assume they need to be apprenticed into academic writing at the doctoral level. We then embed direct teaching and practice of academic language in coursework, taking a systemic functional linguistics (SFL) view of teaching writing (Halliday, 1993) that focuses on academic writing as genre (Derewianka, 2012), and explicitly teaching patterns of language commonly used in the genre (while still problematizing the language of power in academia).

For example, one of the most common skills students struggle with in academic writing is their use of direct quotations from other authors. Using an SFL approach, Katie designed a workshop that scaffolds student understanding of the purposes of using quotes in doctoral-level writing and the patterns of language students can use to appropriately discuss the quotes. In the workshop, Katie first facilitates a conversation about the notion of whose voice should be heard in doctoral level writing, helping students to talk through some of the anxieties associated with presenting one's own ideas and drawing on the literature to support

them (rather than over-relying on the words of other scholars to carry the paper). They then delve into the multiple purposes of direct quotes, examining examples from articles with which they are familiar. As a next step, the class works in pairs to analyze the linguistic choices the authors of these examples made to use the quote to demonstrate their point, commenting on the way the quote was introduced and explained by the author, and connected to the point s/he was making. After co-constructing understanding through these multiple examples, students then are invited to find a quote they have used in a recent paper and conduct a metalinguistic analysis of the way they used the quote, reflecting on the following questions: what is the purpose of the quote? How is the quote introduced? How is the significance of the quote indicated to the reader? How is the quote connected to the larger point of the paragraph/section?

Discussion

Although in the preceding pages we have captured why there is the immediate need for education leadership programs to operationalize social justice for its students, for the academic community, and for stakeholders impacted by leaders who graduate from leadership programs as well as provided insight for embedding a social-justice orientation in two educational leadership programs, we are cognizant that multiple tensions surface when faculty members and directors of educational leadership programs articulate their social justice mission and enact it all facets of their programs (Strom, Porfilio, Lupinacci, 2017; Hernandez & McKenzie, 2010). For instance, despite laying bare the theoretical foundation of how we operationalize social justice in our doctoral program at CSU East Bay, some individual doctoral faculty members hold a spectrum of beliefs on what the term "social justice" means and how it should be enacted in faculty practice. For example, while CSU East Bay takes an explicitly critical stance that recognizes the urgent need for equity work for historically marginalized populations, a few faculty members tend to take a more equality-oriented stance, or the view that "All students deserve a quality education." Moreover, since some of our full-time and part-time faculty were never exposed to connecting leadership, research, teaching, and learning to eliminating power balances, discrimination and injustices in schools and society, we have begun to engage in conversations as to why educators and leaders need to engage inquiry to understand and dismantle oppression as well as to attend to social justice and academic achievement in educational settings (Shields, 2015). We have also encouraged the same faculty to attend educational conferences so as to join us in the larger conversation about operationalizing specific

understandings of social justice in professional education doctorate programs.

The CSSTE Ph.D. at Washington State University is currently faced with similar challenges as CSU East Bay's Ed.D. program. At Washington State University, we have found that by working intentionally to build community and consistency in the faculty affiliated with the program's teaching and advising needs the necessary teaming is in place for stronger collaboration toward a more cohesive program. While the program committee has begun to engage in structured curriculum mapping sessions that involved faculty discussing common scenarios that offer students the opportunity to collaboratively learn through addressing some common problems of practice in the State of Washington's education system, the process is slow and spread out over the course of an entire academic school year into meetings scheduled that inevitably cannot accommodate all the faculty schedules. However, it is important to note that the sessions have brought faculty together to discuss how they address challenges of social justice and sustainability in their courses. Simultaneously, the efforts to curriculum map and request that instructors align their coursework and assignments to problems of practice that directly address and contribute to the development of ethical leaders working to support social justice and sustainability, have brought up tensions around some of the faculty feeling as though their "academic freedom" is being infringed upon.

Finally, for equity-focused educational doctorate programs, developing an explicit definition of social justice and tracing the ways that understanding materializes in coursework and other program facets is not the end goal, but is a continual process that must be combined with an initiative to think differently about teaching, learning, and leading. As the world becomes more complex, we also need to evolve our thinking about ideas like education, social justice, and leadership to be equal to the task of problem-solving within those complexities. Unfortunately, many of the thinking patterns characterizing current thinking in educational leadership, even those advocating for social justice, are often characterized by the same linear, dualistic, rational, individualistic, and anthropocentric logic patterns that have dominated western thought for the past 400 years (Lupinacci, 2017; Strom & Porfilio, 2017). This type of thought is the same that we have critiqued earlier in this paper, the type of thinking that, while coming from a particular geo-political location (that of the White, European, Christian, hetero male; Braidotti, 2013), pretends to be from everywhere and nowhere (Barad, 2007; Haraway, 1988), so that those who do not espouse this thought are "othered" and constructed as less than or inhuman. This thought is not only inadequate for dealing with a multiplistic, mobile, materially and discursively constructed reality, but

also contributes to the perpetuation of White supremacy (Strom & Porfilio, 2017). Instead, we need to experiment with thinking and practices that break from these entrenched patterns, to develop forms of thought that are grounded and accountable to situated knowledge and ways of knowing; that expose the always already political nature of our local realities; that value difference as positive and productive; and that cast the world not as populated by individual, agentic actors, but as assemblages of a range of heterogenous human and non-human elements that collectively create the universe (Braidotti, 2013).

In closing, we acknowledge that using the term "social justice" in explicit ways and articulating its operationalization programmatically is a political act that could result in reprisal at the faculty or institutional level. Recently, we spoke with directors at two different institutions who were dealing with the tension of creating a social justice-focused program while not being allowed to use the actual terminology. Yet, we would point out that we are always already political. The political precedes us. Whether or not we choose to take action construed as political, we are contributing to a particular educational agenda—if we choose to believe that we are neutral or to merely use "social justice" as a buzzword, we are participating in the perpetuation of the status quo, which in turn maintains and expands massive inequalities, especially for groups of students historically marginalized in the U.S. and elsewhere. Instead, we argue that educational doctoral programs must gather the courage to actually use the term, explicitly define it, connect it to program facets, and continually evolve connected thinking and practice. Indeed, it is imperative if we are to lead fundamental change in policy, practice, and research to create schools and societies free from oppression, hate, and inequality.

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The Role School Administrators Play in Creating Healthy Ecosystems for Black Male Preservice Teachers

The Journal of Educational Foundations
Vol. 32, No. 1, 2, 3, & 4
2019, pp. 114-141

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Abstract

Nationally Black males comprise less than 2% of public school teachers. The startling figure is not sustainable in a diverse society. Increasingly researchers have focused on the experiences of Black male inservice teachers. However, there is scant research that investigates the role school administrators in urban, suburban, and rural districts play in creating supportive environments for Black male preservice teachers. This article fills in a gap in the research by examining the barriers Black male preservice teachers encounter and provides actionable steps school administrators in urban, suburban, and rural districts should take to create healthy ecosystems for Black male preservice teachers.

Introduction

School districts throughout the nation have dedicated resources to

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recruit and retain Black male teachers. Various initiatives including Grow Your Own (GYO) programs have become increasingly popular throughout the country (Gist, Bianco, & Lynn, 2019). Supporting innovate programs that identify and encourage Black males to choose teaching as a profession is vital. Unfortunately, during their formative years Black boys encounter a variety of school-based stressors including racism, disproportionate placement in special education, higher suspension and expulsion rates, and limited access to resources among other challenges (Henderson, Walker, Barnes, Lunsford, Edwards, & Clark, in press; Goings & Walker, 2018; Walker & Goings, 2017). In comparison to other students, they are not valued and welcomed in school settings (Goings & Bianco, 2016). The aforementioned challenges highlight why so few choose teaching as a profession.

Fortunately, successful initiatives including the Call ME MISTER program have created a template that has been replicated at other post-secondary institutions. Call ME MISTER provides peer to peer, financial, and mentorship to males of color interested in a career in teaching (Jones, Holton, & Joseph, 2019). The program's success highlights the importance of creating student centered programs that encourage males of color, including Black men to become teachers. Ensuring prospective teachers have access to a reliable support system is critical. Far too often, Black male preservice teachers have to navigate challenges that differ from their White counterparts.

Researchers including Scott and Rodriguez (2015) investigated how a variety of factors including stereotype threat impacted the experiences of Black male preservice teachers. The findings illuminate how being Black, and male, contributed to race-based stressors in school settings. For example, participants faced questions regarding their athletic prowess and academic acumen. There were times they felt isolated and did not receive the same support from instructors in comparison to classmates (Scott & Rodriguez, 2015). Responses from participants highlight some of the barriers Black males have overcome to achieve success.

Similarly, Walker (2019) contextualized his challenging experiences as a preservice and in-service teacher. He utilized autoethnographic vignettes to describe scenarios in which his racial and gendered experiences soured his interest in teaching. For instance, educational leaders created unrealistic expectations that continued throughout his student teaching. Unfortunately, the problems Walker (2019) encountered as a preservice teacher foreshadowed a difficult transition from college to his professional career.

Ensuring more Black males choose teaching as a profession is paramount. Currently, they represent less than 2% of public-school teachers (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). In contrast, White

teachers collectively represent more than 80% of teachers nationally. Far too often, the teacher diversity gap exacerbates cultural and racial misunderstandings that contribute to the school to prison pipeline, lowered teacher expectations of Black students, and contentious student-teacher relationships (Allen & White-Smith, 2014; Sealey-Ruiz, 2011). Researchers including Gershenson, Holt, and Papageorge (2015) concluded that White teachers were less likely to believe Black students would graduate from high school. The statistic is consistent with other research that suggests the Black-White, student-teacher relationship can correlate to lower student outcomes (Boykin & Noguera, 2011; Kisida & Winters, 2015). Thus, determining how to recruit and retain Black male educators is imperative. However, administrators, district staff, researchers, and teachers must acknowledge school-based problems to help diverse educators navigate their preservice journey.

School administrators have significant responsibilities which includes hiring staff, evaluating teachers, improving student outcomes, and developing relationships with the local community. Perhaps their most important role includes supporting and hiring teachers from diverse backgrounds (Goings, Bristol, & Walker, 2018; Goings, Walker, & Cotingola, 2018). Nevertheless, their efforts must include creating healthy environments that use data driven initiatives for preservice teachers. Established or new programs must consider how the experiences between Black males and other aspiring teachers may differ in order to create an environment in which all preservice teachers may flourish.

While there is research that examines the experiences of Black male in-service teachers and the influence of school administrators, there is a gap in the research that deconstructs the relationship between school administrators and Black male preservice teachers. This is an important topic because Black males occasionally encounter behaviors from the school-based staff that could influence their career trajectory. Negative interactions with school leaders and others could precipitate a change in their major and interest in becoming an educator.

Given the significant role school administrators can have on the experiences of preservice Black male teachers, this article will explore the role of school leaders in creating a school environment that is conducive to the success of pre-service teachers in urban, suburban, and rural school districts. To contextualize our discussion, we first explore how stereotypes and misconceptions influence Black male preservice teachers. Secondly, we then turn our attention to the literature investigating the impact of school culture on the trajectory of Black male pre-service teachers. Lastly, we explore the literature and provide recommendations on how school leaders in urban, suburban, and rural schools can create environments to support Black male pre-service teachers.

How Stereotypes and Misconceptions Impact Black Male Educators

Far too often Black male preservice and in-service teachers have to circumvent societal stereotypes and misconceptions (Walker, 2019a). This is particularly accurate as it relates to views related to masculinity. Black males are frequently viewed as purveyors of pop culture and burdened with the responsibility of saving, not mentoring males of color (Bristol & Mentor, 2018; Brockenbrough, 2012). The distinction is critical considering there are so few Black male teachers in education. Black males face pressure to teach, mentor, serve on various committees in addition to other responsibilities that can become taxing. This can lead to teacher burnout. Thus, examining the factors that could affect their career trajectory is paramount.

Woodson and Pabon (2016) explored themes related to hetero-patriarchy with two Black preservice teachers and one Black in-service teacher. According to one of the Black male preservice participants he purposefully avoided reinforcing stereotypes rooted in racist beliefs. The challenges associated with his race and gender forced him to reflect on the challenges Black male educators encounter in school settings. Unfortunately, the issues mirror the problems other preservice teachers with similar backgrounds encounter. Considering the dearth of Black male teachers, administrators must be aware of the issues they have to navigate in contrast to their White colleagues.

Race continues to be an issue that confounds the nation. Black male educators similar to other minoritized groups are forced to navigate in school challenges that negatively impact their professional outlook. Walker (2019) highlighted his experiences as a preservice teacher that led to recurring problems, including combating misconceptions. Unfortunately, the literature examining the role school administrators play supporting Black male preservice teachers is limited. Advocates must consider what steps district and school leaders can take to address the current dilemma. The country can no longer expect Black males to consider education as a viable career if they do not feel welcomed and valued.

Why the School Climate Matters

Increasingly school administrators have been given more autonomy to make critical decisions including hiring staff, budgeting, soliciting external funding, and reshaping the culture. The additional responsibilities allow leaders to react to challenges that may arise which require immediate attention. For instance, new and veteran administrators can amend rules and regulations that may improve student and teacher morale. Several

studies (Johnson, Kraft, &, Papay, 2012; Loeb & Luczak, 2013) highlight the important role the school climate plays in retaining teachers. This is particularly important for Black male preservice teachers because they frequently feel isolated and misunderstood (Cheruvu, Souto-Manning, Lencl, & Chin-Calubaquib, 2014).

A study conducted by Hancock and Scherff (2010) found that the school climate can be a deterrent for early career teachers and contribute to higher attrition rates. The findings are consistent with national studies which show that teachers do not stay in the public school system long term (Gray & Taie, 2015). While other factors including teacher pay impact teacher retention rates; school culture plays an important role contributing to massive teacher turnover in schools throughout the nation.

Considering that so few Black males choose teaching as a career examining their experiences prior to entering the profession would be informative. A study conducted by Hill-Carter (2013) included interviews with two African American male preservice teachers. The author focused on an array of topics including recruitment and retention. Overall the participants responses highlight what is like to be Black and male in PreK-12 settings.

One participant asserted, "I really would like someone that I can relate to and they relate to me as being a man" (Hill-Carter, 2013, p. 110). Another participant suggested that ensuring Black men are "getting into the schools, especially rural schools as early as possible. The more we see, men like us, doing and saying teaching is one of the best fields to go into and you can be a teacher too" (p. 110). Their insight is important because it highlights the impact Black men can have on teacher candidates. Unfortunately, with so few Black males, preservice teachers are placed in environments where they do not have access to individuals with similar lived experiences. Considering some school environments can feel unwelcoming, educational leaders must take additional steps to ensure the school climate is inclusive. Moreover, they have to actively engage Black male preservice teachers to ensure they are not encountering hostilities from teachers, students, community, or auxiliary staff.

Additionally, school leaders must account for how Black male students are treated by members of the administrative staff. Walker (2016) chronicled a troubling encounter between an administrator and Black male elementary school student. He witnessed a school leader call the police, which influenced his decision to leave the public-school system. These incidents occur far too frequently. For this reason, ensuring administrators and school staff understand how race and gender intersect is critical. Recently, Goings and Walker (2018) reflected on the responsibilities of school administrations and suggested

"instructional leaders have to utilize culturally relevant frameworks that positively affect student outcomes, particularly for Black males" (p. 112). Administrators must consider whether the school ecosystem values and respects cultural norms, community interests, and sets high expectations. For example, Goings, Smith, Harris, Wilson, and Lancaster (2015) outlined how preservice teachers should shift from a deficit focus as it relates to Black male students and see the brilliance they bring into the classroom setting. The suggestion is critical because administrators may not consider how Black male preservice teachers view the expectations and treatment of students. Ignoring their concerns may cause some to consider occupations outside of education.

The Role of Urban, Suburban, and Rural School Leaders Supporting Black Male Preservice Teachers

Given the challenges facing Black male preservice teachers it is important to consider the work of school administrators and how they establish positive school cultures. However, we believe it is important to delineate the work of school leaders by district type. Thus, this section contextualizes the role school leaders play supporting Black male preservice teachers in urban, suburban, and rural school districts.

Urban School Leaders

Several researchers including Milner and Lomotey (2013) and Noguera (2012) have highlighted the challenges Black males face in urban schools throughout the nation. The issues are rooted in systemic racism; yet some pundits suggest that Black males are solely responsible for economic, educational, political, and social barriers they encounter. Fortunately, Howard (2013) among others have continued to push against false narratives that encourage deficit centered frameworks. Reframing societal problems that influence the lives of Black males is important (Moore & Lewis, 2012). Researchers including Wright, Counsell, Goings, Freeman, and Peat (2016) have continued to paint accurate portrayals of Black males that suggest the tide is turning. While a new generation of scholars are informing the public. Far too many educational leaders believe that Black males are failing. This can be problematic considering the majority of educational leaders are White.

The news media among other outlets frequently emphasize stories that suggest Black males from urban communities are unruly, hyperactive, violent and not interested in receiving a quality education (Goings & Walker, 2018). Negative depictions of Black males have long term implications particularly in urban schools. As students, and later

in life as teachers, they cannot simply ignore these negative depictions. Thus, investigating how White urban school leaders view Black males, specifically preservice teachers must be considered.

Urban school leaders are tasked with an array of issues including hiring and retaining teachers from diverse backgrounds. Additionally, they frequently welcome student teachers who are completing university requirements before entering the profession. As noted by Bristol and Goings (2019) the experiences of Black male preservice teachers contrast with the experiences of White candidates. For this reason, urban school leaders should consider adopting frameworks that embrace diversity.

Khalifa, Gooden, and Davis (2016) suggest that successful administrators adopt practices that are consistent with the needs of students, teachers, and the local community. This includes utilizing culturally responsive school leadership (CRSL). Specifically, Khalifa, Gooden, and Davis (2016) suggest that "culturally responsive leaders develop and support the school staff and promote a climate that makes the whole school welcoming, inclusive, and accepting of minoritized students" (p. 4). Urban school leaders that follow CRSL tenets should be more likely to recognize the important contributions Black male preservice teachers bring to their schools.

Ideally Black male educators should not face hostile environments that do not recognize and support their needs. However, the problems they must overcome inside and outside school settings are real. This includes environmental stressors including trauma and mental health challenges that have long-term consequences (Walker & Goings, 2017; Walker, 2019b). While the societal issues are real they do not preclude some Black males from graduating from college and becoming teachers.

Urban school districts should consider providing CRSL training for administrators and other leaders. Frequently, staff members do not receive comprehensive training that recognizes the importance of diversity (Goings & Walker, 2019). The cost to providing additional training will not be prohibitive considering the resources districts expend recruiting and retaining teachers from various subgroups. Refusing to acknowledge that Black male preservice teachers encounter various problems in urban schools could continue a troubling trend.

Suburban School Leaders

To understand the experiences of Black male preservice teachers in suburban school settings researchers must examine the underlying assumptions about suburban neighborhoods. Traditionally suburban communities are viewed as White middle-class enclaves with low crime rates and thriving schools. Furthermore, these narratives position

suburban communities and schools as the pinnacle of the American dream while casting urban settings as subpar (Lewis-McCoy, 2018). Unfortunately, this narrative has been repeated and reinforced via television and news reports, yet recent demographic data tells a different story. Suburban communities are rapidly changing.

The Pew Center (2018) conducted an analysis of factors that unite and divide individuals living in urban, suburban, and rural communities. Their analysis of Census data found that a 16% population growth in suburban locales from 2000 to 2016 outpaced the growth in both urban (13%) and rural communities (3%) over the same time period. This trend coupled with the overall increase in racial/ethnic diversity in the U.S. has created suburban communities that have higher concentrations of Black, Latinx, Asian, Pacific Island, and Indigenous people (Fry, 2009).

The growth of people of color in suburban communities require school districts to take immediate action. Fry (2009) found that from approximately 1994-2007 the rise of Latinx, Black, and Asian students accounted for 99% of the 3.4 million increase in suburban school districts. Furthermore, Holme, Diem, and Welton (2014) suggested that suburban school districts now serve as many low-income students as urban school settings. Despite this demographic shift Lewis-McCoy (2018) argued that researchers have focused their attention on urban areas while neglecting suburban communities. The author further highlighted the importance of studying suburban environments by asserting it can help "improve the condition of Black lives in all spaces they occupy" (p. 146).

While there has been limited research on the experiences of Black male students and teachers in suburban settings (Lewis-McCoy, 2016), there is a growing body of literature focused on how school administrators respond to the changing demographics in suburban schools (Diarrassouba & Johnson, 2014; Diem, Welton, Frankenberg, & Holme, 2016; Evans, 2007; Holme et al. 2014). For instance, Welton, Diem, and Holme (2015) conducted a qualitative study which examined how school administrators responded to shifts in their school districts. The researchers found that when presented with an issue involving race the district often relied on their colorblind culture where they were "largely uncomfortable in talking about, or 'recognizing' the issue of race" (p. 703). This finding is critical for Black male preservice teachers who are considering teaching in suburban school settings where potential school leaders are reluctant to discuss racism. It may signal to Black men that the school environment may not be conducive to their professional and personal success. This is important considering many Black male educators experience various forms of racism in schools (Bristol & Goings, 2019; Goings, 2015).

Despite the increase of youth of color in suburban school settings, students have limited access to Black male teachers. While Black men

only comprise 2% of the teaching workforce some recent research on suburban schools points to inequities in the hiring process. For instance, D'Amico, Pawlewicz, Earley, and McGeehan's (2017) quantitative analysis of hiring decisions in one large suburban school district found that racial discrimination was prevalent in the hiring decisions of Black teacher candidates. In the study, when Black candidates were hired, they were more likely to be placed in schools identified as struggling and schools with higher concentrations of students of color (SOC) and students living in poverty.

Moreover, in a qualitative study examining the hiring practices of human resource officers (HROs) in urban and suburban school districts Goings, Walker, & Wade (2019) found that HROs (frequently former school administrators) used intuition in their hiring decisions based on their previous experiences. Participants suggested that filling vacant positions was their first priority and diversifying their teacher workforce became a secondary concern. Given the findings from these two studies, there is a need to further examine the hiring experiences of Black male teachers in suburban school districts. This should include understanding how they are interviewed, selected, and then assigned to schools.

Unfortunately, there has been a pervasive belief that Black male teachers should be recruited into the profession to serve as role models for Black children. As a result, Black men are forced to serve as disciplinarians for Black boys while negating their ability to teach all children (Bristol & Mentor, 2018; Bryan & Ford, 2014). This narrative is problematic particularly in suburban schools given the influx of students of color and the lack of educator diversity. When recruiting Black male preservice teachers to suburban schools, school administrators must disrupt stereotypes that suggest Black male teachers are primarily disciplinarians. For example, when selecting student teachers, school leaders should ensure students see Black men in all academic spaces such as gifted education/Advanced Placement classrooms. Moreover, human resources staff have to take steps to place Black male teacher candidates in all settings and not just in schools that educate a high percentage of students from underserved backgrounds.

Rural School Leaders

In contrast to their urban and suburban school counterparts, rural schools receive far less attention. This may occur because the majority of students in America attend schools in urban or suburban settings and policymakers (and academics) tend to focus on areas commanding greater influence. However, this underscores the isolated nature of rural education and the need for a more nuisance study. Currently, over half

(53 percent) of the school districts in the United States of America are considered "rural" according to National Center for Education Statistics (NCES, 2013) data. The School Superintendents Association (2017) recently framed diversity trends in rural communities showing "71 percent of students are White, 10 percent are Black, 13 are Hispanic, with 2 percent registering as Asian/Pacific Islander" (p. 2). These figures highlight the fact that more than 1 in 4 students from rural environments are students of color.

Proponents of educational diversity have long noted the benefits of having a diverse educational workforce - seeking an employee population that (at the minimum) mirrors the diversity that reflected in the American population. This notion of diversity frequently centers on issues of race; we contend that diversifying the teaching population must also extend to males and specifically Black males. Some stereotypes based upon archaic beliefs ("teaching is a profession for women) or grounded into harsh truths ("you can't make money being a teacher") create barriers to attracting Black males into the teaching profession. School administrators play a critical role in framing a positive perception of teaching; while creating an environment in which Black male preservice teachers can excel.

Accomplishing this goal is a challenge as each year, fewer and fewer students enter teacher preparation programs across the country and this dilemma is only heightened in rural areas which struggle to attract teaching candidates due to their location. These issues emphasize the role rural school administrators play in creating a culture conducive to recruiting and retaining a diverse workforce. This task is critical in the quest to provide students in rural communities with the high-quality educational experience they so richly deserve.

Many rural communities are places of tremendous historical value and cultural wealth. However, they are often places of immense levels of economic distress and are disposed to experience high levels of poverty. These rural locales are likely to experience geographic isolation as they often exist far away from metropolitan centers of commerce, industry, and higher educational institutions which makes it harder to attract preservice teachers. Schools and school systems tend to serve as community hubs while also serving as focal points of pride within the district. Against this backdrop of conflicting notions—of value and pride combined with isolation and distress; schools and school districts are the linchpin(s) to success and sustainability for rural communities. Similar to urban and suburban schools—rural schools are the fulcrum upon which improved life outcomes rest.

Rural schools contend with (and sometimes conquer) numerous maladies capable of derailing their quest to provide improved life outcomes beyond inadequate funding streams based upon local taxation

or grants. Thus, they face challenges competing for talent. Further, the absence of an extensive pool of teaching candidates hinders the prospect of providing students with a high-quality educational experience. Rural areas, by virtue of their geographic isolation, tend to be located a sizeable distance away from many of the colleges and universities which supply student teachers. This issue becomes more challenging when race and gender become factors. The most recent *State of Racial Diversity in the Educator Workforce* (2016) report shows a slight uptick in the number of students of color receiving bachelor's degrees in education; however Black males still only comprise less than two percent of the teaching workforce. This figure only reinforces the notion that attracting and retaining Black male preservice teachers is an important consideration and a task made infinitely more challenging in rural locales that oftentimes do not have a surplus of available teaching candidates. However, more school administrators have to create healthy ecosystems capable of supporting the needs of Black male preservice teachers.

Recommendations

In order to create healthy ecosystems for Black male preservice teachers school administrators can implement several strategies to better prepare these future professionals for long and successful careers in education. Here we detail a few of these actionable activities.

The Need to Be Present for Black Male Preservice Teachers

In order to create a healthy ecosystem for Black male preservice teachers school administrators should be present. Black male preservice teachers are often faced with the challenge of being the "only one" (the only Black male teacher in an educational environment). The pressures of being the "only one" or the "Black male messiah" ("Well send X student to the 'new' teacher. He can understand X student. He can get through to X student...they have commonalities.") can be quite taxing and may serve to deter a preservice teacher from continuing into the profession. These pressures, unlike pressures contended with by White male or female teachers are very draining and detract from the overall goal of honing one's pedagogy or grounding themselves in the educational profession. The "presence" of a positive school administrator, providing a word of encouragement, a kind, gentle, and patient listening ear, or serving as a sounding board to solve problems can help create a healthy ecosystem capable of supporting Black male preservice teachers. A school administrator's ability to be present with and for preservice teachers accelerates the likelihood of a positive introductory experience for Black

male preservice teachers while also serving as a potential recruitment and retention strategy.

Establishing Positive Relationships

Establishing a positive relationship with Black male preservice teachers helps to ease prospective professionals into the field of education. This includes encouraging preservice teachers to grow. In addition, involving them in school operations and activities; professional development offerings, committee meetings; in essence makes the preservice teacher feel like they are a part of the school community. Another way to establish positive relationships with preservice teachers should include a concerted effort to go into the classroom in which the preservice teacher practices. While there school administrators should give the preservice teacher good and honest feedback. A school administrator's presence in a preservice teacher's classroom sends a message that you are valued and I am invested in your future. It also sends a similar message to the students in the preservice teacher's classroom. This sort of investment elevates the two percent of the teaching force that is comprised of Black Males. In addition, while observing and offering good feedback the school administrator has the opportunity to determine if the preservice teacher is a perspective "fit" within the school building. This sort of "on the job training" experience could potentially result in a hire within the building in which the preservice teacher is practicing or a result in a reference for another school. Establishing positive relationships opens doors for Black male preservice teachers in arenas in which they may not have pre-existing social capital. These relationships have the potential of growing and diversifying the teaching profession while enhancing the professional outcomes of Black male preservice teachers.

Creating Intentional Student Teacher Mentor-Mentee Matches

Pairing a Black male preservice teacher with a supportive mentor teacher is essential to ensure they can thrive. Whether the pairing is intra- or extra-curricular (within their content area or external to the preservice teacher's content area) assuring a positive match is made is a key responsibility of the school administrator. It is also important to note here that the framing of "mentor/mentee" matches does not just extend to teacher to preservice teacher. It is equally essential that the school administrator also be seen as a mentor for the preservice teacher. This level of support from the building-level leader is invaluable. For any preservice teacher entering the profession the ability to ask judgement-

free, guilt-free, and repercussion-free questions in a safe, nurturing environment is a tremendous benefit; but for a Black Male preservice teacher it is especially critical. Considering that Black male preservice teachers are most likely "loners" within the profession (Bristol, 2018) the feeling of isolation that is experienced is only compounded when one feels as though they have nowhere to turn for wise counsel. Ensuring that a correct mentor / mentee match is made helps to ground the Black male preservice teacher into the profession and helps to establish a sense of community. This essential task, undertaken by a thoughtful, reflective, and introspective school administrator can help create a healthy ecosystem for Black male preservice teachers.

Provide Positive Experiences for Black Male Preservice Teachers

The old adage of "success breeds success" is true here once again. A school administrator should ensure that Black male preservice teachers experience some modicum of success while interning at their school. Whether it be praise for initiating an innovative classroom lesson or sharing a positive comment from a student, parent, or colleague or even guidance or feedback on a task completed at the school; these elements all help to frame positive school experiences for the preservice teacher. Another example of providing positive experiences for preservice teachers may even extend to allowing the preservice teacher to observe other teacher's pedagogical style within the building or external to the building as a means of expanding the preservice teacher's educational experiences.

Conclusion

Ensuring students have access to teachers from similar ethnic and racial backgrounds is critical in a global economy. While Black men represent less than 2% of teachers in public schools they play an integral role educating students from all backgrounds. Unfortunately, Black male preservice teachers encounter a plethora of school-based stressors that contribute to feelings of alienation. Creating a healthy environment that allows Black males to flourish would ensure they commit to teaching after completing their student teaching.

For this reason, a closer examination of the role school administrators in urban, rural, and suburban schools play in mentoring and supporting Black male preservice teachers is paramount. Schools need teachers that have experiences that mirror their students. Several studies suggest that the race of the teacher can have a negative impact on student outcomes. Further, the nation can no longer afford to hire teachers that come from homogeneous backgrounds with limited culturally responsive training.

School administrators are the linchpin that determines whether Black male preservice teachers continue to work in schools long-term. The initial relationship with education leaders has an undeniable impact on teacher candidates. Without proper support post-secondary institutions and schools may lose Black males that seek to turn the tide in education. For this reason, school districts have to train administrators in culturally responsive techniques that empower not undermine the success of Black male preservice teachers.

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The Double Consciousness of African American Students Who Desegregated Atlanta Public Schools

The Journal of Educational Foundations
Vol. 32, No. 1, 2, 3, & 4
2019, pp. 142-165

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Abstract

Six years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, Atlanta reluctantly complied with the order to desegregate its school system rather than risk having schools closed due to noncompliance. Out of 132 students, nine black high school seniors desegregated four of Atlanta's all-white high schools. The purpose of this study is to explore and document the missing voices of Atlanta's 1961 school desegregation movement and provide an analysis of the students' experiences. W. E. B. Du Bois's double consciousness theory serves as a lens for understanding and explaining the experiences of the Atlanta students who were first to desegregate schools in "the city too busy to hate."

Atlanta 9

On August 30, 1961 Atlanta police detectives arrived 15 minutes after school began to accompany nine African American students to their new schools. These students left everything familiar, such as teachers, friends, and activities, to integrate White schools where they were unwanted.

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Detectives remained with the students all day and escorted them home 15 minutes before the official school dismissal. The nine students came to be known as the "Atlanta 9" (hereafter referred to as Atlanta 9). The first day went smoothly. The news media declared, "Everything is normal. No one is eating with them. No one is speaking to them. I repeat—everything is normal" (Dartt, 2012, p.152; Radio Communication in Atlanta City Hall, 1961). On the surface, all was well, but beneath the surface there was anxiety, isolation, and pressure on the nine students.

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court declared in *Brown v. Board of Education* that separate schools were inherently unequal (Kluger, 1975; Martin, Jr., 1998; Rubin, 2016). All public schools were ordered to end racial segregation. After six years, Atlanta reluctantly complied with the order to desegregate its school system rather than risk having its schools closed due to noncompliance (Bohan & Randolph, 2009). At the start of Atlanta's desegregation process, Black students had to apply to be considered to attend White schools (Kruse, 2007). The Black applicants participated in a rigorous process that included intelligence tests, applications, and interviews with the school board. Out of 132 students, ten were chosen to integrate four of Atlanta's all White high schools (Corson, n.d.). One of the students opted not to transfer, thus nine Black students remained to integrate the 102,000 student body (Bayor, 1996; Research Atlanta, 1992). These Black students were from working and middle class homes, they were intelligent, and they were well-spoken (Dartt, 2012; Gong, 1992; McGrath, 1992). But regardless of the capital they possessed, they lacked the resources and opportunities of their White counterparts. Thus, their transfer was not so much an indictment of their Black zoned schools as it was the chance for greater opportunities inside and outside of their schools.

Everything about the desegregation of the Atlanta Public Schools (APS) was carefully planned and executed to ensure a peaceful transition and to guarantee the city of Atlanta would not earn the violent reputation given to other southern cities when they desegregated (Bohan & Bradshaw, 2014). Months leading up to the first day, the nine Black students received training on how to handle hostile incidents that might arise at their new schools. The emotional turmoil and pressure to succeed was stressful and affected their young lives, which was not unusual for Black students who participated in school desegregation. In many ways, the Atlanta 9 stories mirrored the narratives of others across the South who were the first to integrate their schools. These common experiences included: feeling a sense of loss when transferring, sensing a role of tokenism, and maintaining resilience in the face of adversity (Leonardo, 2012). In addition to these familiar themes found in many school desegregation narratives, several additional themes emerged from this research which

made the Atlanta 9 experiences unique in comparison to others (Beals, 1994; Fisher, 2002; Heidelberg, 2006; Jacoway, 2008; Poff, 2016; Poff, 2014). Through the lens of double consciousness, as researchers we found educational, cultural, and social class privilege that were unique to Atlanta. Double consciousness, put forth by W. E. B. Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), is the idea that Black identity is divided into two. Thus, Blacks not only viewed themselves from their own perspective, but also from the perspective of how the outside White world viewed Blacks. Thus, these nine students were keenly aware of how double consciousness impacted their young lives.

In 1961, Atlanta was an empowering place for African Americans who were surrounded by prestigious Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU's), multiple Black churches, several Black media outlets, and numerous Black businesses (Bohan & Bradshaw, 2014; Hobson, 2017). No other city boasted this type of progress amongst Blacks in one central location. Much of this success can be ascribed to the Black middle class, which is rarely examined in the desegregation literature. In Mary Patillo's book, *Black Picket Fences* (1999), she focuses on the residential experiences of the Black middle class, which she argues is too often overlooked in mainstream research. She noted, "The Black middle class and their residential enclaves are nearly invisible to the non-Black public because of the intense (and mostly negative) attention given to poor urban ghettos." We concur with Patillo's argument because of the findings during this research. Voluminous research on school desegregation highlights the losses experienced by Blacks during the process, the failures of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision to maintain integrated schools, and the heroism of Whites who joined the struggle (Baker, 2006; Daniel & Walker, 2014; Hyres, 2017; Jacoway, 2008; Kluger, 1975). But limited research suggests how pivotal the Black middle class was in fighting for equality, while still supporting and building up the Black community. The findings of this research reveal how crucial those elite and privileged Blacks were to the success of the movement.

Although the participants embodied a degree of privilege, they represented much more than token integration and accomodationism, which frequently is ascribed to them. Once the cameras packed up and left Atlanta Public Schools (APS) to cover other news, the Atlanta 9 stayed and endured. As the city congratulated itself and took credit for the peace largely resulting from actions by the Atlanta 9, the students quietly went to school daily and "worked their butts off," as the students wanted to show that, "Blacks deserved the same access and resources as Whites" (Welch, October 25, 2016). They were not expecting entitlements or stardom, only a good education.

Despite Atlanta's history of progressivism and inclusiveness,

remarkably little attention has been given to the experiences of the Atlanta 9 and the process these students endured in integrating the schools. The nine students were just as responsible for social, economic, and political change as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Freedom Riders, the desegregation legal cases, the sit-ins, the boycotts, Rosa Parks, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The aforementioned individuals and events in the Civil Rights Movement are well-known and have garnered considerable historical attention. As researchers, we believe it is also important to mark the contributions of the actual students who were impacted by desegregation mandates. This research gives voice to these students.

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore and document the missing voices of Atlanta's 1961 school desegregation movement and provide a fresh analysis of their experiences. By examining the students' perspectives, we contribute to the historical record and provide a more nuanced analysis of school integration. As researchers, we utilize historical methods to collect the data and an inductive process to analyze it. The data consists of oral histories, archival primary source materials, and secondary literature relating to Atlanta's school desegregation. We also added W. E. B. Du Bois's double consciousness theory as a lens for understanding and explaining the experiences of the Atlanta 9 during the later stages of the study. The research questions that guided the study were:

1. What motivated the students to apply and how did they handle the pressure placed on them by both the Black and White communities?

2. What did the students gain and lose by attending desegregated schools?

Significance and Purpose

This research is important for several reasons. First, the desegregation of Atlanta Public Schools is an important part of local and national history, and it should earn a place alongside other civil rights histories. The desegregation of APS, which occurred seven months after the desegregation of the University of Georgia, was a sign of progress, yet it also demonstrated how much more needed to be accomplished (Bohan & Bradshaw, 2014). Second, the oral histories detail what happened when Black students arrived to desegregate White schools, as well as highlight the role that young people and schools played in the evolution

of society. Third, implications of this research may shed light on recent educational issues with respect to race. School resegregation is a current trend in many large school districts today (Anderson, 2004; Bell, 2004; Felton, 2017). Segregated schools often have fewer resources and are usually linked to educational inequality; segregation impacts students' socialization skills and their ability to interact and coexist with people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds. In addition, students of color are more frequently targeted as needing behavioral interventions by predominantly White, female, middle class teachers (Reno, Friend, Carurthers, & Smith, 2017). Reading and analyzing these narratives of past events might help solve current racial challenges facing schools and avoid future ones.

School desegregation and the struggle for equal access is well documented for cities like Little Rock, Memphis, Roanoke, and Prince George's County (Baker, 2006; Brown, 2007; Jacoway, 2008; Kluger, 1975; Poff, 2016), but the collective experiences of the Atlanta 9 are not well-known. The Atlanta 9 students' stories merit exploration and attention, especially given Atlanta's prominence as the home of the modern Civil Rights Movement (Hatfield, 2008; Hobson, 2017). A few researchers have acknowledged the Atlanta 9 as part of larger studies on the city of Atlanta. For example, the desegregation of APS was a component of a dissertation featuring research that examined Atlanta's race and class structure (Gong, 1992). The Atlanta 9 story is featured in a study comparing the city of Atlanta to another major city with similar demographics (McGrath, 1992). Also, the nine students are highlighted in research about civic groups that come together to stop the flight of Whites (Henry, 2012), and they are referenced in magazine articles commemorating *Brown v. Board of Education* and other civil rights milestones. But, the stories of the nine Atlanta students, themselves, have never been written about in-depth.

In order to appreciate the struggle, the triumph and the story of the Atlanta 9 students, one must understand the city of Atlanta and what made it such a unique town. Atlanta was a paradox; a place of both racists and progressives. The town prided itself on being "a city too busy to hate" inside a state where the governor detested any notions of racially mixing Black and White children (Bayor, 1996). There were Blacks who wanted to remain segregated in their nurturing environments and Whites who advocated for the integration of schools, which added to the irony during this tumultuous period. The Atlanta 9 students grew up in the shadows of Atlanta's paradox and, within this context, figured out how to use education to bring social change to Atlanta's school system (Bohan & Bradshaw, 2014).

The experiences of the Atlanta 9 were a part of something much

greater that was happening throughout the country. Yet, the students' actions happened within specific local and national contexts, including *Brown v. Board of Education* that the Supreme Court decided six years prior. The local NAACP and local politicians engaged in negotiation and legal maneuverings and leaders involved in desegregation discussions had to consider APS and its history. APS had been segregated since its founding 80 years prior (Bohan & Bradshaw, 2014; Kruse, 2007). In addition, violent protests occurred, businesses were boycotted, and tensions were mounting between Blacks who supported integration and Blacks who did not.

The city of Atlanta was becoming more progressive in the 1960s with an expanding Black middle class that maintained a strong presence within the Black church, Black media, Black colleges and universities, Black Greek organizations, and Black businesses (Hobson, 2017). But, Atlanta's progress was not enough to keep the White governor, mayor, and city leaders from clinging to their traditional views (Bayor, 1996; Hobson, 2017; Kruse, 2007). While powerful leaders disagreed with integrating Blacks and Whites at school together, the opposition was not enough to stop the nine Black students from transferring to White schools. Although the Atlanta 9 did not garner the fanfare of other civil rights activists, they were just as pivotal in the movement for equal rights as more familiar agitators who regularly receive praise for desegregating lunch counters and bus systems.

Methodology

The major source of data for the research was the oral histories of five students who desegregated Atlanta in 1961. The definition of "oral history" can be the mundane act of reminiscing about the past to the complex act of executing, recording, and transcribing an interview for scholarly purposes and making it public for others to access (Oral History Association, 2016; Shopes, 2002). Only five of the original nine participated in these interviews. Two were deceased and the other two could not be located. The five who participated are: Thomas Franklin Welch, Madelyn Patricia Nix, Martha Holmes-Jackson, Rosalyn Walton-Lees, Mary McMullen Francis. The four who could not participate include: Willie Jean Black (deceased), Donita Gaines (deceased, returned to Black school), Arthur Simmons, and Lawrence Jefferson. Oral history interviews were recorded to obtain first-hand narratives that traced the students' journeys from the admissions applications through their first year integrating the schools. The five narrators gave voice to Atlanta's school desegregation experience and corroborated primary sources gathered from the archives, as suggested by Green and Troup (2016).

Other sources of historical research included secondary literature and archival materials such as school and student records, board minutes, news articles, legal briefs, memos, and other documents. Patricia Leavy (2011) clarified oral history research intent by explaining that, "Oral historians seek to document firsthand accounts while they are still available. In other words, those who have borne witness share their stories for the historical record" (p.17). Thus, oral history methodology is critical for ascertaining the perspectives of the remaining students and preserving their narratives while they are still alive.

The participants were interviewed at either the library, their homes, or restaurant meeting rooms and took place over a period of 11 months during 2015-2016. The five interviews were structured in the sense that the same 10 questions were asked of each of the participants. The questions provided a guide, but the conversations still tended to venture off in other directions. After meeting with the former students, the interviews were transcribed. After the transcription, the interviews were coded and then metacoded to merge duplicate data into manageable parts. During the analysis, common themes across the interviews were identified, and then prioritized to determine which themes provided the most rational explanations for describing the data (Holstein & Gubrium, 2002; Luttrell, 2010). Visits to several archives provided additional data to corroborate the participants' recollections and to help plug holes in participants' memories.

Once an oral history is recorded, it is subject to the same rigorous analysis as written history. Elizabeth Danto (2008) echoed this point when she noted researchers need to probe oral history transcripts in order to enrich the interpretation and credibility of the data. Because memory can be faulty, she argued that oral history must be subject to the same criticism as documents and other sources, to determine accuracy. Furthermore, Leavy (2011) added, "Although historical researchers often find themselves analyzing data as soon as they collect it, there is a systemic process that must take place for credibility" (p. 48). Moreover, Marshall and Rossman (1989) suggested that data analysis helps bring "order, structure, and meaning to the mass amounts of collected data" (p. 112).

As researchers, we proceeded with a more formal analysis which included immersion in the data. Leavy insisted researchers engage in the process of "immersion" first in order to "get to know the data" (2011, p. 58). Immersion for this study meant re-reading the interviews, jotting additional ideas into the margins of the transcripts, and noting patterns that were emerging across the participants. During the immersion process, 70 pages of transcripts were reduced to 26 pages of coded data. Holstein and Gubrium (2002) suggested the process of coding to better organize the data and highlight the emerging themes. The codes were

pulled directly from the data and allowed the researchers to place participants' responses into categories. The codes were statements related to participants' thoughts, feelings, relationships, and actions during the school desegregation process.

A coding matrix was used to organize the codes into categories. The resulting categories became the themes presented in this research. As Creswell (2009) explained, coding involves, "taking text data or pictures gathered during data collection, segmenting sentences (or paragraphs) or images into categories, and labeling those categories with a term, often a term based in the actual language of the participant" (p. 186). Several familiar themes emerged from the interviews which were similar to the experiences of other students who desegregated their schools. These themes were identified as "existing" since they were related to data already in the literature. New themes emerged that set the experiences of the Atlanta students apart from other school integration experiences. These were identified as "emergent" since they were unique to the Atlanta 9. Ultimately, we sought to determine meaning in the students' experiences. "Sensitive analysis of personal testimony can lead to a deeper and richer understanding of how the past is remembered, reworked and restructured by people in the present" (Abrams, 2016, p. 8). These deeper meanings are presented in the findings.

Double Consciousness

> One ever feels his twoness, an American, a Negro: two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being asunder. (W. E. B. Du Bois, 1903, p. 2)

When speaking, the five students revealed how they navigated their new school environments, and it became evident that Du Bois's idea of double consciousness was reflected in those experiences. This idea of "splitting oneself into two" is a concept rarely mentioned in previous literature on school desegregation. W. E. B. Du Bois's dual consciousness discovery came about during a critical moment in his childhood when one of his White playmates refused to trade cards with him. Du Bois described suddenly realizing he was different and that he was not a part of the White world. Du Bois's first known mention of double consciousness appeared in his book of essays, *The Souls of Black Folk*, where he described the "strife" of the American Negro (1903, p. 2). He used double consciousness to explain the struggle that Blacks experienced in trying to reconcile their identities as Blacks with their identities as Americans.

W. E. B. Du Bois's theory revolves around the belief that marginalized outsiders blended themselves into the dominant world by adopting

dual identities for survival. The theory has become more prominent in contemporary education research on African American students (Lewis, 2014; Wynter-Hoyte & Boutte, 2018). Du Bois explained, "He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face," (1903, p. 3). Furthermore, he suggested that it was inevitable for Black Americans to embody two identities as they simultaneously participated in American culture and Black culture. Whether they were conscious of it or not, Blacks were forced to live dual lives as both Americans and Blacks. It was not the desire of Blacks to compromise either aspect of their identity, because they identified with and were entitled to both; but he asserted, "In his merging, he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 2). Likewise, the challenge for the Atlanta 9 was figuring out how to be a part of both worlds, Black and White, even when one of those worlds refused to acknowledge their humanity.

"The Veil"

When explaining his double consciousness theory, Du Bois used the "veil" metaphor to symbolize the divide between Blacks and Whites (1903, p.1). He argued that Black people lived behind this veil in an entirely different world apart from their White counterparts. While Whites did not seek to understand Black humanity and life behind the veil (Tayebeh & Sophella, 2015; Daugherty, 2010; England & Warner, 2013), Blacks were tasked with the burden of understanding and mastering how to be members of the White world.

The Atlanta 9 students were a part of two very different worlds. The White world consisted of resources and opportunities the Black students sought when they applied to transfer. This White school world was considered superior and exclusive, as evidenced by the process that was required to gain access. The process included applications, tests, and interviews. The Black world had its own wealth, but not the kind that was valued or appreciated by mainstream White society. Black wealth and cultural capital (Yosso, 2005) consisted of strong family ties, nurturing community networks, and qualified teachers who understood the individual needs of Black children (Siddle-Walker, 1996). The White world of schooling had more material resources, such as superior science laboratories, up-to-date textbooks, and greater access to institutions of higher education.

Research suggests the "veil" analogy has multiple meanings with both negative and positive implications. Howard Winant's explanation hints that the veil is a paradoxical symbol of oppression and empowerment

for Blacks, as he noted that Du Bois did not only seek to lift the veil, but was also searching for a means to transform the veil (2004). In this transformation, the veil is a curse that separated the races and a blessing that shields and preserves the culture and identity of the Black race. While relegated to life behind the veil, Blacks learned to make the most of their circumstances by working together, building their own institutions, and preparing to infiltrate a world determined to keep them marginalized, which came with a price. At times Blacks found themselves caught in the middle feeling isolated from both the Black world and the White world.

The participants in this study, the Atlanta 9 students, alluded to the "strife" that comes with dividing oneself into two. The students recalled the good and the bad that came with leaving their all Black high schools to integrate the White schools during their senior year. They remembered feeling like "tokens" who were chosen and tolerated because of a court mandate. As proud as the Atlanta 9 were about being Black, they were aware of how the White world viewed them: "this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 2). The two worlds the Atlanta 9 experienced were evident throughout their narratives when they explained the application process, when they described walking through newly integrated hallways, and when they discussed their daily experiences returning back home to their Black communities.

The "Gift" of Double Consciousness

Throughout the integration process, the students steadfastly held on to the culture, values, and identities of their Black families and communities which helped them adapt and excel at the integrated White schools. Their double consciousness became a gift. With extraordinary eloquence Du Bois noted that, "the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world" (1903, p. 2). The students expressed having no desire to completely assimilate into the White culture they had entered in 1961. They merely wanted the basic privileges of an excellent education which they believed they had a greater chance of acquiring at the White schools,

> I thought the textbooks were more current at Brown [High School]. In my view, newer does not necessarily mean better, but in this case, it meant better…A big reason for me wanting to go to Brown High was so I could take an ROTC class which they didn't offer at Washington High. I became an ROTC squad leader and taught drill techniques that I'd learned from my elder African American role models…I did

> notice that the classrooms were, for example, better equipped. I took a physics class and they had all kinds of equipment that I'd never seen when we were talking about space flights and rocket ships. (Welch, October 25, 2016)

The Atlanta 9 Students' Backgrounds

In 1961, President John Kennedy called attention to the integration of Atlanta schools when he congratulated the city for the orderly manner in which desegregation process transpired. Kennedy stated,

> I want to take this opportunity to congratulate Governor Vandiver of Georgia, Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta, Chief of Police Jenkins, Superintendent of Schools Letson and all of the parents, students and citizens of Atlanta, Ga., for the responsible, law-abiding manner in which four high schools were desegregated today…Their efforts have borne fruit in the orderly manner in which desegregation was carried out--with dignity and without incident. Too often in the past, such steps in other cities have been marred by violence and disrespect for the law. (President John. F. Kennedy, 1961)

President Kennedy failed to mention, however, the impact of desegregation on the actual teenage children. Each of the five students had a unique story but common themes emerged for all of the students interviewed. Interviews with Madelyn Nix, Mary McMullen Francis, and Thomas Welch occurred face to face in one-on-one settings. Martha Holmes-Jackson and Rosalyn Walton-Lees were initially interviewed together as they have remained close friends over the years. Rosalyn provided access to Martha, whom she brought along to the interview after providing notification. Pre-interview meetings occurred by phone and face-to face to build rapport with the five former students.

The focus of the interviews was the students' experiences from the beginning of the application process in May 1961 through the end of the students' first year integrating their White schools in May 1962. Batty (2009) recommended that biographical research begin with a blank slate that is devoid of theories and concepts prior to engaging in the research. Although the research goals were shared with the participants, as researchers we were cautious and careful not to reveal personal beliefs or theoretical frameworks that might influence the former students' responses.

Madelyn Nix grew up on the campus of Morehouse College, which is a Black all-male college in Atlanta. Her father was the dean of students for the college and her mother was a homemaker. Madelyn had one younger sibling who did not apply to transfer. She was a 12th grader at her former Black school but she entered her new White school as an 11th grader. School officials claimed she did not have enough credits to enter

the White school as a senior. As a result, Madelyn was forced to spend an extra year in high school because of the transfer. After graduating from Spelman College, she earned a law degree at Emory University and an MBA at Fordham University. Madelyn became a corporate attorney. She believes her strong test taking skills and her calm temperament are the reasons she was chosen as one of the few Black student to integrate APS (Nix, Dec. 6, 2015).

Mary McMullen Francis grew up in a working class home with three younger siblings whom she helped to raise. Her mother was a homemaker and her father worked in a warehouse. Mary credits her family with shielding her from the cruelty of others during her integration experience. During the process, her family received verbal threats and harassing phone calls. Additionally, her father was laid off from his job when his boss learned of the daughter's decision to integrate one of Atlanta's schools. Mary, who attended Spelman College, is a retired educator who drew on her own personal school experiences when she became a teacher. She always remembered the challenges she faced, which gave her the much-needed compassion with her own classroom students (Francis, June 24, 2016).

Rosalyn Walton-Lees was raised by her single mother and older brother after her father died. She is the middle of five children. Rosalyn's reason for applying to an all-White school was to remain beside her friends, all of whom had decided to apply together. Fortunately, or unfortunately for Rosalyn, she was the only one in her group to gain acceptance. She maintained friendships with the students at her former Black school where she opted to participate in their senior activities. Rosalyn did not engage in activities at her White school because she did not feel welcome. While Rosalyn had few positive memories about her experience, she still harbored no regrets about her decision to transfer, "I pushed it out of mind a long time ago…it was just a bad time. I did it and I'm glad but it wasn't a happy time" (Walton-Lees, July 19, 2016). Rosalyn retired as a supervisor with the Internal Revenue Service. She attended Morris Brown College in Atlanta, another historically Black institution of higher education.

Martha Holmes-Jackson grew up the youngest of five children. Her dad was a self-employed carpenter and her mother was a domestic worker. She was elected Vice President of the Student Government Association and was an active member of the band at her Black school but had to relinquish those honors when she transferred to her White school. The adjustment was difficult for Martha who remembered being shoved and insulted in the hallways. She believes the support of White organizations like the League of Women Voters and the Quakers made a huge difference during her transition. These groups served as liaisons

with the White community and held training sessions to prepare Martha and the others for their new White schools. Martha also credited her good testing skills as a major reason for being chosen to transfer. She attended Spelman College and like Mary McMullen Francis is also a retired educator in Atlanta (Holmes-Jackson, July 19, 2016).

Thomas Welch's motivation for applying to integrate the schools was the ROTC program at the White school, which his Black school did not offer. Thomas was raised in what he describes as a working-class home with middle-class values. He was the oldest of seven children. Although his father ran several gas stations and allowed him to help out, Thomas's father insisted that he attend college rather than settle into running the gas stations. Thomas recalled many hurtful moments during his experience, as well as encouraging moments with teachers and students that kept him hopeful that he had, in fact, made the right decision to integrate. Thomas, an active alumnus at Morehouse College, also a historically Black college in Atlanta, is an entrepreneur and real estate developer (Welch, Oct. 25, 2016).

Findings and Themes

Student Expectations During the Admissions Process

During the admissions process the participants impressed the White selection committee with their ease in adapting to White expectations and requirements. Interestingly, the one interview question that all five participants instantly remembered was a hypothetical question apparently designed to weed out any person who might provoke confrontation or who could not handle the White resistance that was bound to happen.

> I remember sitting out there in a room, and they called me in, and I walk in and there were maybe two or three older, big, White men sitting at a table…they asked me, how would I react if someone hit me or were somehow violent towards me and I probably said um you know I'm not going there for that. I'm not going there to start fights or to be in fights period. I obviously said the right thing. (Francis, June 24, 2016)

Walton-Lees echoed the same sentiment as Mary Francis,

> I knew to smile and be nice because that's what my mama told me. We didn't want to be angry Black people because that's what they expected you to be. Sometimes you didn't want to smile and be nice but you had to smile and be nice all the time. (Walton-Lees, July 19, 2016)

Thomas Welch elaborated upon the idea that Blacks were expected not to react or show emotion when insulted,

> I got called for an interview and I remember saying 'this must be it' because they asked me 'what are you gonna do when a White boy calls you nigger…and I think my answer was, 'I wouldn't like it but I'm not gonna react because that wouldn't be helpful.' (Welch, October 25, 2016)

One of the participants remembers the interviewers taking notes on her gestures and body language whenever she shifted or moved her hands or legs during the interview (Nix, December 6, 2015). The board appeared most interested in Black students who knew how to respond in certain situations and evidently the Atlanta 9 passed the interviews. But lurking beneath their answers to the questions posed by the selection committee were their true feelings. On the outside the Atlanta 9 students appeared docile and nonthreatening. They were not the type, or so it seemed, that who cause the tensions that militant Black students might cause. As Madelyn Nix noted, "I think they wanted candidates whom they saw as smart, low key, slow to anger, and focused" (December 5, 2015). Convincing the committee that they were disciplined and capable of surviving whatever might happen during the process was not difficult because of the strength and perseverance the students already had. But just because the students understood their role as peacekeepers who had to help preserve Atlanta's image as the "city too busy to hate," the burden was still heavy (Bayor, 1996; Hobson, 2017). Rosalyn Walton-Lees observed, "If there had been a big outburst we would have been the ones suspended [not the Whites]" (July 19, 2016). Hence, the same demeanor the students exhibited to earn acceptance into the White schools was the same behavior they would exhibit daily to ensure peace during the desegregation process. Thomas Welch recounted,

> One day we had finished our drill, we were getting ready to put the rifles up, and this little White boy turns around, and he spits on me and says, 'I spit on a nigger'…I thought about breaking his nose with the rifle but I didn't. I knew that would be the worst thing to do. (October 25, 2016)

Somehow Thomas figured out how to rise above the "common contempt" that was understandable in a moment like that. Mr. Welch did, in his restraint, what many others could not have done. Thomas had already decided the goal for the peaceful integration of schools could not succeed if he followed his initial instinct. Du Bois has a similar passage that speaks to these kinds of moments in his discussion of the double consciousness of Blacks, "I had no desire to, therefore, tear down that veil… I lived above it in a region of blue sky…the sky was bluest when I could beat my mates at examination time" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 2).

On August 30, 1961, Atlanta gave the appearance of acceptance, but quietly the trailblazing students who integrated the schools struggled. Atlanta was forced to fix its racial problems in order to maintain its economic

growth (Bayor, 1996; Kruse, 2007). The only way to avoid negative publicity was by ensuring Atlanta's school desegregation process proceeded smoothly. The city had a lot riding on the Atlanta 9, and the nine students realized during their integration training sessions how important it was for the process to be successful. The students felt they would be blamed if it did not. Madelyn Nix remarked, "Once the decision was made and our names provided to the press, life as I knew it changed. I was not permitted to go alone to many places that I was able to previously go" (December 6, 2015). For the media, business owners, and political leaders, the silent rejection and suffering did not seem to matter as long as there was no blood shed or bad press for the city (Francis, June 24, 2016). The students knew that the world was watching, including the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, who as noted earlier, had commended the students and the city at the end of the first school day.

The codes which emerged as themes for the study can be understood and described using Du Bois's double consciousness framework (1903) which helps explain the impact of desegregation on the participants. For this study, we highlighted the common themes of the students' sense of loss, acts of resistance, rejection and resilience, and the influence of cultural capital. We also note throughout students' feelings of tokenism. Novel themes were the role that class and educational privilege played in this process.

Sense of Loss

Another way Du Bois' theory is evident in the interviews is the students' strong ties to their home schools and communities. By desegregating the schools, the students lost peer relationships, caring and nurturing teachers, and the opportunity to participate in high school activities. Rosalyn Walton-Lees remarked, "I missed out on my prom. I missed out on my friends. I missed out on social things that I would have done being at my old school," (July 19, 2016). At the White schools, they were constantly reminded of their identities as "token" Black students, as evidenced by the isolation and exclusion they experienced daily. None of the nine students participated in extracurricular activities at their new White schools because their arrival and dismissal times were different from the rest of the student body which made participating in activities after school difficult. As a result, they would often return to their Black schools for such activities,

> Our former classmates continued to invite us to participate in their activities, go to their football games, and after-school social activities. While we felt isolated at Brown, we knew our real friends and former teachers were still available to us. (Nix, December 6, 2015)

Both Madelyn and Mary, who transferred to two different White schools, had similar experiences with senior picnics. Since the park refused admission to Black students, both principals notified the students that if they insisted on attending their senior picnic, the entire senior class would have to forego the picnic because the park did not grant exceptions to the segregation statutes:

> The principal calls me to the office and tells me the people at Calloway Gardens said it had come to their attention that there were two Black students in the class and so they were notifying the principal that they do not allow negroes and that you can either take your money back and then your classmates could still go or you can insist upon going and nobody would go. It's up to you. (Francis, June 24, 2016)

Clearly, the Atlanta 9 were not invited to participate in activities outside of traditional high school classes. When asked why she did not participate in extracurricular activities, Rosalyn Walton-Lees indicated, "It wouldn't have been feasible because they would only have harassed you. That was something you did when you were in your previous school. It wouldn't have been something you enjoyed" (July 19, 2016). Another student noted,

> I was in the band, but I didn't even think about being in the band at Murphy. That means you would have had to get on the bus with them, that would have been a whole 'nother big to do that I didn't want. (Holmes-Jackson, July 19, 2016)

The Black students may have legally "desegregated" the schools, but there was still segregation within the "integrated" schools, which resulted in a loss of peer interaction. The losses the participants experienced during their junior and senior year marred what should have been the most memorable years of their K-12 years. But they still had no regrets.

Resistance, Rejection, Resilience

The students' ability to cope and bounce back from the resistance and rejection they experienced during this process was a result of the strength they gained behind the "veiled" walls of their Black communities. Take Mary Francis, for instance, when she learned that she was the only one of her friends to advance to the next step, the loneliness sank in, but the support of her family enabled her to continue. She recalled going to school, receiving the cold shoulder, being insulted by other students, and having to follow her mother's advice and not cry in front of others at school, "All day long it's sitting there, just sitting there. And then when she [mom] got off that bus from work, when I heard her feet, it was like the damn broke." Her mother's strength came in handy as

Mary walked the halls of Grady. She says she would never have survived the lonely stay at Grady without it. Mary admitted to being nervous, but her fears did not stand a chance given the cultural capital such as strength, courage, and intellect that she received from her family and community (Yosso, 2005).

The resistance happened at the hand of Whites mostly, but there were encounters with some Blacks who also made the participants feel rejected. Although Mary Francis felt protected by Blacks, she was initially not sure what to make of their response to her decision to transfer to Grady. Mary reflected,

> I just remember how it was quiet and nobody said anything. How was your first day? It was as though they didn't care to know. There may have been some who were disappointed in themselves that they didn't even try to go because they thought it was going to be horrible. (Francis, June 24, 2016)

She further rationalized that perhaps the people in her community felt guilty that she had accepted the challenge and they did not. Or maybe they were imagining the worst and could not bear to know what she was experiencing. By the end of the year, she knew Blacks wanted her to do well. The reactions of some Blacks in Mary's community symbolized the tensions and diverse perspectives within the Black community. Du Bois debated Booker T. Washington over the best means for Blacks to work on achieving civil rights and racial equality. Both individuals had the support of Blacks in the community with Washington supporting a more "conciliatory" approach and Du Bois espousing a more integrationist framework (Batty, 2015). Their ideas were evident during this desegregation period as Blacks sought access to quality schools. Du Bois, himself, seemed conflicted later in life over the merits of segregation once he left the NAACP, "To endure bad schools and wrong education because schools are 'mixed' is a costly if not fatal mistake" (Du Bois, 1935, p. 330). Yet, the Atlanta 9 forged ahead and fundamentally changed the APS district.

The students demonstrated resilience in the face of profound hostility and rejection. Martha Holmes-Jackson vividly recalled, "When you're changing classes, they would bump into you, deliberately push you. I had a note on my locker, it was go back to Africa jungle bunny," (July 19, 2016). Indeed, it is remarkable that the students could endure such intimidation. They would remain calm and composed in the face of horrible antagonism. There were a few public protests where Whites demonstrated opposition to integration, but for the most part the protests were nonviolent. The Atlanta 9 believed that they had to remain tranquil as the world was watching their behavior with intense scrutiny. Mary McMullen Francis said, "It's like a soldier goes on the field and he knows he can be shot, but you do what you have to do. And, that's how I felt"

(June 24, 2016).

The Influence of Cultural Capital: Class and Educational Advantage

Another way the double conscious theory manifests itself is through the cultural capital such as intellect, education, and life skills that the students brought with them to the desegregation experience (Yosso, 2005). Upwardly mobile Blacks are more susceptible to situations where their selves become divided (Fanon, 1967; Gaines, 1996). Hence, each of the students interviewed were from working and middle-class homes and in some instances while they were not necessarily rich, they had more resources and educational support than many other Blacks at that time.

Clearly, these students came from educationally supportive environments. Madelyn Nix's father was a dean at Morehouse College. Thomas's father owned three gas stations and his mother was a homemaker. Mary's mother spent time as a homemaker and her father had a job at a warehouse. All five continued their education at prestigious historically Black institutions in Atlanta. Three graduated from Spelman College, one attended Morehouse College and later graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and a fifth graduated from Morris Brown College. One Spelman graduate furthered her education by obtaining advanced degrees at Emory University and Fordham University. Undeniably, the five students possessed cultural capital including advantages of class and educational support that enabled them to successfully navigate rigorous educational and psychological demands.

Thomas Welch and Mary Nix had similar sentiments in their responses, "I knew that we were as smart, as talented as anyone," Mary declared (Francis, June 24, 2016). Thomas conceded, "My parents never had a middle-class income. What they did have were middle class values. Solid middle-class values. And what do I mean by that? Values for education. Values for honesty. Values for integrity," (Welch, October 25, 2016).

Implications and Discussion

In the same way that segregation is harmful, desegregation done poorly can be equally as harmful. Looking back at the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision some academics argue that if desegregation had taken place more thoughtfully, it would have benefitted more students and communities (Bell, 2004; Balkin, 2002; Hyres, 2017). Nearly six decades after the Atlanta 9 desegregated Atlanta Public Schools, many schools are still segregated, and many of the district's predominantly Black schools disproportionately lack in academic achievement as measured

by test scores. Many schools in the district, which is approximately 75% Black and 15% White, are essentially resegregated. In addition, the school district serves a largely poor population, as 75% of the APS student body receives free and reduced lunch (Georgia Department of Education, 2018). These statistics suggest that the dream of integration was never truly achieved. As U.S. society has become increasingly diverse in recent decades, and research has demonstrated that diversity benefits classroom environment and student development, puzzlingly opposition to policies that promote diversity remain (Hurtado, 2001; Reno, Friend, Caruthers & Smith, 2017). Thus, opportunities are lost to learn from students who are different from each other, both in terms of race and socio-economic background.

Considering the level of resegregation that has occurred in American public schools, the consequences of limiting equity and access have resurfaced in the face of *de facto* rather than *de jure* segregation (Kozol, 2005, 1991; Lee & Lubienski, 2017). Certainly, our research reveals that the desegregation of APS should have been done in a manner more considerate of the emotional needs of the students. Thus, the experiences of the Atlanta 9 are insightful and demonstrate the importance of attending to the social, mental, and emotional needs of the students rather than obsessing over symbolic court victories. The school experiences of the Atlanta 9 reveal the success and failure of American schools, neighborhoods, and the entire society. These past lessons can help inform educational policy and pedagogy today.

This research is significant for today's ongoing debate over education research and practice. Since the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) court case, the debate has raged over access, content, and funding (Kruse, 2007; NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund, 2005; Orfield & Frankenburg, 2013). During the 1960's many people, both Black and White, believed that the only way to ensure quality education was for Blacks to attend schools with Whites. Black parents who disagreed with this notion were in the minority during the 1960's, and many second-guessed their instincts (Siddle-Walker, 1996). These parents and other community stakeholders knew the value of African American students attending African American schools with African American teachers. They went along with NAACP litigators and thought that the benefits outweighed the risks because placing their students alongside White students meant the same access, the same content, and the same funding as White students. Access refers to the opportunity for students, regardless of their race to have the same resources, extracurricular programs, teacher training, instructional materials, and technology. Quality content refers to rigorous content-rich curriculum and a loyalty to 'child-centered' teaching (Rhames, 2015). Although Black children in desegregated schools may

have had higher academic outcomes, it is important not to ignore the psychological impact that schools and teachers have on the hearts and minds of Black students, "A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn" (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). The benefits of majority Black schools need to be considered as well as the common place deficit perceptions such as the achievement gap.

Conducting historical research on the student experiences during the desegregation of Atlanta Public Schools sheds light on the benefits and challenges that resulted from *Brown v. Board of Education*. The student voices provide a sense of the burdens placed on these young individuals as well as the successes they achieved. Clearly, the Atlanta 9 experienced a double consciousness as Black students in White schools. But, the Atlanta 9 were unique in many ways. They possessed educational, cultural, and social capital that perhaps helped them overcome a sense of loss. Interestingly, all five interviewees chose to attend historically Black colleges and universities after their desegregation experiences in Atlanta Public Schools. They returned to the comfort of a familiar Black community rather than continuing to be tokens on all White college campuses. However, the experience may have prepared some for graduate school in predominantly White institutions. These students may have been tokens in a White educational world, but they were also trailblazers who paved the way for all students who followed.

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Photographs

Atlanta-Journal Constitution photograph archives of Atlanta Public School desegregation housed at Georgia State University Library, Special Collections.

The Journal of Educational Foundations
Vol. 32. No. 1, 2, 3, & 4
2019, pp. 166-171

Book Review:

Together We Are Stronger: A Review of *Let's Chat: Cultivating Community University Dialogue* By Suzanne Soo-Hoo, Patricia Huerta, Patty Peralesa Huerta-Meza, Tim Bolin, & Kevin Stockbridge

Reviewed by Arin Carter

I currently serve as the director of a small, suburban public school with a curriculum that is focused on science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). The students that attend this school come from four area public school districts that all are contiguous with our largest municipality. The students in these districts come from a variety of diverse backgrounds in regards to race, class, gender, language, and ability. The diversity among these four public school districts make for a school rich in both culture and experience. While there are many elements to this school that are unique for a public school, the valuable partnerships with a local private university as well as many community nonprofit and corporate organizations elevate the educational experience for students. School leaders, teachers, and university faculty work hard to foster and grow partnerships among community members with the understanding that the expertise that these partners bring is an invaluable intellectual resource to which many students do not have access to otherwise.

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Through my work with our current partners, I have a clear picture of the challenges and successes that come from developing relationships across different communities: public and private, non-profit and corporate. Some of the vital elements of successful and sustainable partnerships that I have learned include: clear mutual goals established prior to engaging these partnerships, allowing for a period of learning that comes with the introduction of any new collaborative relationship into an educational community, and understanding that relationships grow and change and there should be continuous, clear, transparent communication to foster continued trust and respect.

In 2010, the Padres Unidos' and Chapman University also found that some of these elements were important while developing their partnership which focused on parent education and school readiness in Santa Ana, California. Suzanne SooHoo, Patricia Huerta, Patty Perales Huerta-Meza, Tim Bolin, and Kevin Stockbridge describe *Let's Chat: Cultivating Community University Dialogue* (2018) as a "coffee table textbook on partnerships" which highlights the components of partnership they learned while working with communities not on communities (p. 3). The Padres-Chapman partnership strived to create a long-term relationship between the university and neighbors to improve the overall community. Accessibility of the information in the book was a central aim as the authors hoped many of the immigrants in the community would read the text. SooHoo, et al. (2018) share that their "intention is to put forward ideas in straightforward and powerful ways so that students, academics and community members can understand how to map community university relationships, with the goal of improving the overall health of our communities" (p. 4). Thus, it is important that this book be conversational and not overly academic as the goal is for the text to become a resource for both faculty and community members.

To advance the aim of accessibility and community change, SooHoo, et al. chose to organize the book in such a way that it felt more like a coffee table book. Divided into three sections, the book is organized around the following three themes: "Coming to know," "Becoming," and "Belonging." "Coming to Know" highlights the partners coming together to form a cohesive, collaborative relationship; "Becoming" explores what was learned from the group and how they were able to institute change; and, "Belonging" which discusses how the partnership dealt with learning of one's purpose.

Each chapter of the book begins with a short story that connects the concept of the chapter with a real life situation experienced by the partners. Each of the concepts discussed are explicitly defined with examples that tie them to a relatable educational idea. While the format of the book leaned more toward coffee table reading, SooHoo, et al. used

academic language throughout which would be difficult for even native English-reading/speaking readers to understand without the aid of a dictionary or web search. Using such obscure language to describe uncomplicated situations in a book developed in part for immigrants disrupts the flow of ideas that would otherwise be read seamlessly. The authors could have used more common language to share the concepts that are central to the text. The use of specialized language seems to fight against the desire to have the non-academic use the text as a resource.

One feature of the book that benefits both the academic audience and the community readers are the "Let's Chat" sections after each short story and at the end of each chapter which offer discussion questions and activities that can be done individually or in a group. These sections offer the readers an opportunity to reflect on the story and promote further discussion of the information shared in the chapter. I found myself wishing that I was reading the book in a group instead of by myself so that I could further benefit from these "Let's Chat" discussion. I feel in a group, these activities would lead to a better understanding of the different perspectives of each group member. For the academic audience, the authors created a scope and sequence of the activities at the end of the book. The chapters were also kept at a reasonable length that allowed for short session discussions and activities.

Let's Chat takes the reader along with the authors on their journey to develop a partnership to better a community. In the first section, "Coming to Know," the concepts of "partnership," "togethering," and "knowledge" are discussed. The authors define partnership as a community working together for a common goal (p. 21). However, it is important to note that each member of a partnership needs to be valued equally when attempting this type of collaboration. In the case of the Padres-Chapman partnership, the university members need to see community members as people to learn from just as much as community members can learn from university members. Togethering, as defined by the authors, "explores the geography of the liminal space together" (p. 27). Whether through sharing a hug, a personal story, or food with a group, togethering helps members of a community understand each other better and is a vital part of a new partnership. The final concept explored in this section is knowledge and the importance of shared authority in knowledge generation. In the past, the university members controlled the flow of knowledge without acknowledging the value in the expertise of community members. The Padres-Chapman partnership members discuss their conscious effort made to cultivate shared knowledge throughout their partnership.

The next section, "Becoming," which focuses on understanding how the world will continually change as people work together, looks at the

concepts of "Walking with Them," "Communal Structures," "Dialogue and Cultural Circles," "Teaching and Learning," and "Resiliency and Resourcefulness." In the introductory chapter to this section, SooHoo, et al. (2018) quote Patricia Huerta, the head organizer of the Padres Unidos,' "it takes true humility for a leader to recognize the strength of her fellow members so that she can stand back for others to lead while repositioning one's self in an organization" (p. 47). This statement alone represents the main point of the chapter and a consistent theme throughout the book—collaborating as equals. Huerta recognized that leaders cannot be the only voice heard, but that every members has equal value in a partnership walking together toward a common goal. This sentiment is carried on through the next chapter that focuses on communal structures. SooHoo, et al. (2018) share that "the collective is as important as the individual" (p. 55). The members of this partnership were able to grow as individuals. Individual growth was the fuel that progressed their growth as an organization. The Padres-Chapman partnership was sustainable due to their flexibility and their capacity to cultivate experiences that made their members and partnership overall stronger.

Sustainability of the partnership was a theme developed in the chapter talking about dialogue and culture circles. The authors make an important distinction when talking about dialogue. Darder states "dialogue represents a powerful and transformative political process of interaction between people. It requires the interactive and ongoing participation with and among people" (as cited in SooHoo, et al. 2018, p. 60). Again, this quality emphasizes the need for all members of the partnership to be hear and of equal standing. Cultural circles were utilized in the development of this partnership. These circles allow all perspectives to be taken into consideration and new meanings to be developed together.

The importance of dialogue was also a consideration when talking about teaching and learning. It was important to make a curriculum that was organic and ever changing where the students are continually involved in making something new together. The Padres-Chapman partnership shared a pedagogical ethic where students are active in their educational experience, and while at the same time knowing that those presenting the curriculum bring their own perspectives, which influences learning.

The last chapter of this section explores resilience and resourcefulness. SooHoo, et al. (2018) maintain that ethical partnerships require adaptation, accommodation, empathism, and continued self-reflection to sustain the relationships between the university and community (p.74). This work requires the ability to continue even when faced with difficult challenges and the need to use creative ways to fill the needs of

the partnership. Neither of these are easy tasks and are elements I have struggled with in sustaining partnerships. In addition, the Padres-Chapman partnership evolved over time and was able to continue because there were mutual benefits. Partnerships require that all members find benefits in order to feel meaningful connections.

In the final section, "Belonging," the authors discuss how we encounter the world and finding one's place in the world. In this section, the concepts of "spirituality," "ethics and democracy," and "transformation and hope" are discussed. The first chapter opens with an intriguing story of a monk walking with two water jugs from the well to the temple. One of the jugs is dripping and leaves behind a trail of flowers, but is only half-full by the time he reaches his destination. The other jug remains full but leaves nothing in its path. When questioned why the monk continues to fill the leaking jug, he points out the life that has been nourished by his daily watering. This is a wonderful introduction to perspective. SooHoo, et al. (2018) contend, "when we see something we don't understand, our curiosity and our openness to accept multiple perspectives allow us to see how different aspects of our world are related, networked, and integrated" (p. 88). While each member of the Padres-Chapman partnership began their journey looking at things from their own perspective, it was important for partners to see things from multiple perspectives to truly grow the relationship. This aspect allows for spirituality, or the ability for partners to connect with something bigger than themselves (p. 89).

The second chapter in this section looks at ethics and democracy. The Padres-Chapman partnership considered ethics an important consideration in their work. To do this, they made a conscious effort to hold discussions to determine what members considered to be ethical behavior drawing on spiritual beliefs, democracy, and basic rights. They describe these ethics of partnership "relational ethics." These relational ethics focus on how the partnership can "struggle together to address social and economic inequality" (p. 98). I feel this important step is what many partnerships miss. Defining an ethical standard enabled the Padres-Chapman partnership to move forward while at the same time grounded in a common foundation that was developed together.

The next chapter focuses on transformation that was fueled by hope. These two unlikely groups, Padres Unidos' and Chapman University, came together with only the hope for change as a common goal. As the partnership evolved, SooHoo, et al. (2018) shared that "transformation is a social experience that mutually effects the individual and society in relation to each other" (p. 106). This partnership was sustained through the constant hope that the members felt they could transform their community.

The final chapters of this book start with the same short story told

from three different perspectives to introduce the final three concepts of "scholarly activist," "organic intellectual," and "praxis of togetherness." Again, the idea that every member of a partnership must be considered to have valuable insight is shared in these chapters. The authors talk about the scholarly activist who must learn with a community, not for the community. S/he must be willing to show humility and advocate for others. The organic intellectual is actively involved but actively working for the benefit of others. These are often the community members that have a chance to better the circumstance of others in the community. The scholarly activist and the organic intellectual can work toward a praxis of togetherness which means together offers more opportunities than apart. This distinction solidifies the idea that relationships, working together, and common goals take precedence when working on a partnership. SooHoo, et al. (2018) said it best when they claimed, "relationship is the process *and* the goal of the partnership in every aspect" (p. 132).

The achievements of the Padres Unidos'-Chapman University Partnership are remarkable. Not only were they able to work together to better their community, but they were also able to build relationships that strengthened their partnership. In addition to those accomplishments, this partnership developed a book that can help guide partnerships to better other communities. Their work will continue to help other communities that have the need for such partnerships by providing them a resource to foster partnerships that are mutually beneficial, sustainable, and working for the common good. As an educator who works within a complex system of partnerships, I not only found affirmation of how I have developed successful partnerships, but also some key suggestions for changes that I can make to continue to sustain these partnerships within the pages of this resource. There is great value for all educators, no matter the age of their students, within *Let's Chat*.

Reviewed Book

Soohoo, S., Huerta, P, Huerta-Meza, P. P., Bolin, T., & Stockbridge, K. (2018). *Let's chat: Cultivating community university dialogue.* Gorham, MA: Myers Educational Press. ISBN 978-1-9755-0040-5.

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Book Review:

A Review of *The History of Institutional Racism in U.S. Public Schools* By Susan Dufresne

The Journal of Educational Foundations
Vol. 32. No. 1, 2, 3, & 4
2019, pp. 172-174

Reviewed by Kelly L. McFaden

In her own words, Susan Dufresne affirms that, "this book is intended to expose the institutional racism that is inherent in U.S. public school, and more broadly, within American society." This lofty, and very much needed, goal would be challenging for any work to address fully and she has made an admirable showing. While Dufresne's project, which has resulted in this book, takes significant steps in this direction, there are some lingering limitations to the work which may leave some readers less than satisfied.

As a "unionist, activist, educator, and artist," Dufresne seeks to unmask institutional racism from a multitude of perspectives. Following several pivotal experiences, including the Backbone Campaign's #LocalizeThis! Action Camp, the election of Donald Trump, the Opt Out Bus activist tour, and the murders of Alton Sterling and Philando Castile, she embarked on a project to create a large piece of artwork to accompany restorative justice circles all over the United States. After conducting research on indigenous and marginalized narratives of the history of the US and American public education, Dufresne created three comic book-style panels, totaling 45 linear feet, painted with the narratives of those who have been silenced. These panels have now been translated into this book, first presented uninterrupted and then accompanied by text giving insight into the creative process, the research basis, and possible actions the reader may take given this new information.

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Broadly speaking, I find there to be great value in the concept of this book. As someone who has little to no artistic talent, I find her artwork to be an engaging gateway into such a heady topic. Translating the scope of history and oppression into panel images that are meaningful, effective, and detailed is a significant feat. Something does feel a bit lost, however, in not being able to see the works in their entirety. The images themselves are arresting and prompt the desire for more information about the subject. I believe Dufresne when she recounts her efforts at research, looking for first person narratives, primary source documents, and other accountings of non-European experiences in American history. Six weeks certainly seems like a substantial amount of time to devote to researching a topic but given the breadth and depth of what she purports to address, it also seems limited.

Where I struggle further with this work is in the lack of citation, reference, or other accounting for how that research translated into the work and, later, the book. At no point in the text does Dufresne provide a broad list of documents, photos, films, or archives to which the reader can refer. While the bulk of the information is fairly easily verifiable, it is a bit disappointing that no sources were provided. Given her stated goal of having this work conscientize and challenge people's socialization to the dominant White narrative, providing the breadcrumbs back to the original source material would strengthen the overall utility of the work. Even in the introduction, Dufresne references well known academic constructs, like White fragility, with no attribution to the body of work that has defined that construct. While she certainly makes no attempt to claim them as her own, neither does she provide the appropriate attribution as is *de rigueur* in both academic and education circles.

In the introduction to the work, Dufresne identifies herself as a White ally to marginalized communities who wants to draw broader attention to the history of institutionalized racism and how it has infected American schooling. We generally think of schools as neutral places or, in some cases, the opportunity for equalization through education. Dufresne goes to great lengths to detail just how misguided this sanitized view of public schools is and how modern American educators continue the cycle of oppression and marginalization when they participate in the system uncritically. Navigating the often-fraught space of ally-ship is not without complication and I applaud her intentions while also questioning her execution. Dufresne reiterates multiple times that her goal during the painting process was to affirm the dignity and humanity of those she represented, not blindly reinforce existing stereotypes. She wanted "readers to be inspired by the faces" she painted and to honor all ethnicities to the best of her ability. By her own admission, however, what she did not do was actually speak to the individuals whose culture

and history she was attempting to portray. While the time constraints of the original project may have inhibited her ability to seek input, it would seem that the time after the painting and before the publication of the book would have been ideal to seek counsel. A common issue in negotiating the White ally identity is ensuring that you are amplifying and elevating the words, experiences, and needs of marginalized communities, not speaking on behalf them.

In the second half of the book, Dufresne breaks down each panel of the paintings giving insight into her thoughts and feelings, a rough sketch of her notes that inspired the work, questions for the reader to ask themselves as they view the panel, and possible actions moving forward. She affirms that "the emphasis is on restorative justice and reconciliation." It is this latter piece, in particular, where I feel representing the wants and needs of marginalized communities would have been much more effective. These possible actions she details are largely based around ideas for further discussion, not actual action items. Perhaps this space could have been allocated to activists in the movements for restorative justice to provide concrete suggestions for the reader to consider. While I believe she had the best of intentions, the lack of meaningful inclusion of marginalized communities (as opposed to representation of) causes this work to fall short of its potential.

Ultimately, the value of this book depends largely on what you want out of it. As an academic text, its lack of meaningful citation scheme diminishes its usefulness as an educational tool. It could certainly still have a place in a classroom but it would have to be supported by a cache of additional scholarship. As a catalyst for change in the wider community, it may have more value as it is engaging and takes complex, far-reaching history and presents it in a visual manner more easily consumed than some more academic texts. It presents itself as a starting point, a way to initiate conversation on a long suppressed, ugly reality of the role that American public schools have played in maintaining status quo and perpetuating White supremacy. At the end of the day, this work has tremendous potential despite its limitations and will hopefully contribute to changing the narrative around social justice educational practices.

Reviewed Book

Defresne, S. (2018). *The history of institutional racism in U.S. public schools*. New York, NY: Garn Press.

Book Review:

A Review of *A Case for Kindness: A New Look at the Teaching Ethic* By Steve Broidy

The Journal of Educational Foundations
Vol. 32. No. 1, 2, 3, & 4
2019, pp. 175-177

Reviewed by Margaret T. Robillard

This text is one in a series, the *Academy Book Series in Education*, which includes themes related to classroom practice and educational policy (Jones & Sheffield, 2019). In this volume, *A Case for Kindness: A New Look at the Teaching Ethic*, Steve Broidy positions the topic of kindness in education as fundamental for student-teacher relationships and for students' learning. The author examines how educators might develop and integrate kindness in teaching with the goal of achieving a democratic ideal in education. Each section of the book delves into the ideas of the author, gleaned across a professional career that has included 25 years of K–12 and postsecondary teaching. *A Case for Kindness* comprises five chapters well-ordered to build an argument for kindness in education and to suggest concrete ways to enact a kindness-oriented teaching ethic. Although the chapters are brief, they contain sufficient academic depth to support educators or university readers in their search for further research in kindness as a teaching ethic.

Over the course of this book, Broidy defines kindness and argues for a "kindness-oriented teaching ethic," which he describes as having student-teacher relationships at the center of learning. He explores how teachers can develop the skills of kindness, in disposition and in performative actions (p. 38). He contends that this type of teaching ethic may be developed by educators for the benefit of both teachers and K–12 students and is necessary for the benefit of the community at large.

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In the first chapters, the author briefly situates the idea of "kindness" within our American educational system, from the influences of early Western philosophy, to the Colonial days' "primer" designed to produce moral citizens, through the textbooks of the 20th century. While kindness has been historically promoted in American schools, Broidy notes that the concept has been ill-defined within readings provided to the students, so students are left to their own interpretations as to how kindness might be enacted. To clarify the concept of kindness, the author contrasts a series of near synonyms, such as *benevolence*, *niceness*, and *compassion*, to reveal nuances of meaning within the term and to justify kindness as a worthy philosophical goal of education. The discussion of words commonly conflated with kindness provides greater understanding of a complex concept and is recommended reading for educators or preservice teachers seeking to edify their educational philosophy related to kindness toward students.

Teachers, Broidy continues, must strive to implement kindness with skill, insight, and understanding in order to avoid misinterpretation of intentions. Often acts of kindness in a school setting are steeped in questions about intentionality: persons who enact kindness may be viewed cynically, as if they were acting in order to gain positive recognition, or through a gendered lens, since kindness is frequently perceived as being the province of women. One of the difficulties with the implementation of kindness is that kindness must be perceived as kindness and as a free-will decision of the teacher rather than a duty born from a sense of what is expected. In order for this to happen, the author argues that kindness as a teaching act must be centered in a sense of worthiness of and for the recipient and must include respect. The recipients of kindness, in this case, students, can distinguish kindness from related concepts, "We do recognize individuals as kind persons, and this at least implies that such a person can, to a large degree, be relied on, or have a tendency to behave kindly" (p. 27). Students feel respected and trust kind teachers, while benevolent teachers, for example, may be perceived as paternalistic. Throughout this nuanced argument, the Broidy makes a convincing case for teacher kindness as a value and a behavior worth striving for, and its importance in student learning outcomes. The beauty of this argument lies in its apparent simplicity; committed teachers will recognize both its innate truth and the complexity of consistently achieving it in the classroom.

Broidy addresses unavoidable comparisons with Nel Noddings' construct of care (2003) through a critique of its feasibility in the classroom. Although Nodding's construct of care can serve individual students well in specific situations, Broidy reasons, he suggests that if we are sensitive without the temperance of intellect, we may be led astray. Kindness, argues the author, juxtaposes intellect and feeling,

permitting much-needed professional distance that supports teachers in serving with kindness in a sustainable way.

The book moves beyond theory into practice and pragmatists will appreciate the final two chapters, where Broidy outlines several approaches for integrating kindness into the classroom. He describes in detail the dispositions of what he calls the ideal teacher, furnishing the reader with suggestions of desirable characteristics teachers may wish to develop. The thought-providing ideas presented here would be interesting to examine in the context of an education classroom or a professional learning community.

Perhaps the book's greatest value lies in its argument for morality and ethics in education during a time of top-down educational decrees and an educational reform agenda that all too often blames teachers for systemic problems. Broidy advocates an ethic of kindness in education as a long-term goal at the community and legislative levels while advocating for teachers to provide kindness to students in a professional and sustainable way.

The ideas presented in this book are worth the consideration of preservice teachers, teachers, teacher educators, and decision makers, though they will be of particular interest to educational researchers interested in the impact of relationships and affective processes on student learning outcomes. The arguments in the overarching theoretical framework are clearly laid out although some sections may be dense for a novice. For that reason, although it is intended for a broad audience, it is particularly well suited for educators and scholars interested in and familiar with educational and sociological theories.

In the end, this book successfully meets the promise of its title in fewer than 100 pages. Broidy's ideas inspire discussion and provide ideas for concrete steps for teachers who wish to implement change through kindness. Broidy has made a substantial contribution to developing our understanding of the importance of kindness as a field of study and kindness as a teaching ethic. Readers can begin immediately to make ethics-based change based on the ideas within this thought-provoking text related to teacher kindness.

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