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In This Issue....

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Framing Race Talk in World History Classrooms

A Case Study of the Haitian Revolution

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Introduction

Renowned Haitian Scholar, Michel-Rolph Trouillot, in his classic book, *Silencing the Past* (1995), surmised that the Haitian Revolution was an unthinkable history. His thesis centered on two firsthand accounts of French colonists, a few months before the major slave insurrection that began the revolution, who believed that enslaved Africans and their descendants on the island were tranquil and obedient, even going as far as to say, "a revolt among them is impossible" (Trouillot, 1995, p. 72). Trouillot surmised that this belief system "was based not so much on empirical evidence as on an ontology, an implicit organization of the world and its inhabitants" (1995, p. 73). The implicit organization and his reference to ontology denotes how race and racism classified humanity in Haiti and around the world. As the new world developed through colonialism and imperialism, ideas around race and humanity developed almost simultaneously.

These racial ideas, aided by philosophers, some being French, began to classify humanity, which categorized those who were White, European,

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and male as "Human" while those native to Africa or the Americas were the lowest form of humanity or as Charles Mills (1997) noted, subhumans. It was inconceivable to some French colonists in Saint Domingue (for the sake of simplicity, Haiti will be used hereafter) to envision subhumans fighting and winning freedom, "let alone formulate strategies for gaining and securing such freedom" (Trouillot, 1995, p.73). It was racial ideology and identity that played a salient role in how the Haitian Revolution evolved and how all of its citizens responded.

Defining Race and Racism

Race, as a historical and social construct, is a concept that has categorized groups of people based on their physical characteristics, like skin color, to set in place systems of power (Fredrickson, 2002; Kendi, 2016; Omi & Winant, 2014). Race is fluid and considers time and space where its ideas and definitions are in constant transformation (Haney-Lopez, 2000; Kendi, 2016; Omi & Winant, 2014). The construct of race speaks to the ways in which people are defined by their perceived skin color as well as the systems of thought, control, and oppressions/privileges that are associated with that skin color. Our notion of race is one that is highly flexible and malleable to the needs and desires of a white oriented world. In fact, the flexibility and malleability are enduring characteristics of race in modern times.

Racism refers to policies, procedures and individual actions that presuppose hierarchies between racial categories, or that treat a specific racial group as inferior. Racism, therefore, is not a simple act of individual prejudice; it is a systematic belief in maintaining White supremacy through various social contexts. Tatum's (1997) definition of racism as "prejudice plus power" (p. 7) serves us well to understand how White people control the access to "social, cultural, and economic resources and decision-making, which leads to the institutionalization of racist policies and practices" (Tatum, 1997, pp. 7-8). Race, therefore, is a socially constructed, hegemonic way of arranging a society to the benefit of some and the detriment of others (Brown & Brown, 2012; Kendi, 2016; Leonardo, 2009; Mills, 1997; Taylor, 2019).

Though race and racism have various definitions, our explanation might be more relatively straightforward for classroom use. Yet, race and racism are among the most divisive and emotionally charged issues of modern times (Dubois, 2003; Omi & Winant 2014). They are difficult concepts to talk and teach about. It may be uniquely difficult to discuss race and racism in high school settings, as adolescents begin to make decisions about the meaning of their social and cultural identities.

Despite potential difficulties, social studies classrooms are and have

been described as ideal spaces to facilitate conversations about race and racism, due to their focus on history, community, and culture (Blum, 2012; Epstein, 2010; Howard, 2004; King & Chandler, 2014). Social studies classes cross multiple disciplinary and thematic borders. The best way to introduce discussions about race and racism will vary depending on the content area. Research has been slow about strategies for facilitating these conversations in world history, even though world history classrooms explore related concepts including community boundaries, practices and migrations that shape contemporary global society (Busey, 2018; Cruz & Duplass, 2009).

In this article, we focus on ways to structure conversations about racism in world history classrooms through a case study of race and racism in Haiti at the turn of the 19th century. Drawing on the events of the Haitian Revolution, we describe how identifying patterns of racial hierarchy can provide a framework for talking about race from a world-scale perspective. While pedagogical strategies for teaching about the Haitian Revolution have been discussed before (Peck-Bartle, 2020; Peguero, 1998), we emphasize how world history teachers might present the relevance of Haitian struggles for human dignity and self-determination as a way to further develop students' understandings of race. Our objective is to support world history teachers in leading conversations about race as a historical and global construct.

World History Curriculum, Race, and the Haitian Revolution

The exact nature and scope of world history classes varies from context to context. Bain and Shreiner argued, "states and local school districts use the world history label to describe curricular practices with dramatically different structures, historical content, and approaches" (2005, p. 242). Despite this variance, world history education is broadly defined as the world-scale examination of the patterns and phenomenon that connect human communities (Manning, 2003; Dunn, 2009; Marino, 2011). The purpose is to help students "understand that all societies are in a continual state of fluidity and that narratives of particular societies are invariably embedded in contexts of time and space larger than themselves" (Dunn, 2009, p. 65). While networks of international exchange have occurred since as early as 1000 C.E., the current scale and pace of globalization has strongly influenced the emergence of world history as a curricular imperative. Throughout the early 2000s, world history was one of the fastest growing courses in secondary social studies, with almost every state adding related content to its curriculum, often replacing longstanding courses on Western Civilization (Don, 2003; Bain, 2012; Bain & Harris, 2009).

There are few resources available to world history teachers who want to discuss race and racism as well as the African Diasporia in their classrooms (Busey, 2018; Caldwell & Chavez, 2020; Cruz & Duplass, 2009; Dozono, 2016). Evidence has suggested that teaching about race and racism in K-12 classrooms needs to be aided through extensive study of the topic in both teacher education and inservice professional development (Busey, 2018; King, 2018). For example, Busey (2018) developed a special curriculum/reading professional development program for Adrianna, a World history teacher seeking to improve her African-Latina and overall black history knowledge. The curriuclum, Afro-Latin Critical Studyin'program, centered materials that focued on African Diasporia knowledge, which are resources positioned to emphasize African worldviews and epstimologies from around the globe (Boutee, 2015; King, 1992). The program consisted of an extensive reading program including Gates' (2011) *Black in Latin America* and Jimenez-Roman and Flores' (2010) *The Afro-Latin@ Reader* as well as cultural curriuclum onsite visit to the Afro-Latin@ Festival in New York City. Results of the Afro-Latin Critical Studyin' program included Adrianna gaining a sociocultural/historical and racial knowledge that included critiquing Eurocentric state standards and curriculum resources, learning more about important people and events that shape Afro-Latina people, and expanding her understanding of Blackness around the diaspora. The program helped Arianna design more culturally relevant lessons and facilitate student learning and discussion about race and racism on a much more nuanced level. (Busey, personal communication, 2020).

A review of the literature and our experiences as social studies teacher educators, however, suggest that in many instances, dialogue on race in world history classrooms is eclipsed by dialogue on ethnicity or nationality. When race is mentioned, the curriculum rarely accounts for the complex, hierarchical and ongoing implications of race and racism for global society. While our review of the literature did not identify any systematic studies of the status of race or racism in world history classrooms, references to the treatment of race in these spaces paints a troubling picture: a student recalling his world history teacher's contention that "racism hardly ever happens today" (Howard, 2004, p. 493); disassociations of racism and violence in textbook discussions of the Transatlantic Slave Trade (Brown & Brown, 2010); and world history textbooks overstating the role and implications of the 1954 Brown v. Board ruling (Hess, 2005) are some examples. In a content analysis of five leading world history textbooks, Marino found that "European history dominates the content of these volumes" (2011, p. 436) and "follow a chronological approach that clearly gives primacy to a European vision of the world" (2011, p. 441). These narratives exclude the histories and

lived experiences of the ethnic and cultural groups most vulnerable to contemporary expressions of racism (Marino and Bolgatz, 2012).

More specific to Haiti, some states exclude the Haitian Revolution in its World History social studies standards. For example, New York, Florida, and Texas social studies curriculum mention little about the Haiti revolution, instead leaving room for discourse around the American, French, and Russian revolutions. State social studies frameworks in Alabama, South Carolina, and North Carolina mention the Haitian Revolution but only as connected to European ideas of the Enlightment or as regional phenomenon excluding its global impact. The official social studies curriculum is represented via the state standards and are used as a barometer as to its importance. If historical events or persons are excluded within state standards, many classroom history teachers do not teach about the event.

Another indicator of what is taught in history classrooms is the textbook. Sepinwall (2013) noted that the Haitian Revolution has seen an increased in World History textbooks over the years but also explained that the narratives associated with the war are typically outdated and superficial. She notes that World history textbooks limit the Haitian revolution in three ways.

First, much attention about the revolution centers on Toussaint Louverture with little attention paid to other historical actors or events. The sole representation of Toussaint Louverture is indicative what scholars in social studies, history education, and multicultural education have deemed heroifying and messianic/messiah master narratives (Alridge, 2006; Loewen, 2008; Sepinwall, 2013; Woodson, 2014). The notion of *messianic narratives* is applicable to Louverture, in which he, Louverture, is presented as a savior for the Haitian Black population and as one who is an "exceptional individual [and] the progenitor of a movement" as well as "superhuman… without personal weakness, struggles, or shortcomings" (Alridge, 2006, p. 665). While heroification and messianic narratives make for exciting and simple stories for young children to engage with in classrooms, these narratives limit nuanced understandings of the complexities of history and in this case the Haitian Revolution.

Second, many textbook narratives over emphasize that the French revolution, which began a few years earlier and overlapped with Haiti's revolution, as well as Enlightment thinkers, inspired and provided the idealistic language necessary for rebellion. While there may be some truth to these sentiments, especially with free Blacks on the colony, it implies that Black Haitians held limited agency in what Sepinwall (2013) has called a 'Me Free Too' ideology, which:

> implies that slaves in Saint-Domingue would not imagine revolting until they overheard talk from White Frenchmen about liberty, equality, and

> fraternity'. It also reflects certain assumptions of Eurocentric thinking more generally; it portrays non-Westerns as passive objects who act in history only when awakened by Wester ideas. (p. 91)

While 1791 is the dedicated year for the beginnings of the revolt, enslaved African's agency pre-1791 involved more subtle acts of resistant to their conditions. These acts include but are not limited to marronage, poisoning masters, and practicing Voodoo. While it is germane in social studies and history classrooms that a juxtaposition between the Haitian Revolution and the French as well as the American revolutions occur, the point here is not simply to assume that Europeans solely influenced the actions of the Haitians. As Carolyn Fick (1990) suggested, the French Revolution might have just provided the distraction and opportune moment for the Saint-Domingue slaves to revolt.

Third, except for a few mentions about U.S. occupation of the island, Haiti is largely ignored in textbooks after their independence. This exclusion of Haiti's historical legacy is important because it limits how students understand Haiti's contemporary and material circumstances as one the poorest countries in the world. A more complex rendering of the Haitian revolution provides the foundation for this inquiry.

Not only do social studies standards and World history textbooks do a marginal job in exploring the concepts of race and racism, including how race is understood in Haiti, supplementary materials like the Haitian Revolution Curriculum developed by the Choice program do also. The Choice program is part of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University. It is one of the few organizations that develop world history curriculum complete with primary sources documents. The five-day curriculum unit includes a student reading and activity book, teacher lesson plan, handout books, and access to the Choice website that include interactive timelines and videos interviews with historians. Tadashi Dozono's (2016) study, "Historical Experience and the Haitian Revolution in the History Classroom" examined the Choice's Haitian Revolution curriculum and noted some of the problematic epistemological and hermeneutical renderings in how Haiti Revolution curriculum is developed and implemented.

From Dozono's standpoint, the curriculum was presented as 'merely an iteration of the French Revolution' (p. 38). He described several instances where the Choices curriculum reinscribed European epistemology and naturalizing European ideas as salient curriculum aims of the project. From the curriculum's archival records, primary sources documents, and background readings were overwhelming represented with White Europeans and Enlightment thinkers. He argues that these curriculum materials naturalize 'European ideas as the only ones for understanding this event [Haitian Revolution], and largely ignores

African epistemologies.' One instructional activity asked students to imagine themselves as ex-slaves but the background readings only included the histories of Tainos and the European colonizers. Little history of slave trade or the various African cultural histories. Dozono acknowledged that the curriculum provided mere mentions of Voudou and other cultural influences brought by Africans but argued that brief exposure limits students' decisions making skills for the activity.

Both Dozono (2016) and Sepinwall (2013) scholarship on the Haitian Revolution is connected to a larger concern over the limited way Black history is represented (King, 2012). While both scholars appreciate the attempts of curriculum designers that explore the Haitian Revolution, they understand the importance of the qualitative renderings of the narratives. Therefore, without distinct African epistemologies and perspectives in the curriculum, there is still a void in understanding the nuances of the Haitian Revolution, especially from the perspectives of the various Black ethnic and classed groups on the island. Additionally, typically when Black history is approached through European epistemic frameworks, aspects of race and racism are marginalized (King, 2018). Therefore, our approach to race and racism through the Haitian revolution is not simply attempting to provide teachers with knowledge but help them understand the implications to how Haiti is representative of how history is racialized.

Thinking about Racism from a World-Scale Perspective

Despite these limitations, world history classrooms remain a unique and important site to help students develop insight into how race and racism have shaped and continue to shape contemporary global society. Manning (2003) suggested that there are stories about race and racism which can only be told from a world-scale perspective. He argued,

> the rise of racial discrimination and racial segregation that began in the 1890s all around the Atlantic in apparently independent situations suggests that some underlying common cause affected all these situations. A regional or national narrative does not explain the global timing of events. (Manning, 2003, p. 6)

Thinking about global patterns and connections help to develop insight into how race and racism inform global identities, movement, governance, labor and systems of exchange. Dunn (2009) added that "persuasive answers" to many compelling questions about history, including questions about slavery and intergroup relations, require attention to "world-scale factors, variables and influences" (p. 65).

Though the exact nature and function of race and racism varies according to context, its global persistence as a way to establish hierarchies

between social groups makes it one of the most important global issues of our time (Ladson-Billings, 2003). *Patterns of racial hierarchy* are the social systems that position different racial groups "in terms of power and perceived social value" (Nelson & Hiemstra, 2008, p. 338). Drawing from Omi and Winant, these systems have occurred throughout history and around the globe, and many social hierarchies map onto or parallel the English language concept of racism. Patterns of racial hierarchy are a useful point of reference for facilitating conversations about race and racism from a world-scale perspective.

As with tracing any concept in world history, patterns of racial hierarchy demand balancing the tension between concrete and abstract, identity and difference. Asserting that there are traceable patterns of racial hierarchy means it is something definable and identifiable, which risks solidifying into a concrete identity. At the same time, one must allow abstraction from that definition, to engage each case's particular difference and historical context as a challenge to any concrete notion of racial hierarchy over time. Our conceptual framework bridges Omi and Winant's work alongside Charles Mills, to both acknowledge racial hierarchies as historical actuality, while emphasizing their impermanence and malleability.

Understanding racial hierarchies as dynamic opens up possibilities to disrupt our present system of racial hierarchy. By juxtaposing racial formations of the past, students then question the stability and inevitability of our current system. The aim in tracing patterns of racial hierarchy is not to define race as something stable and concrete across history. As Omi and Winant pointed out, race and racial meaning is never stable nor consistent (2014, p.2). Rather, what is traced is how this category functions. Omi and Winant framed racial formations as "a template for the processes of marginalization that continue to shape social structures as well as collective and individual psyches" (2014, p. 107). Because race has been a central organizing force shaping contemporary society, tracing how racial hierarchies' function in various case studies in world history enables students to question the stability and universality of the racial regime with which they are most familiar.

Historically, Haiti is an appropriate case study for the patterns of racial hierarchy framework because the revolution changed the racial world, which worked based on a dominant ideology that sought Whiteness as the apex of humanity and Blackness as subhuman. As Georges Fouron noted, the Haitian Revolution "stood as a symbol of black civilization, dignity, regeneration and power," (2006, p. 74) ideas that did not resonate much within 18th and 19th century racist ideology. Knight echoed similar sentiments when he surmised that once the 'lowest order of the society, slaves, became equal, free, and independent citizens' they

identified themselves as 'Haitian and defined all Haitian Black,' which gave a psychological blow to the emerging intellectual traditions of an increasingly racist Europe and North America' (2000, p 105). Laurent Dubois (2004) also noted that the Haitian revolution 'forever transformed the world,' as central part of ending slavery in the Western World and was foundational for democracy and human rights. Despite, what was accomplished by the Black state, the Haitian revolution is not given its just due as other revolutions in the U.S. and France revolution.

Racial politics in Haiti before, during, and after the Haitian Revolution provide a powerful space through which to examine the global nature of race, racial identity, and racism. Our purpose here is not to provide a revision of Haitian history or even provide every detail related to the war; there are several foundational books and articles that serve that purpose. Our intent is to help world history teachers situate the revolution within a racial transformational paradigm. Applying this framework allows students to engage discussions of race not as a decontextualized universal, but by engaging the particularity of the past, which then allows students to see our contemporary racial hierarchy in light of the past.

To do this, we suggest teachers adopt and adapt the following guiding questions, as applied to the case study of race and racism in Haiti before, during, and after the Haitian Revolution:

How was the racial hierarchy established and maintained?

What language or terms are used to describe racial groups?

Who belonged to what racial group? How were these determinations made?

How are these groups defined? Are these groupings codified through law, religion, and/or culture?

How were patterns of racial hierarchy resisted?

What is the contemporary legacy or form of these patterns?

What are the institutional influences (or repercussions) of Race and racism?

We find these questions pertinent given that they provide a foundational platform for world history teachers to begin thinking about various ways to talk about Haiti and its revolution with their students, specifically with patterns of racial hierarchy.

General Overview of the Haitian Revolution

The Haitian Revolution was a collection of slave revolts and military strikes, which lasted for 13 years, from 1791- 1804. Originally the colony of Saint Domingue (from 1659 to 1804), the colony was France's wealthiest, and was one of the richest in the world (Fick, 1990; Dubois,

2004). The plantation economy made the island profitable with major crop productions of coffee, cotton, indigo, and sugar. This production relied heavily on the labor of the enslaved population of African ancestry. It is estimated that more than thirty thousand Africans were stolen from West and Central Africa each year to work on the Haitian plantations. By 1791, the Black population largely outnumbered the White population by tens of thousands. Despite being outnumbered, the French were able to establish control over the enslaved population as well as free Black people through Black codes, or *Code Noir*, resulting in some of the most brutal slave societies in the world (Fick, 1990; Dubois, 2004; Knight, 2000).

In response to this brutality, enslaved Africans resisted in many ways including infanticide (killing one's own child), suicide, plots to kill master and overseer, as well as practicing a religious ritual, Vodou. The most impactful resistance came when enslaved Africans and free Blacks led a series of complex, almost simultaneous mini-revolutions across the Caribbean island. The beginnings of the revolution have been tied to the ceremony of Bois-Caiman. The meeting of enslaved individuals was led by Boukman Dutty, Jean Francois, George Baissou, and female religious leader Cécile Fatiman. The organized revolts on the island began in August of 1791 and soon thousands of coffee and sugar plantations were destroyed and the enslaved revolutionaries occupied the Northern provinces. Free Blacks joined the revolution on the Western side of the island after the National Assembly of France reneged on a May decree granting them equal rights. French forces arrived a few month later to squash the revolution. The leaders of the slave insurrection (Boukman was killed at this time) attempted to negotiate freedom, the French refused, and the revolt continued, this time with Toussaint Louverture as a major leader.

Within the next few years, Haiti found itself invaded by both the Spanish (with many former slaves fought with) and British (with many free Black fought with). It was Louverture who sided with the French after France outlawed slavery in Haiti. Louverture, having risen to the rank of general, established himself as a prominent figure on the island. After defeating the British and Spanish, Haiti remained a French colony with free Black citizens. Yet, Black citizens of the colony were still divided between the former enslaved populations and free Blacks resulting in brief wars fought between these groups.

After peace was established between Britain and France, a new French leader, Napoleon Bonaparte sent his brother-in-law, General Leclerc to Haiti to gain control of the colony, capture its leader, and effectively reestablish slavery. After Louverture was sent off to France to die, a new leader emerged, General Dessalines, and with guerrilla war tactics, the Black citizens of Haiti defeated the French forces. General

Dessalines declared independence and renamed the island Haiti in honor of the original indigenous inhabitants. As a result of their efforts, Haiti became the second independent state in the Americas after the United States, and the first predominantly Black, sovereign country in the Western world. Following the war, General Jean-Jacques Dessalines would become the first *Emperor for Life* of the country (Dubois, 2004).

Throughout its 13-year conflict, the Haiti revolution resulted in the eradication of slavery, interracial/class disputes, wars with other countries, the emergence of a pseudo slave society, and finally, complete independence for Black people (Dubois, 2004). As Nick Nesbitt noted, the Haitian revolution constructed a "society without slavery, one of a universal and unqualified human right to freedom," which makes the Haitian revolution unique to World History (2008, p. 2). Taking into account the Haitian revolution it is clear to recognize the patterns of racial hierarchy.

Patterns of Racial Hierarchy in Haiti: A Case Study

In order to explore each guiding question with students in the classroom, teachers might consider drawing from both primary and secondary source materials about the Haitian Revolution. For example, David Geggus' (2014) and Laurent Dubois and John Garrigus' (2006) sourcebooks provide rich primary documents. Teachers can pair these alongside various secondary sources by historians who have reframed the Haitian Revolution through race, beyond oversimplification as the fulfilment of the Enlightenment. Each question is then analyzed for patterns of racial hierarchy, for systems of power and social value. It is also important to emphasize to students the tension between the stability and malleability of these racial structures over time.

How Was the Racial Hierarchy Established and Maintained?

Building on Charles Mills' (1997) assertion of the racial hierarchy as historical actuality, this question helps teachers and students identify the establishment of racial hierarchy within institutions. Racial hierarchy was defined by law through the establishment of the *code noir* or black codes. According to Garrigus, the *Code Noir* was published in 1685, written by French scholars, and was based on Roman slave law (2001, p. 39). Originally, the *code noir* regulated slave life by providing rules on slave labor, food, housing, clothes, punishment as well as emancipation. But the *code noir* changed over time, an important dynamic for students to consider as to why the code changed and in whose interests. Later revisions of the *code noir* also influenced and governed some aspects

of life for free Black people of the colony. Before 1763, racial labels were defined by social status not ancestry. Therefore, many free Black people technically had the same citizenship rights as White people. Free Blacks could buy land and slaves, get an education, marry White people, and practice any profession. Yet the colonial government and the White establishment worried that a growing free Black class would be detrimental to the slave economy as well as White hegemony (Fick, 1990; Dubois, 2004; Geggus, 2001).

After 1763, racial labels on the island began to take on the racial science of the time. Colonist began have more strict racial classification system. Throughout the 1760s and 1770s, the *code noir* began to forbid the interactions with free Blacks and enslaved Africans, especially if they were caught helping slaves escape, free Blacks could be placed in bondage. Throughout the 18th century, colonial officials began to establish more restrictions through the *code noir* for free Black people. The *code noir* began to limit free Blacks from running for public office, placed restrictions on job choices, eliminated free assembly after 9 pm, and curtailed name preferences, dress and personal hairstyles, especially if those styles closely resembled White people (Fick, 1990; Dubois, 2004). Despite the restrictions placed on free Blacks, they were required to join the military.

The *code noir* changed significantly after 1763 and shifted the race classification from a social apparatus to a more scientific and biological rendering. Garrigus surmised that 1763 was an important distinction of the changed racial philosophy because of the unsuccessful campaign during the seven-year war and colonial strife. A new emphasis began to promote the notions of White purity as well as White unity and French patriotism. At the same time Blackness was linked with inferiority and immorality.

This question helps students see the structural foundations of racial hierarchy, the establishment of power and prejudice through the legal system. Teaching Haiti as a case study of racial hierarchy changes the trend/norm from comparing the Haitian Revolution's political philosophy as an iteration of the French Revolution and European Enlightenment, to an iteration of codifying white supremacy. Teachers might utilize both the translation of the code noir in Dubois and Garrigus' sourcebook (2006, p.49-54) alongside secondary source analyses of historian's contextualizations.

Tracing the establishment and maintenance of racial hierarchy through legal codes is helpful also in understanding that historical tension of identity and difference. Legal codes have this tension of an appearance of stability through the notion of legal precedence, and yet that legal precedence can rather abruptly change and be overturned. In the process of articulating specific cases of racial hierarchy, students

encounter that tension of an appearance of stability amidst the racial hierarchy's malleability and dynamism.

This could be supplemented with theoretical passages by both Omi and Winant (2014), as well as Charles Mills (1997), to help students link the historical case study to patterns of racial hierarchy and the maintenance of white supremacy. Students might then begin to see how white supremacy is maintained not in spite of, but through those changes in legal definitions of the racial hierarchy. Teachers could help students draw links between how race was codified in Haiti to British and Spanish colonial systems, as well as U.S. contemporary racialized codifications today. How does this framework compare to our contemporary U.S. context? How can it help to denaturalize our own socially constructed racial hierarchy?

What language Was Used to Describe Racial Groups?
Who Belonged to What Racial Group?
How Were These Determinations Made?

This set of questions emphasizes the social construction of these groups, and how racial hierarchy functions dynamically through social interactions. Omi and Winant's framing of racialization emphasized "how the phenomic, the corporeal dimension of human bodies, acquires meaning in social life" (2014, p. 109). These questions take analysis of the racial hierarchy from institutions to how the hierarchy functioned in daily practice, highlighting the political, social, cultural, and economic aspects of living amidst the racial hierarchy.

The racial system of Saint-Domingo/Haiti (like many colonized and racialized countries), was not simply an issue of being Black or White but consisted of a highly complex racial hierarchy system with many layers. Blackness and Whiteness was defined through a series of law that eventually gave White people privileges afforded to citizens of the colony. Saint Domingo's racial hierarchical system was influenced by a mix of socio-economics and skin color and while we understand that different historians have varied classifications of Saint Domingo's racial hierarchy, we decided to divide Whites and Blacks into five distinct classifications. People of European decent or White persons were divided into two tiers, the *grand blancs* and the *petit blancs* while people of African descent or Black persons consisted of three classifications, free Blacks or *gens de couleur* (some may even classify them as mulattoes), enslaved Africans, and maroons.

The *grand blancs* were the most powerful group and consisted of wealthy Whites who were colony administrators and part of the planter class who were land and slave owners. The White planter class emerged during the early 18th century when plantation labor became the prominent

economic system through the growth of indigo, coffee and sugar. The *petit blancs* consisted of the lower to middle class Whites who did not own land. Many of the petit blancs were part of a growing immigrant class that moved to the colony after 1763. The petit blancs consisted of two types of immigrants from France. One type were young colonists who migrated from France to make it rich as a planter. These persons were from French families who were tradesmen, lower level government officials, and merchants. Many did not adjust to the complexities of managing plantations. Instead, some took jobs as poorly paid plantation bookkeepers to attempt to network and experience. This position, however, was low pay and was not beneficial in the Haiti higher social class. The second group could be considered the French underclass. While ex French sailors and soldiers were connected to this group, many of them were servant and petty criminals. Unlike earlier generations of colonist, the economy was hard and many had to smuggle, become pirates and become ranchers. Other popular jobs by petit blancs were plantation managers and overseers, lawyers, artisans, shopkeepers, grocers, tradesmen, and teachers.

It can be argued that the *gens de couleur* were the intermediary caste between the Whites and enslaved Africans. Many of these free Blacks were of both European and African ancestry and many were conceived based on the widespread practice of concubinage or rape of enslaved females and in some cases marriage between a White male and Black female. Free Blacks who did not have European ancestry were likely to have been enslaved but received freedom in their lifetime. The free Black population was relatively large and wealthy for a slave society, making the Saint-Domingo/Haiti colony unique to the Western world. Many of *gens de couleur* were wealthy planters, as well as colonial military or police units. While free Blacks enjoyed some wealth, even more sometimes as the petite blancs, they were considered second class citizens with partial freedoms on the island.

The second tier of the lower class were the enslaved Africans, who consisted of the progeny of the enslaved born in the new world as well as those who were born and taken away from Africa. The enslaved population had to endure much cruelty that life expectancy was so low that a constant supply of Africans was needed to sustain the economy. By the start of the revolution the majority of Saint-Domingo/Haiti's population was enslaved Africans, with the largest ethnic group (about 40%) coming from the kingdom of the Kongo (Dubois, 2004; Thornton, 1991; Thornton, 1993). The enslaved population was expected to work from ages 14- 60 with a consisted work schedule from five am to sundown with breaks for breakfast and lunch. The enslaved population, however, were not passive within these contexts and expressed their displeasure of being in bondage through slave insurgencies and marronage.

The third tier of the lower class were the maroons. The practice of marronage- escaping slave plantations- took many forms in Saint-Domingo/Haiti. In this context, we are specifically highlighting the maroons who sought refuge and developed their own societies in woods or the mountains of northern Haiti. Maroons established free communities and sometimes conducted raids against plantations in the name of claiming and defending their liberty. While maroons were not recognized as legitimate societies, colony officials did sign at least one treaty with the maroons of Bahoruco that promise amnesty and liberty for the promise that they will not accept any more runaway Africans (Dubois, 2004; Thornton, 1991; Thornton, 1993). Maroonage, although small compared to other Caribbean nations, was indication of the enslaved populations desires for freedom. It could be argued that maroon societies were the precursors of the revolution.

The primary sources available, alongside recent secondary source analyses by historians, provide rich materials to immerse students in those complex layers, contradictions, and permutations throughout Haiti's racial hierarchy. David Geggus' sourcebook (2014) provides seven primary documents focused on the racial hierarchy before the revolution, allowing students to analyze how the racial groupings functioned, how power and social value circulated through gender and race amidst group interactions. A primary source in Dubois and Garrigus (2006, p. 57-62) provides a description of "people of color" or *gens de couleur* in relation to the colony's white and black populations. Several secondary sources address the systems in pre-revolution Haiti (Ghachem (2012), whereas Paul Cheney's (2017) research examined the maintenance of slavery in the broader French colonial economic system.

Through these questions, students see the dynamism within the hierarchy, noting semipermeable memranes and questions of passing. Opening discussion of the fluid racial dynamics within a changing Haitian society, students might juxtapose their own experiences, refracting notions of passing, colorism, and overlaps between race, class, and gender today. Historical inquiry through patterns of racial hierarchy can model for students how to analyze more localized variations of racialization within their particular contexts and backgrounds. Students might consider how language to describe racial categories in the US has changed over the last 100 years in various iterations, alongside investments over language, and changing the language used.

How Were Patterns of Racial Hierarchy Resisted?

In spite of the multiple and interwoven systems that maintain the racial hierarchy, this question highlights the agency of marginalized groups to resist against systems. This question challenges portrayals

of marginalized groups as passive objects and victims, engaging their insurgent actions.

The *grand* and *petit blancs* formed a common bond of racial prejudice against both the enslaved and free Black population, yet, skin color, solely, was not a determining factor for cohesion or power. The *code noir* was particularly important for the *petit blancs* because the laws gave them an advantage over a growing free Black class. In other words, their skin became their privilege (Nicholls, 1996). The free Black population, especially the mulatto population, were threats to the petit blancs racial status. Many free Blacks held a higher social standing and were more economically mobile than the majority of *petit blancs*. So much so, that the free Black planter class could hire petit blancs as managers on their plantations. After all of the provisions went into the *code noir*, "the only privilege the Whites allowed them, was the privilege of lending White men money" (Fick, 1990, p. 21). Therefore, strengthening the *code noir* to restrict free Blacks helped maintained a resemblance of peace between the *grands* and *petits* by institutionalizing White supremacy and restricting free Blacks from fully assimilating in White society. The *code noir* helped facilitate an economic system that provided an illusion of upward mobility for the *petit blancs*. However, as the colony became wealthier the *petit blancs* felt that the grand blancs limited their chances for upper social mobility (Dubois, 2004).

In many ways the Haitian revolution was a battle over racial hierarchy. The intersectional dynamics of class, race, and geography brought interracial as well as intraracial conflicts, which enthralled Saint-Domingo/Haiti into a three-sided Civil War between the White planters, *petit blancs*, and free Blacks. All groups were influenced by the "*the Declaration of Rights of Man*," which stated that in the eyes of French law, all citizens are considered equal. The White planter class, who had complaints about how the French economically oppressed the colony, naturally, felt as the Declarations applied only to them since they held powerful positions and had the most wealth. They saw an opportunity to revolt and become independent of France (Fick, 1990; Dubois, 2004; Geggus 2001).

From 1789-1791, the *grand blancs* fought for an independent Haiti and through these efforts formed alliance with both free Blacks and the *petit blancs*. The White planter class aligned with free Blacks because they held similar interest to preserve the slave state and wealth of the privilege. Free Blacks, however, also wanted the benefits of full citizenship rights (i.e. social prestige and power), which made many of the White planters uncomfortable. The White planter class aligned with the *petit blancs* to fight against pro-French Bureaucrats on the colony for autonomous control of Haiti. Again, this union came with a cost: the *petit blancs* wanted

easier social mobility, which the White planter was not going to grant. This alliance was short lived because the *petit blancs* felt betrayal by the *grand blancs* for associating with the free Black population. Plus, the petit blancs saw their White privilege disseminate because of this alliance and the Declarations, as they wanted a laissez-faire racial and social policy. Despite the illusion of a partnership with the *grand blancs*, free Blacks were still discriminated against by both White groups leading to a small revolt of the free Blacks in 1790, which was defeated by the White elite. This resulted in the hanging and torturing of the leaders of the revolt and their soldiers such as Vincent Ogé, a wealthy free mulatto merchant and Jean-Baptiste Chavannes, a non-commissioned officer in Haiti's free colored militia, who were tortured to death in the cathedral square of Cap-Français for leading a small revolt against disenfranchisement laws against free men of color (Garrigus, 2010).

While the French revolution had an impact on the behaviors of the White planters, *petit blancs*, and free Blacks, and the enslaved population were also cognizant to the calls for freedom and human equality. Although a few slave rebellions had happened on the island, it was the slave uprising of August 21st, 1791 that is regarded as the beginning of the Haitian revolution. Planned a week ahead by 200 enslaved Africans in the Northern province of Haiti and led by enslaved Africans from the Kongo, most of the northern portion of the colony was controlled by the revolutionaries within a few months (Dubois, 2004). Early 1792 saw French forces with the help of free Blacks contained the slave rebellion but with war with Britain and Spain emerging and the threat of revolutionaries siding and fighting with those countries, the French commander by 1793 freed all the enslaved Africans with the condition that they would remain loyal to the French and help fight the European insurgents.

Throughout the next decade, Haiti was an embattled colony that participated in multiple wars. First, the colony with the help of the former slaves and a new emerging leader, Toussaint Louverture, eliminated the foreign aggressors. Second, the colony was divided between north and south with two high ranking Black leaders as figure heads, Toussaint Louverture and Andre Rigaud. Louverture and Rigaud represented the two distinct Black racial classes. Louverture represented the enslaved population although he was freed before the revolution and Rigaud was a mulatto.

The bulk of both Dubois and Garrigus' (2006) and Geggus' (2014) sourcebooks on the Haitian Revolution emphasized primary documents of resistance, however Geggus' collection greatly expands students' access to a range of voices and perspectives. This very limitation of access in the archive necessitates discussion of Trouillot's (1997) historiographic work

on the production of silences in and through the archives. The patterns of racial hierarchy are not only something existing in the past, but hold power over us in the present through our limited capacity to know the past through the archive, constructed as a technology to maintain that racial hierarchy. Students could be prompted to consider where they see resistance to racial hierarchy today, and whether such resistance has been silenced or celebrated.

What Is the Contemporary Legacy or Form of These Patterns?

By late 1798, while infighting occurred between various groups, people of African descent effectively governed Haiti. Many of the French officials escaped to France, many *grand blancs* and *petit blancs* left but without the protection of the *code noir* stayed on their plantations or communities yielding little political or social influence. The struggle for power in Haiti now turned to Toussaint Louverture and Andre Rigaud with Louverture in 1800 prevailing. One of the first acts of Toussaint was establishing a Constitution for Saint-Domingo, which included the help from many former slaveholders. While the Constitution highlighted that all people regardless of the skin color were citizens, no newly freed person participated in the writing of the document.

Haiti, which was the most productive colony in the world at one time, was in a conundrum. The island's wealth was based on the plantation system and the leadership elite over the next few decades, including Louverture, expressed interest to move back to exporting crops through the plantation system. The majority population, who were formerly enslaved resisted the plantation system, instead cultivated small farms, raised livestock, and grew crops for themselves and sold them at local markets (Dubois, 2012). While the former slaves enjoyed the independence of working their farms, the state rarely benefited. To attempt to make the country profitable, the leadership devised authoritarian rule over the citizens. The plantation system was still a prevalent economic system with the former slaves being the primary cultivators of land. In many respects the only aspect that changed from the old regime was that the former slaves received income for their service. The former enslaved were also not allowed to leave, not able to buy land to sell their own crops, and were punished harshly for idleness or lack of production (Dubois, 2012). Politically, the vast majority of Haitians were excluded from the democratic process. For example, Laurent Dubois noted that the official language was French, which excluded the majority of Haitians who spoke Kreyol, 'for almost all of Haiti's history, most of the population were unable to read the laws of the country (Dubois, 2012, p.7). After independence the struggle for power between the different Black racial groups, the mulattoes and the blacks, continued and have been instrumental in the

racial makeup of the predominantly Black country today (Nicholls, 1996; Gates, 2011).

Teachers could take excerpts from Laurent Dubois' *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History* (2012) to provide secondary source analysis of the legacies. There are as well primary sources that reflect on the Haitian Revolution's impact in other colonies in the Americas, such as Geggus & Fiering's (2009) section on "Reverberations." Frederick Douglass' "Lecture on Haiti (1893)" (Geggus, 2014, p. 203) offers an interesting primary source linking the legacy of the revolution in Haiti to the African American experience in the U.S. The impacts of the Haitian Revolution are continuously reassessed, as evidenced in recent research such as *Reinterpreting the Haitian Revolution and its Cultural Aftershocks* (Munro & Walcott-Hackshaw, eds. 2006), *African Americans and the Haitian Revolution* (Jackson & Bacon, eds. 2010), and *The Black Jacobins Reader* (Forsdick & Hogsbjerg, eds. 2017).

What Are the World-Scale Institutional Influences of Race and Racism? What Are the Institutional Repercussions of Race and Racism?

This question reflects the global reaches of the racial contract, as frame by Charles Mills. In spite of becoming an independent nation-state, Haiti remained subject to a pattern of racial hierarchy on a global scale. As a nation, Haiti continued to be treated as less-than.

It could be argued that some of the authoritarian economic approaches were out of necessity. The independence of Haiti, defeating a European power, and the aesthetics of a government ran by former enslaved individuals and people of African descent in a world and a geographical region heavily dominated by slavery, had a tremendous economic and political impact for the new nation. Following France and England, The United States, who had achieved freedom through its own revolution from Britain two decades earlier, did not officially recognize Haiti as sovereign. After two decades of independence, France recognized Haiti after the country agreed to a royal decree which outlined special tariff rates for France and an indemnity of 150 million francs (about 3 billion dollars today, it was later reduced to 60 million francs) to France as compensation to slaveholders for their losses. The figure was an estimate of slave-owners' property value lost as a result of the war. Agreeing to these policies resulted in France recognizing Haiti as sovereign. If they did not agree to these terms, France threatened the country with a blockade and to send its military to recapture the country.

The decree was not a negotiation but an ultimatum by France. A sort of reparations to France had been discussed before with Haitian leaders as a political and economic strategy. The leaders thought that to pay the indemnity, they would gain political and diplomatic status

and would be able to export easier, therefore, prosper economically, so much that the indemnity would not be too much of a burden. Yet the elite leadership agreed to these terms without consulting with the general populace, which caused major strife because the ones who suffered the most were the Haitian farmers, former and descendants of the enslaved population. In order to pay for the debt, Haiti had to take out loans from a French bank. Conditions included repaying 30 million francs over 25 years with a 6% interest and an additional 20% fee for providing money to the country. Haiti repaid that debt for several generations. By 1898 half of Haiti's government budget went towards the reparations; by 1914, it was 80%.

While the indemnity was not the only condition that prevented economic prosperity for the newly formed country, it does provide some insight into the conditions and material realities of Haitians today. Sixty million francs is lot of money for a burgeoning country and with a great percentage going to repaying a debt to its former oppressors, that left little monies to reinvest in infrastructure, education, and other salient governmental entities.

The Haitian revolution is still relevant today as it was in the past because the result of the Haitian independence marks a clear example of how the legacy before the revolution, created and enforced by the French, is the foundation for present day Haiti. In other words, the systems enforced by the French—economic, hierarchy, oppression—have manifested to be felt and reinforced by Haitians. For example, because Haiti was at one point the most productive colony in the world through its plantation system, Haitian officials decided to make the country profitable and continue the plantations to be worked by the former slaves. Despite the fact that former slaves were receiving income for working the fields, a hierarchy was enforced in regard to blacks, those that were free before the revolution and those that were former slaves. Furthermore, the debt that was owed to France laid a historical setback that did not allow Haiti to be truly free. Indeed, Haiti was and still is oppressed through the debt enforced by France. These examples clearly demonstrate how the Haitian revolution is still relevant today and a way for social studies and history teachers to further develop students' understandings of race.

Implications

Taking into account the way that Haiti is represented in world history textbooks—over-emphasis on the French revolution when talking about the Haitian revolution clearly demonstrating Eurocentric notions; messianic/messiah narratives about Toussaint Louverture; and the exclusion of Haiti after their independence—we find it necessary and

important for social studies and history teachers to properly introduce the Haitian revolution to students. One way to introduce Haiti is to use the material that we've presented above, particularly on patterns of racial hierarchy, as a starting point to not only get the conversation going about race but also develop students' understandings on race. Because patterns of racial hierarchy are not exclusive to Haiti, this lesson would then allow teachers to make connections to other countries/colonies that have been similarly affected by racial hierarchy.

Reflecting on Omi and Winant's work on racial formation, this set of questions allows students to access the different layers of how racial hierarchy functions, evolves, impacts individuals, and how individuals respond to racial hierarchy. This work requires that teachers attend to several tensions, or cautions. The first, as mentioned earlier, is the tension between identity and difference, between helping students see patterns of racial hierarchy, while at the same time disrupting a concrete notion of what that racial hierarchy looks like across time and space.

When considering patterns of racial hierarchy in other cases in world history, these questions allow one to trace racial formation through the last five hundred years of world history, and even further back within Europe's earlier links with Africa and Asia. However, one must be careful to consider those instances directly shaped by a European epistemology of race, and those systems beyond or prior to European influence. For example, juxtaposing the caste system in ancient India would differ from juxtaposing the Spanish colonial racial hierarchy; both Spanish and French systems are linked through Enlightenment thinking (and what Charles Mills (1997) framed as the racial contract), whereas ancient India's caste system was prior to the Enlightenment and outside of European influence. Of course, this attention to particular contexts should come with any historical comparison of global phenomena, be it gender, technology, religion, etc.

There is also an important caution to not compare systems of oppression, to not ask students to determine which system was worse than another. Comparisons might be drawn between how the systems functioned, strategies of resistance applied by oppressed groups, but teachers should not ask students to compare which was worse. The benefit of juxtaposing one system of racial hierarchy against another would be to disrupt the givenness of our own contemporary system of racial hierarchy, to get students to question why our system exists in the first place, and consider means for resisting that system.

Conclusion

Though race is often conceptualized in regional and national contexts,

Winant described race as a "global phenomenon" of increasing importance, affecting "our sense of who we are" and shaping "the demands we place on social institutions" (1999, p. 99). As global communities continue to confront racism in its many expressions, the meanings associated with the term will continue to evolve. It is unlikely that any individual teacher or world history classroom community will engage in conversations about racism that offer definitive, satisfying answers for everyone involved. We do not recommend examining patterns of racial hierarchy to arrive at these types of answers. Instead, we suggest that exploring this concept in the context of world history education is one of the many ways to interrogate significant social relationships and activities, and the meaning of community, identity, humanity and justice.

Race is such a polarizing topic that many teachers avoid its coverage even when the historical narrative allows for exploration. This avoidance has caused much bad history, especially Black history, to be presented in K-12 classrooms (King, 2017). The telling of history is the story of humainity and who we consider to be human. The narratives we priviledge have as much to do with our understanding of the present as to our understanding of the past. Race is such an important historical and contemporaty construct. To leave out its importance to understanding history is tragic, irresponsible, and reinforces the power dynamic of Whiteness within official history policy. We encourage more conversations about race to help combat the erasure and misrepresentation of Black and other people of color in social studies more broadly. Without understanding "race" and its intersections we miss these revolutionaries' full humanity and they become simple historical actors void of nuance and complexity, a fate that contines to plague history teaching today.

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Relative Availability and Its Impact on Violent Tendencies Within the African American Community

A Didactic Application of Multiple Regression

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Abstract

Violence has been a prevalent issue within the African American community for the last two decades. This research study seeks to supplement the plethora of research around this area. Particularly, this study is concerned with what variables impact an individual's tendency to react violently within the African American community. Utilizing structural-functionalist ideology, the hypothesis being tested here is that the more relatives one has to call on for help if needed, and other related variables, the lower tendency that individual will have to violently react. The data was taken from The National Survey of American Life collected through a multi-stage sample design combined a 'core' national area probability sample of households and analyzed using multiple regression techniques. The study ended with confirming the hypothesis that as the number of relatives an individual can call for help increases, the tendency for the individual to react violently will decrease; with stipulations concerning the magnitude of impact. This research can be used to advocate for increased funding and support for

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family strengthening and other related organizations and programs that seek to curtail violent tendencies within the African American community.

Introduction

Violence is one of the primary causes of death worldwide. In 2002 the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported that "[e]ach year, about 56,000 violent deaths occur in this country, [and] [v]violence-related death and injuries cost the United States $107 billion in medical care and lost productivity" (CDC). In many cases, these circumstances provide ways for researchers to discover the causes of violent acts to implement effective interventions that will decrease violence, which in turn will decrease violent-related deaths and government spending. In recent years, scholarly discussions pmarily focus on how family violence impacts an individual's propensity to behave violently in other areas of their lives. However, there have been discussions on how available family members can support the individual and impact his or her tendency to be violent. This paper seeks to expand research on that subject, specifically analyzing how the number of family relatives an individual can call on for help will impact one's propensity to act violently, with the hope of garnering support for programs seeking to improve the family unit and its strength, particularly within the African American demographic.

Literature Review

The most current state of knowledge analyzes how drugs, alcohol, social capital, gender, age, religion, and media impact violent behavior. These independent variables are often used as causal entities that influence individuals to make certain decisions that are deemed by society as deviant and violent. The social understanding of deviance and violence plays a huge role in exploring this subject as well. The Mairi Levitt article entitled "Genes, Environment, and Responsibility for Violent Behavior" (2013) assesses how genes, environment, and responsibility may account for violent behavior. Levitt particularly researches whether or not genetic traits can be associated with antisocial and violent behaviors that lead to criminal activity. Levitt's qualitative study looked at participants' explanations as well as the transmission of responsibility for antisocial and violent behavior. The data set that was used contained cases that environmental and or genetic stimuli that were stated by the defending legal teams in court proceedings. Levitt ultimately concluded that genetic factors are not viewed as more applicable or decisive than environmental factors when explaining behavior in court proceedings.

According to Addiction Research Report, methamphetamine which is sometimes referred to as "ice" or "crystal meth" is famous for its relationship with violent behavior. "Violence associated with methamphetamine use is characterized by its capricious and often bizarre nature, this seeming to be fueled by methamphetamine-induced paranoia" (McKetin, 2014). In a research study entitled "Does Methamphetamine Use Increase Violent Behavior" Mcketin looked at this variable in particular, in which he analyzed whether the periods of methamphetamine use increased violent behaviors over time, or if it was the psychotic symptoms induced by the current use of methamphetamine that caused the increase in violent behaviors. A fixed-effect study was conducted using participants' who met the DSM-IV criteria for methamphetamine dependency. The study found that there was a dose-related increase in violent behavior during methamphetamine use that is largely independent of the violence risk associated with psychotic symptoms.

Another article by Calafant entitled "Violent Behavior, Drunkenness, Drug Use and Social Capital in Night Life Contexts" (2011) sought to understand the correlation between drunkenness and drug use, and being threatened and carrying a weapon. It was concluded in this study that young males who abused drugs and are poor were greater predictors of violence in the context of nightlife. Additionally, it was found that these types of young males were particularly more likely to be involved in weapon-related incidents. Table 1 lists literature that studies the effect of peer pressure on one's tendencies to be violent, which would include one's lack of resources and his or her inclination and habit for violent behavior. However, this still does not give insight into how family plays a part in any of this, a topic about which more literature and theory needs to be developed.

Theoretical Conceptualization

The results from the analysis of the number of relatives an individual has to call on and their tendencies to react violently are expected to support the implications from structural functionalism theory that as the number of relatives an individual has to call on for help increases, the tendency to react violently will decrease because a central proposition of structural functionalism theory is that social systems must act as a collective for it to fulfill its social needs. The family plays a key role in preparing an individual to operate properly within society to convey that one contains constructive manners. In other words, structural functionalists believe that individuals in society cannot advance if the society does not operate as a collective, teaching each other societal norms and cultural values. In essence, the more relatives an individual

has in their lives, the better they can learn the norms of society and adapt decreasing the impulse to become violent. So, therefore, from a theoretical standpoint, if an individual does not have any available relatives to rely on for help if needed, they are more likely to act in deviance, i.e. violence and deconstructive manners, because they do not have access to a structure central to social equilibrium and cohesion.

In this research study, the number of relatives an individual can call upon for help is determined as the central organizing independent variable as it correlates with one's tendencies to react violently. Additionally, we assess three other independent variables that may impact the dependent variable (see Figure 1). Like our COIV, all of these variables can be supported by implications from the structural functionalism theory. Structural functionalism views neighborhoods as a valuable part of society that ought to provide families with safety for the families to functionally exist as they teach its members specific values and attitudes needed to coexist with others within the same society as well as different ones. In turn, if a neighborhood is unsafe the

Table 1
The Relevant Literature for Tendencies to Violent Reactions

First Author's last name, (years), the title of the article, Journal Name (vol): p. #.	*Exact DV name used in the article*	*Names of IVs in article*	*Theory / Concep-tualization used in the article*	*Major finding re IVs & DV*
1 Levitt, (2013), Genes, Environment, and Responsibility for Violent Behavior. *New Genetics & Society* (32): P. 4-17	Violent & anti-social nehavior	Genetic traits	Genetics can impact one's likelihood of violent behavior.	Qualitatively focused, looking at participant explanations and assigning of responsibility for violent behavior. Genetic factors were not viewed as deterministically and irrelevant to personal responsibility. Free will and human agency were seen as crucial.
2 McKetin (2014), Does Methamphetamine Use Increase Violent Behavior. *Addiction* (109): p. 798-806	Violent behavior	Meth-amphe-tamine use	Does violent behavior increase during perios of methamphetamine use or is it due to methamphatemine-induced psychotic symptoms.	There was a dose-related increase in violent behavior during methamphatemine use that is largely independent of the violence risk associated with psychotic symptoms.
3 Calafat (2011), Violent Behavior, Drunkenness, Drug Use, and Social Capital in Night Life Contexts, *Psychosocial Intervention* (20, Issue 1); p. 45-51	Violent behavior	Alcohol, drug abuse, gender, age, income, and education	Is there a relationship between violence, social capital, and drug abuse?	Young males prdicted three violent behaviors and held a stronger correlation to violent behavior.

family will become dysfunctional which can lead to the predisposition for violence resulting in the individual(s) displacement from society as a welcome and active member.

Theoretically, the same implications can be applied when assessing the independent variable, neighborhood amenities. Hypothetically, if a family has to worry about where they will receive their next meal or how to give their children an education of quality, it won't be afforded the opportunity to effectively implement societal norms and rules to its members. This is especially troubling considering the family is viewed as the backbone of society and whose very purpose is this vital implementation, according to structural functionalists. The family must provide its members with sex, socialization, procreation, and economics; thus, it is more than imperative that we work towards providing the family with all the support it needs to successfully master its tasks, which will indisputably decrease individuals' propensities to react violently.

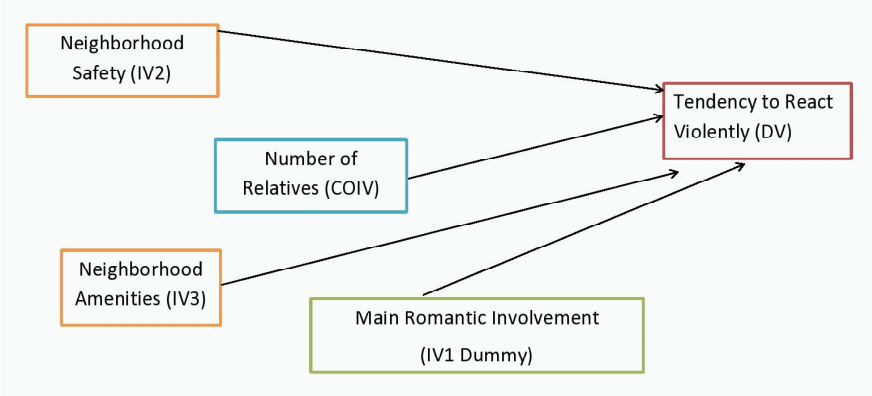
Research Questions/Hypotheses

The following are the hypotheses for the research:

Alternative Hypothesis 1: We hypothesize that one's tendency to react violently regresses significantly on the number of relatives one has to call upon for help if needed even when accounting for the effect of neighborhood amenities, neighborhood safety, and main romantic involvement.

Null Hypothesis 1: We hypothesize that one's tendency to react violently does not regress significantly on the number of relatives

Figure 1
Analytical Model of the Relationships Among Number of Relatives and Tendency to React Violently and Other Related Variables



one has to call upon for help if needed even when accounting for the effect of neighborhood amenities, neighborhood safety, and main romantic involvement.

Alternative Hypothesis 2: We hypothesized that the variance in the tendency to violently react can be explained by the number of relatives available to call upon for help, acting additively (cumulatively) with neighborhood amenities, neighborhood safety, and main romantic involvement.

Null Hypothesis 2: We hypothesized that the variance in the tendency to violently react cannot be explained by the number of relatives available to call upon for help, acting additively (cumulatively) with neighborhood amenities, neighborhood safety, and main romantic involvement.

Alternative Hypothesis 3: We hypothesized that the number of relatives available to call upon for help is relatively more important than neighborhood amenities, neighborhood safety, and main romantic involvement in explaining the tendency to violently react.

Null Hypothesis 3: We hypothesized that the number of relatives available to call upon for help is not relatively more important than neighborhood amenities, neighborhood safety, and main romantic involvement in explaining the tendency to violently react.

Alternative Hypothesis 4: We hypothesized that the number of relatives available to call upon for help produces the tendency to violently react, especially for those that do have main romantic involvements, and that this interactive effect significantly extends understanding of the tendency to violently react beyond that of the addictive model.

Null Hypothesis 4: We hypothesized that the number of relatives available to call upon for help does not produce the tendency to violently react, especially for those that do have main romantic involvement, and that this interactive effect significantly extends understanding of the tendency to violently react beyond that of the addictive model.

Data Source

The data for the study was derived from the *Codebook for the National Survey of American Life* (NSAL), 2001-2003. The *National Survey of American Life* (NSAL) is a study designed to explore racial and ethnic

differences in mental disorders, psychological distress, and informal and formal service use. This NSAL is within the context of a variety of presumed risk and protective factors in the African-American and Afro-Caribbean populations of the United States as compared with White respondents living in the same communities. The NSAL is part of the Collaborative Psychiatric Epidemiology Surveys (CPES) data collection which was initiated in recognition of the need for contemporary, comprehensive epidemiological data regarding the distributions, correlations, and risk factors of mental disorders among the general population with special emphasis on minority groups. CPES joins together three nationally representative surveys: the *National Comorbidity Survey Replication* (NCS-R), the *National Survey of American Life* (NSAL), and the *National Latino and Asian American Study* (NLAAS).

There are seven collaborating principal investigators for the NSAL. They include James S. Jackson (Principal Investigator, University of Michigan, Survey Research Center), Harold W. Neighbors (Co-Principal Investigator, University of Michigan, Research Center for Group Dynamics), David R. Williams (Co-Principal Investigator, University of Michigan, Survey Research Center), Robert J. Taylor (Co-Principal Investigator, University of Michigan, Research Center for Group Dynamics), Cleopatra H. Caldwell (Co-Investigator, University of Michigan, Research Center for Group Dynamics), Steven J. Trierweiler (Co-Investigator, University of Michigan, Research Center for Group Dynamics), and Randolph M. Nesse (Co-Investigator, University of Michigan, Research Center for Group Dynamics). The NSAL was funded by the National Institute of Mental Health, with supplemental support from the Office of Behavioral and Social Sciences Research (OBSSR) at the National Institute of Health (NIH), and the University of Michigan.

The sample for the NSAL consisted of primary sampling units selected with probabilities proportional to size. The NSAL multi-stage sample design combined a 'core' national area probability sample of households with a special supplemental sample of households in areas of higher Afro-Caribbean residential density. The NSAL Supplement design served solely to augment the sample size from the Afro-Caribbean survey population in a cost and statistically efficient manner and did not contribute to the representative samples of the NSAL's African-American and White survey populations.

The Survey Research Center (SRC) 1990 National Sample of U.S. households was the starting point for NSAL sample selection. To adapt the sample to be optimal for a national study of the African-American survey population for NSAL, some modification to the primary stage of the basic 1990 SRC National Sample design was needed. The definitions of the primary sampling units in the primary stage frame for the SRC

National Sample remained unchanged, but measures of the size used in the PPS selection of PSUs were changed from 1990 census counts of total occupied households to African-American occupied households. Some reorganization of 1990 'A' National Sample strata were also required to transform the design from one that was optimal for surveys of all U.S. households to one that emphasized precision for samples of African Americans.

Using CPES, the NSAL sample of Afro-Caribbean households was identified through samples selected from two overlapping area probability sample frames. The first sample source for Afro-Caribbean respondents was from the screening of households in the nationally representative NSAL Core sample. As described above, all sample housing units in this national probability sample were contacted and a screening interview was conducted with each eligible, cooperating household. In total, 266 Afro-Caribbean adults were successfully interviewed in the NSAL Core national sample. Therefore it was necessary to supplement the NSAL Core sample to achieve the original NSAL target sample size of 1,600 Afro-Caribbeans.

Construction of the NSAL Caribbean Supplement sample began with the selection of a stratified sample of eight supplemental primary stage units (PSUs). From these eight PSUs, 86 area segments were selected from the set of qualifying census block groups within the PSUs. To qualify for the Caribbean Supplement, a block group population needed to be at least 10% Afro-Caribbean based on the 1990 census estimates. Once the primary and secondary stage sampling units were selected, field staff visited each area segment to list housing units.

The NSAL White sample was a stratified, disproportionate sampling of non-Hispanic white adults in the U.S. household population. The NSAL White sample was designed to be optimal for comparative descriptive and multivariate analyses in which residential, environmental, and socioeconomic characteristics are carefully controlled in the Black/White statistical contrasts. The original completed interview target for the NSAL White sample was set at n = 1,800. Later in the study period, a decision was made to reduce this target to n = 1,000

White adult interviews were based on survey costs and updated analysis objectives for the NSAL project. By the nature of its equal probability national sampling of all U.S. households, the NSAL Core screening for eligible African-American and Afro-Caribbean households was projected to identify far more eligible White households than required to meet the sample size target. Therefore, subsampling of eligible White adults at the screening stage was employed to bring the sample of interviews with this group in line with the study targets.

The NSAL project yielded 6,199 adult interviews: 3,570 African

American, 1,623 Afro-Caribbean, and 1,006 non-Hispanic Whites. However, the actual number of cases in the CPES data file is 6,082; including 3,570 African American, 1,621 Afro-Caribbean, and 891 non-Hispanic whites. An extremely small sample (n = 115) of White adults who were interviewed in households where the White subsample was less than 10% of the African American density stratum were excluded from the final data set as well as two of the Afro-Caribbean interviews when it was later discovered that they were duplicate cases. The final effective sample size used in my regression analysis was 2670.

As seen in Table 2, females consisted of the majority of the sample accounting for 3796 respondents or 62.4% of the sample. Males accounted for 2286 respondents or 37.6% of the sample. Concerning education, 2136 respondents had completed 12 years making up 35.1 percent of the sample and the majority. 1375 respondents, 22.6 % of the sample, completed between 0 to 11 years of education making. 1468 respondents, 24.1 of the sample, had completed 13 to 15 years of education. Finally, 1103 respondents, 18.1% of the sample, had completed greater than or equal to 16 years of education.

Data Demographics

The age distribution and regional distribution for the sample are as follows. The majority of the population fell within the ages of 31 to 40 years old, consisting of 1418 respondents and 23.3% of the sample. 460 respondents, 7.6%, fell between the ages of 18 to 21; 1080 respondents, 17.8%, between the ages 22 to 30; 1283 respondents, 21.1%, between 41 and 50; 819 respondents, 13.5%, between 51 and 60; 572 respondents, 9.4%, between 61 and 70; 327 respondents, 5.4%, between 71 and 80; and 123 respondents, 2%, were 80 years old and above. The region of the country that consisted of the majority of respondents was the south, holding 3395 respondents or 55.8% of the sample. 1653 respondents, 27.2%, hailed from the northeast; 690 respondents, 11.3%, hailed from the Midwest; and 344 respondents, 5.7%, hailed from the West.

The income distribution for the sample is as follows: the majority of the sample fell in the $20,000 and below annual income range, consisting of 2331 respondents and 38.3% of the sample followed by 1872 respondents, 30.8%, with an annual income between $20,000 and $40,000. In the $60,001 to $80,000 annual income range were 484 respondents making up 8.0% of the sample. In the $80,001 to $100,000 annual income range were 251 respondents making up 4.1 % of the sample. In the $100,001 to $120,000 annual income range were 68 respondents making up 1.1 % of the sample. Finally, in the $120,001 and above annual income range were

150 respondents making up 2.5% of the sample. This sample demographic description is overall representative of the target population.

For NSAL, 11,634 eligible households were identified from 26,495 randomly sampled addresses. The overall response rate for the core NSAL national sample was 71.5 percent. The Caribbean Supplement

Table 2
Demographic Characteristics of Sample

Demographic Characteristics	*Frequency*	*Percent*
Sex		
Female	3796	62.4
Male	2286	37.6
Total	6082	100.0
Education		
0-11 Years	1375	22.6
12 Years	2136	35.1
13 to 15 Years	1468	24.1
Greater than or equal to 16 years	1103	18.1
Total	6082	100.0
Age		
18 to 21	460	7.6
22 to 30	1080	17.8
31 to 40	1418	23.3
41 to 50	1283	21.1
51 to 60	819	13.5
61 to 70	572	9.4
71 to 80	327	5.4
80 and above	123	2.0
Total	6082	100.0
Income		
$20,000 and Below	2331	38.3
$20,000 to $40,000	1872	30.8
$40,001 to $60,000	926	15.2
$60,001 to $80,000	484	8.0
$80,001 to $100,000	251	4.1
$100,001 to $120,000	68	1.1
$120,001 and Above	150	2.5
Total	6082	100.0
Region of Country		
Northeast	1653	27.2
Midwest	690	11.3
South	3395	55.8
West	344	5.7
Total	6082	100.0

sample, which was designed to target areas with high concentrations of persons of Caribbean origin, yielded a weighted response rate of 76.4 percent. These response rates are not problematic for the national representativeness of the data. All in all the preponderance of the evidence from these considerations suggests that the results from this sample can be generalized to fit the target population.

Data Collection

Data collection for the NSAL was conducted in a total of 252 geographic areas or primary sampling units across the U.S.. There were 52 areas unique to NSAL. The NSAL universe included adults in the three target groups: Black Americans of African descent, Black Americans of Caribbean descent, and White Americans, who were aged 18 years and older residing in households located in the coterminous U.S. The interviews took place between early 2001 and the spring of 2003.

The organizational structure of the field and central data collection staff for the NSAL was divided into teams of 6 to 12 interviewers. Each team was supervised by a team leader. Approximately three to four teams formed a workgroup, which was supported by a team leader and coordinator. Each workgroup was assigned to a regional field manager, who was responsible for the work group's interview production efforts, quality control, and personnel management. Whenever possible, teams were comprised of groups of interviewers from the same region. Every effort was made to assign interviewers to teams before training so that interviewers on the same team would be able to work together during training.

The core CPES questionnaire was based largely on the World Health Organization's (WHO) expanded version of the Composite International Diagnostic Interview (CIDI) developed for the World Mental Health (WMH) Survey Initiative, the WMH. The NSAL used a modified version of the WMH-CIDI, which had been developed over a year by an international group of collaborators. The WMH and CPES questionnaires were administered using computer-assisted interviewing (CAI); computer-assisted personal interviews (CAPI) and computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI). For the most part, interviews were conducted using laptop computer-assisted personal interview methods in the homes of respondents. However, approximately 14 percent of interviews were conducted either partially or entirely by telephone. The instruments were programmed using Blaise, a CAI software package developed by Statistics Netherlands and used by many government statistical agencies and large survey research organizations worldwide. Blaise software is specifically designed to accommodate very complicated questionnaire skip

patterns and sub-sampling algorithms. Potential drawbacks of using Blaise include its cost and the requirement for highly trained programmers to write the code for complex surveys. The questionnaire design and testing phase for each project spanned approximately one year.

An attempt was made to standardize the interview materials across the studies as much as possible. Nine hundred and forty-six interviewers were recruited and trained based on specific requirements of the project. 329 interviewers for NSAL were chosen particularly matching the interviewer and respondent race. Study-specific training lasted five to seven days, depending on the study and which components were being covered. The training sessions consisted of five main components: (1) instruction on household eligibility and respondent selection procedures; (2) questionnaire training, which included a section-by-section review of each module of the questionnaire, followed by question and answer sessions and two-hour practice sessions; (3) computer training and practice sessions; (4) review of interview procedures and study materials; and (5) mock interviews in which interviewing and administrative tasks were integrated to model realistic interviewing experiences. To better convey the content and to engage the training participants, trainers used a variety of formats, including large and small group lectures, round-robin practice sessions, mock interviews, and one-on-one help sessions. Participants were given homework assignments, which the trainers reviewed to identify interviewers who were having problems with the computer hardware or software.

For the NSAL study training insensitivity to cultural, racial, and socioeconomic diversity that would be encountered while conducting face-to-face interviews were provided. Additional training was also provided on how to interview on sensitive or potentially embarrassing topics. Finally, because some of the questionnaire topics covered subjects that could reveal information about pending harm to the respondent or others, interviewers were trained on their legal obligations and on how to handle these rare but critical situations. Interviewers were provided with initial and ongoing training on the importance of and techniques for reducing non-response, and a wide variety of tools and procedures was developed at the beginning of each project to maximize respondent participation.

Data Measurement

In this study, there are 4 independent variables, 1 constructed interactive variable, and one dependent variable. The descriptive statistics for these variables are found in Table 3. The dependent variable in this study is the tendency to react violently. The tendency

to react violently is an ordinal continuous variable constructed using index procedures. There are 14 indicators within this index measured variable, each of them is discrete and nominal true or false questions. Each indicator was coded in the following manner; 1 = True, 5 = False, 8 = Don't Know, 9 = Refused to answer and the missing value codes were 7 through 9. The indicators are as follows:

Indicator 1: Do I go to extremes to keep people from leaving me?
Indicator 2: Do I have tantrums/angry outbursts?
Indicator 3: Do I take chances/do reckless things?
Indicator 4: Have I intentionally damaged others' things?
Indicator 5: Do I argue/fight when people try to stop me from actions?
Indicator 6: Do I get so angry, I sometimes break/smash things
Indicator 7: I'm very moody?
Indicator 8: Can't decide what kind of person I want to be?
Indicator 9: I have never been arrested?
Indicator 10: Do I feel bad when I hurt or upset someone?
Indicator 11: Do I lose my temper and get in physical fights?
Indicator 12: Do I feel uncomfortable/helpless when alone?
Indicator 13: Do I give in to urges that get me in trouble?
Indicator 14: Do I often feel empty inside?

Of these, indicators 1-8 and 11-14 had to be recoded to, 5 = True and 1= False to insure common directionality. These specific 14 indicators and the constructed variable formed by them are reliable valid and form a normal distribution. All 14 indicators were combined because they all assess the respondents' reactions and past actions that could lead to violent situations. The constructed dependent variable (as seen in table 3) had a high/low score range from 66 to 14 and 14 valid values; meeting the ten value qualification and insuring sufficient variation to be considered continuous. The mean for the dependent variable is 23.03 and the standard deviation is 9.21. The dependent variable maintained 4944 valid cases and was missing 1138 cases meeting the required standard.

The central organizing independent variable (COIV) in this study is the number of relatives available the respondent could call upon for help if she needed it. The COIV is a ratio continuous variable found directly in the NSAL codebook. The COIV (as seen in table 3) had a high/low score range from 97 to 0 and 45 valid values; meeting the ten value qualification and insuring sufficient variation to be considered continuous. The mean for the COIV is 8.05 and the standard deviation is 10.53. The COIV maintained 5942 valid cases and was missing 140 cases, meeting the required standard.

The second independent variable in this study, labeled IV1, is the main romantic involvement. Main romantic involvement is a nominal discrete "dummied" variable. This variable was used solely to test the

Table 3
Descriptive Statistics for Model Constructs

Model Constructs / Variables	*Continuous*							*Discrete (Dummied)*	
	Interval / Ratio				*Ordinal*			*Nominal*	*Ordinal*
	Hi / Lo Score	*# Valid Values*	$\bar{X}$ *s*		*Hi / Lo Scores*	*# Valid Scores*	$\bar{X}$ *s*	*%*	*%*
Independent									
COIV= # of relatives to help N=5942 missing=140	97/0	45 8.	05	10.53					
IV1=Romantic Involvement N= 3703 missing=2379									
1=Yes									37.2%
5=No									62.8%
IV2= Neighborhood Safety N=5816 missing=266					15/3	13	9.36	2.67	
I1=Crime frequency						5			
I2= Drugs problem						4			
I3= Neighbor visit freq.						6			
IV3=Neighborhood Amen N=5590 missing=492					40/8	10	28.01	7.42	
I1=Parks						2			
I2=Supermarket						2			
I3=Medical clinic						2			
I4=Bank						2			
I5=Check cashing						2			
I6=Library						2			
I7=Police						2			
I8=Clubs/associations						2			
Dependent									
Y= Violent Reactions N=4944 missing=1138					66/14	14	23.03	9.21	
I1=Go to extremes						2			
I2=Have tantrums						2			
I3= Do reckless things						2			
I4=Damage others things						2			
I5=Argue/fight						2			
I6=Break/Smash things						2			
I7=Moody						2			
I8=Indecisive						2			
I9=Never been arrested						2			
I10=Feel bad						2			
I11= Lose temper						2			
I12=Alone						2			
I13=Trouble urges						2			
I14=Empty inside						2			

interactive effect on the DV when combined with the COIV. IV1 was coded in the following manner; 1 = Yes, 5 = No, 8 = Don't Know, 9 = Refused to answer and the missing value codes were 7 through 9. This variable was recoded to 5 = Yes and 1 = No to insure common direction. In the sample, 37.2 % answered yes and 62.8% answered no. IV1 maintained 3703 valid cases and was missing 2379, meeting the set requirements.

The third independent variable, labeled IV2, in this study is neighborhood safety. Neighborhood safety is an ordinal continuous variable constructed using index procedures. There are 3 indicators within this index measured variable, each of them is discrete and ordinal. Each indicator were coded in the following manner; 8 = Don't Know, 9 = Refused to answer and the missing value codes were 7 through 9. The indicators and its specific coding are as follows:

Indicator 1: Frequency of Crime in the neighborhood
- 1 VERY OFTEN
- 2 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 NOT TOO OFTEN
- 4 HARDLY EVER
- 5 NEVER

Indicator 2: Seriousness of drug problems in neighborhood
- 1 VERY SERIOUS
- 2 FAIRLY SERIOUS
- 3 NOT TOO SERIOUS
- 4 NOT SERIOUS AT ALL

Indicator 3: Frequency of visits w/ neighbors
- 1 NEARLY EVERYDAY
- 2 AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK
- 3 FEW TIMES A MONTH
- 4 AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH
- 5 FEW TIMES A YR
- 6 NEVER

Of these, indicators 1 and 2 had to be recoded to insure common directionality. The recodes are as follows:

Indicator 1: Frequency of Crime in the neighborhood
- 5 VERY OFTEN
- 4 FAIRLY OFTEN
- 3 NOT TOO OFTEN
- 2 HARDLY EVER
- 1 NEVER

Indicator 2: Seriousness of drug problems in neighborhood
- 4 VERY SERIOUS
- 3 FAIRLY SERIOUS
- 2 NOT TOO SERIOUS
- 1 NOT SERIOUS AT ALL

These specific 3 indicators and the constructed variable formed by them are reliable, valid, and form a normal distribution. All 3 indicators were combined because they all assess the attributes of the neighborhoods and interpersonal interactions of the respondents in their neighborhoods that can predict, and increase the likelihood or decrease the likelihood of violent situations. This in turn may impact the respondents' need to react violently and/or conditioning to react violently. IV2 (as seen in table 3) had a high/low score range from 15 to 3 and 13 valid values; meeting the ten value qualification and insuring sufficient variation to be considered continuous. The mean for the dependent variable is 9.36 and the standard deviation is 2.67. IV2 maintained 5816 valid cases and was missing 266 cases meeting the required standard.

The fourth independent variable, labeled IV3, in this study is neighborhood amenities. IV3 is an ordinal continuous variable constructed using index procedures. There are 8 indicators within this index measured variable, each of them is discrete and nominal yes or no questions. Each indicator was coded in the following manner; 1 = Yes, 5 = No, 8 = Don't Know, 9 = Refused to answer and the missing value codes were 7 through 9. The indicators are as follows:

Indicator 1: Park/playgrounds/open space in the neighborhood
Indicator 2: Supermarket in neighborhood
Indicator 3: Medical clinic in the neighborhood
Indicator 4: Bank/credit union in neighborhood
Indicator 5: Check cashing outlet in the neighborhood
Indicator 6: Library in the neighborhood
Indicator 7: Police station in the neighborhood
Indicator 8: There are clubs/associations/help groups in the neighborhood

Of these, indicators 1-8 had to be recoded to, 5 = Yes and 1 = No to insure common directionality. These specific 8 indicators and the constructed variable formed by them are reliable valid and form a normal distribution. All 8 indicators were combined because they all assess what available resources are in the neighborhoods in which the respondents lived. IV3 (as seen in table 3) had a high/low score range from 40 to 8 and 10 valid values; meeting the ten value qualifications and insuring sufficient variation to be considered continuous. The mean for the dependent variable is 28.01 and the standard deviation is 7.42. The dependent variable maintained 5590 valid cases and was missing 492 cases meeting the required standard.

The interactive variable COIVIV1 is a combination of the COIV number of relatives available one can call upon for help if need be and the "dummied" variable of main romantic involvement. All in all, the results of the hypothesis that are soon to be discussed are credible because all variables meet the normality, variation, reliability,

and validity requirements to conduct accurate and generalizable research.

Data Analysis

Multiple Regression, and its associated statistics (like R^2), constitute the primary statistics used to analyze the NSAL data to test the hypotheses. Multiple regression (MR) allows for the determination of the independent, *relative*, *interactive*, and *collective* effects that multiple independent variables have on a single dependent variable, and these capabilities of regression match well the nature of the questions and hypotheses that the research addresses. As noted when concluding the literature review above, the central and ultimate contribution to the existing scientific literature of our research is the unique hypothesized, *independent*, and *relatively more important* effect of the central organizing independent variable, the number of relatives a respondent could call for help if needed, for understanding our dependent variable, tendency to react violently. Granted the hypotheses of the independent effect of the number of relatives a respondent could call for help if needed is not as unique in the literature as our other hypothesis, it is important to start this research with a hypothesis that gives another perspective to the research outside what is already stated in the literature.

The idea that there is a statistically significant independent effect simply means that we can examine the effect of the number of relatives a respondent could call for help if needed, the central organizing independent variable while controlling for the other independent variables. The structural-functionalist theory, reflected by this central organizing construct, called here our central organizing independent variable, additionally, leads us to the awareness, and thus to hypothesize, that its relationship to the dependent variable, tendency to violently react, depends on the respondent's involvement in romantic relationships. This, of course, is a question of, or hypothesis about, the *interactive* effect of the number of relatives to call for help if needed and main romantic involvement on the dependent variable, tendency to violently react.

MR, also referred to as ordinary least squares linear regression or OLS regression is considered a robust test, as Borhrnstedt and Carter (1971) document, and is based on a linear (straight-line function), least squares [where the criterion of the best estimate of the regression coefficient is if its value is the one that minimizes the difference between the y-observed and y-predicted (y-hat) values for each person in the sample], model that allow researchers to explain or predict how one dependent variable regresses on several independent variables (Allison, 1999). Linearity is going to be important here, as we shall

soon see, given that the regression equation is based on a straight-line function, namely: Y = a+b1x1+b2x2+bjxj, or as is more clearly seen in the simple (one independent variable) regression function y = a+b(x). Two of the most widely used parametric procedures are MR and the analysis of variance (ANOVA). Either MR or ANOVA could be considered for addressing the unique type of hypotheses that our theorizing and research uniquely bring to the table on the question of the relationship between the number of relatives one could call on for help if needed and the dependent variable, tendency to violently react. In short, regression seems ideal for statistically summarizing the data that we have that can address the hypotheses that we have.

Multiple regression (MR) was used rather than its close cousin, the Analysis of Variance for several reasons. A reading of Cohen suggests that the conventional analysis of variance model is not the ideal way to analyze the data we have because of MR's ability to look at multiple independent variables, whether discrete or continuous, at the same time while controlling for other independent variables, also either continuous or discrete. Because it can control the influence of other variables, both discrete and continuous, MR is better than ANOVA (the analysis of variance) which can only consider and control for discrete independent variables. This leaves unanalyzed rival continuously distributed independent variables.in accounting for the variance. Cohen also believed that data can be better measured and accounted for using MR to calculate the variance explained in the dependent by the set of independent variables. In particular, the use of R2 was seen as especially efficient, and unique to regression, for doing the calculation of the variance explained in the dependent variable (Cohen, 1983).

Additionally, researchers have found multiple advantages to using MR over ANOVA, chief among them that MR gives you many more statistics than ANOVA, in addition to those provided in the ANOVA summary table, which both MR and ANOVA provide. ANOVA provides a view of whether or not the aforementioned differences are significant and/or due to chance, it offers very little about the nature of that relationship. All that is known, with ANOVA, is whether a significant difference exists between groups. In addition to the residual and regression sum of squares, degrees of freedom, f-statistic, and significance level, Multiple Regression produces standardized and unstandardized regression coefficients, their standard errors, along with the direction of their relationships, confidence intervals for the unstandardized coefficients, zero-order, partial and part correlations and collinearity statistics. MR, in short, tells us if there is a difference, where the differences lie, and we can predict to what degree the group causes changes in the dependent variable. Thus, this study uses MR

as it best fits the need of social scientists to account for all possible interactions between the independent variables and dependent variables.

Multiple regression is based on and only yields meaningful results when several ideal assumptions are met. These must be reasonably shown to characterize the data. Meeting these assumptions is critical because violations of these assumptions could result in data that is far removed from the type of data on which the advantages of regression are touted. The importance of the assumptions, and that our data meet the assumptions, is critical if we are to obtain the "best linear unbiased estimators, so-called" (BLUE) for the population being studied. That is since the goal of the researcher is to maintain the lowest possible sampling error, meeting the assumptions associated with MR enables one to confidently state that the findings are the "best linear unbiased estimates for the population, which in turn strengthens its reliability and validity. In short, it is critical that the seven ideal assumptions are met so that BLUE regression-related statistics, such as β, are forthcoming, thus lending credibility to the conclusions we draw, and their possible policy or programmatic implications. This section provides a discussion of the BLUE estimators that we seek, and that is guaranteed if we meet the seven ideal assumptions of MR discussed below.

Now mindful of why we want to ensure that our data meet the six ideal assumptions, to generate BLUE estimates, we now consider these assumptions: linearity; error constancy; normality; non-multi-collinearity; independent errors; and adequately specified model. For each assumption, we cover four points. First, we define what the assumption says or means. Second, we tell why the assumption is important, noting the consequence if we violate it. Third, we test to confirm whether or not this study's data meets the assumption and why or why not. Fourth we provide a statement on how the data can be corrected if an assumption is violated.

The first assumption is called the linearity assumption. The linearity assumption is concerned with establishing that a linear relationship between the variables where an increase/decrease in one variable continuously, monotonically, produces increases or decreases in the second variable. This is the straight-line function assumption, following from the straight-line function of the regression equation: $y = a+b(x)$, where we do not expect any curve, in bivariate CONTINUOUSLY DISTRIBUTED data, or downward (or upward) trending error points in multivariate CONTINUOUSLY DISTRIBUTED data. This is an important assumption because we try to fit a model to nonlinear data, we risk getting coefficients that give a model that does not fit the data. STUDENT FINISHES THIS DISCUSSION so that one understands fully why this is an important assumption.

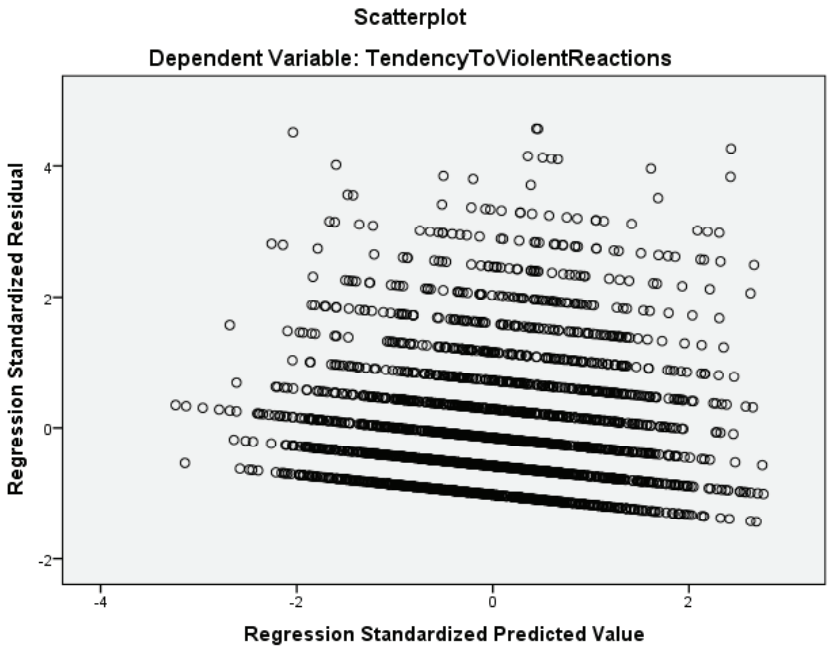
To test this assumption, we construct a residual plot (see Figure 2), a scatterplot of the standardized predicted (ψ) values for the dependent variable, plotted against the standardized residuals (Y- ψ).

Y-hat, of course, represents the linear combination of all of the independent variables, which is reflected in the Y predicted value for each person. Figure 2, is a scatterplot of the standardized residuals for the regression in this analysis, obtained by a subcommand added to the regression SPSS run, called a scatterplot, namely:

*Regression /variables=x,y,z /statistics=all /dep=z /method=enter x, y /scatterplot (*zresid,*zpred).*

Linearity can be established if most of the residuals in the plots fall randomly in or around, or more precisely, within plus or minus two deviations, from the mean. Thus, the mean of these residuals at any, and all, level(s) of y-hat is expected to be 0 (i.e., residual mean = 0 on the horizontal axis of the graph in Figure 2). Here it seems that linearity has been violated due to the appearance of multiple straight lines of data on the scatter plot. In real life, a careful researcher would

Figure 2
Residual Scatterplot of Standardized Residuals (Y- ψ) by ψ from the Regression of DV on IV's



want to possibly go back and attempt to get a better distribution even though all the variables vary with at least 10 values. Doing this might provide another, better distribution for the residuals accomplished by adding more indicators to the constructed dependent variable.

We see that the assumption of linearity is violated. Since, if the imaginary horizontal line at the zero point on the y axis, the spread of scores would not be clustered around the line, but creates a downward triangular shape, but very few plots are 2 standard deviations from the mean, as indicated by Figure 2 most cases are scattered around the horizontal line. Overall, there is a distinct cut of dots around the zero line and indicating that some residuals that fall below or above the zero line are not good predictors of linearity. This type of behavior violates linearity to some degree. However, regression is a robust procedure and can therefore accommodate minor violations (Bohrenstadt, 1971).

Additionally, we note that in correcting a more substantial violation of linearity, one could transform the data using the following equation: y = (a+bx12+bx2+bx3+bx4), which squares the data for x1, if it is determined that x1 is the reason for the nonlinearity (Bohrenstadt and Carter 1971). Also, rather than regressing y (dependent variable) on the independent variables, the syntax could be changed when entering in SPSS and could use the log of y inverse to still meet the BLUE standard (Chatterjee & Price, 2004). Thus, if I did violate one of my assumptions I could simply take the log of y to establish linearity.

The second assumption is that of the assumption of the constancy of errors, also called the assumption of homoscedasticity. This is the assumption that the dependent variable exhibits similar amounts of variance across the range of values for an independent variable. To the extent that there is not the constancy of errors, the standard errors of the regression coefficients (SEb) will be inflated. If SEb is inflated, then when dividing the regression coefficient (b) by its standard error (b/SEb) to see if b is statistically significant, will lessen the chance that we will get significance. That is t, reflecting b/SEb will be less likely to be significant. Thus, we are again missing an accurate representation of the data, and thus not getting BLUE-related regression statistics.

To test this assumption, one must examine the residual plot (Figure 2 above) and see whether or not the spread of scores or standardized residuals spread evenly across the graph. Graphically this is represented by "the degree of scatter around the regression line is roughly the same" (Allison, 1999). To determine whether or not the data violates homoscedasticity, one must closely examine the scatterplot of the residuals along the x-axis. By looking at the scatter along both the x-axis and the vertical scatter across all points along the x-axis, homogeneity is slightly violated because if the vertical scatter is not the same across all the x

values, thus the variance of y at any one level of x is not constant. In the case where the variance of y at one level is not the same across all the x values heteroscedasticity is indicated and it violates this assumption as it influences the standard error of regression coefficients. In the case of this study's data, the spread of scores is constant for the most part, indicating a widespread of non-errors thus revealing a constancy of errors for the most part. To correct this in-constancy, the square root of the dependent variable could be taken (Chatterjee, 1977).

The third assumption, multivariate normality, asks the question if there is a normal distribution when we look at two or more variables at the same time. The significance of this assumption is multivariate normality is a requirement for us to analyze the F and t-tests (Chatterjee, 1977). As such multivariate normality regression is the assumption that there is a normal distribution of errors amongst the linear combination of Xs. However, unlike linearity and constancy of errors—both important assumptions—a violation of normality is not critical and there is little impact when the sample size is large enough (Bohrnstedt & Carter, 1971). We can test the assumption of multivariate normality by looking at the residual plot, above. To achieve multivariate normality, the densest point of residual plots or scores at any level of y that should be at the mean, represented by the zero. Upon observation of the scatterplot in Figure 2, this assumption has not been violated as there is a high density of scores around the mean of zero and away from the mean density, thus indicating multivariate normality. If a violation did exist under this assumption the problem can be resolved by simply increasing the number of cases, assuming you are not working with secondary data.

The fourth assumption, non-multicollinearity, is the assumption that the independent variables are not highly correlated. Rj2 should not exceed the preset limit. This assumption is important because if the independent variables are too highly correlated we are not able, mathematically, to find the inverse of the correlation matrix. Theoretically or substantively, there are also negative consequences in violating this assumption. Namely, a question will arise as to which independent variable is responsible for the change in the dependent variable to test this assumption, we want to ensure that no correlation among or between independent variable exceeds .60. Using the SPSS's regression sub-command for tolerance to examine the collinearity among variables allows us to check this assumption in our data (see Table 4).

In examining Table 4, we see that there is non-multicollinearity. We have not violated this assumption. Especially important, by examining the tolerances, specifically 1 minus tolerance, we can measure the relationship between the independent variables. As noted, tolerances are converted to r^2 (1-tolerance = r^2), at which this study obtained the

following values for the independent variables:.07 for the COIV, indicating that only 7 percent of the variance in the COIV, # of relatives that would help if needed, is explained by the other IV's. .013 for main romantic involvement at the time indicating that only 13% percent of the variance in IV1, is explained by the other IVs. For IV2, neighborhood safety the value is .016, indicating that only 16% percent of the variance in IV2, is explained by the other IVs. Finally, IV3, neighborhood amenities, has a value of .013 indicating that only 13% percent of the variance in IV3, is explained by the other IVs. As indicated in Table 4, all these values are less than .60, therefore we can assume that this data meets the assumption of non-multilinearity. If however, this assumption was not met, one solution would be to make an index out of the independent variables that are correlated.

The fifth assumption of the OLS regression is that the procedures that

Table 4
Bivariate Correlation Matrix & Multivariate Tolerances/R2

Variables	*Tendency to violent reactions (DV)*	*COIV # of relatives that would help if needed*	*Main romantic involvement at the time*	*Neighbor-hood safety*	*Neighbor-hood amenities*
Tendency to Violent Reactions (DV)	1	-.044	-.078	-.120	-.033
COIV # of relatives that would help if needed	-.044	1	-.034	.061	.043
Main romantic involvement at the time	-.078	-.034	1	.08	-.076
Neighbor-hood Safety	-.129	.061	.080	1	-.077
Neighbor-hood Amenities	-.003	.043	-.076	-.077	1
Tolerance		.993	.987	.984	.987
R^2 = 1-Tolerance		.007	.013	.016	.013

we are doing and that the conclusions are based on interval/ratio measured variables. In interval measurement, the distance between attributes does have meaning. For example, when we measure temperature (in Fahrenheit), the distance from 30-40 is the same as the distance from 70-80. The interval between values is interpretable. Because of this, it makes sense to compute an average of an interval variable, where it doesn't make sense to do so for ordinal scales. But note that interval measurement ratios don't make any sense—80 degrees is not twice as hot as 40 degrees (although the attribute value is twice as large). In ratio measurement, there is always an absolute zero that is meaningful. This means that you can construct a meaningful fraction (or ratio) with a ratio variable. Weight is a ratio variable. In applied social research most "count" variables are ratios, for example, the number of clients in the past six months. Why? Because you can have zero clients and because it is meaningful to say that "...we had twice as many clients in the past six months as we did in the previous six months."

The assumption is important or significant because the data must be at the interval level when, as in the case, for example, of adding up the scores (or dividing, etc.) to calculate the regression coefficient. That is mathematical computations, like adding, only make sense or can, logically, be performed if there is a reasonably identifiable distance between data points (the values on the variable) from the measurement of the variable. Logically it does not make sense to add nominal data points. For example, the value 1, standing for male on the variable gender, added to 2 standing for female, does not make logical sense. Similarly for ordinal data problems can arise if the data is discrete so distances between data points and therefore certain calculations cannot be determined.

In testing our data to see how well we meet this assumption, we do violate that assumption with IV1, IV2, IV3, and the DV. Nevertheless, even though multiple regression works best with interval/ratio data, a continuously distributed ordinal variable may also be used as well. Continuously distributed ordinal variables allow for a measurable difference in impact to be discerned. Furthermore, nominal variables, sometimes referred to as dummy variables, because they must be changed to dummy variables to make sense of them, are used for interactive tests when combined with the COIV. This allows the researcher to tell whether a combination of variables together impact the DV significantly more than the COIV could by itself. We are also mindful, as it is stipulated, that the dependent variable is not nominal so that accurate, measurable, and valid differences between the impacts of the IVs on the DV can be discerned. As seen in Table 3, in this study the dependent variable, tendency to violently react, is a constructed variable that is continuously

distributed ordinal measurement thus meeting the requirements set forth by Borgatta and Bohrnstedt. Additionally, the construction of dummy independent variable, main romantic involvement, is discretely distributed nominal. This meets the requirement set forth by Bohrnstedt and Carter.

Lastly, the sixth assumption, independent random sample, ensures that any error point for anyone respondent (in calculating Y-y-hat), is not related to any other respondent's errors term, hence the term 'independent errors.' To violate this assumption is to have data that is not like that produced when establishing the distribution of all possible values in calculating, say, the t values for testing the significance of the regression coefficient. If the data from the distribution of getting critical t is based on an independent sample, as it is, then the data for observed t (resulting from the test of b/SEb should also be from independent observations. In testing this assumption for our data, we note that one can conclude that the sample size of 6,082 was randomly selected by a probability sampling (random sampling) method called multi-stage probability sampling. The term probability sampling indicates that there is no bias because everyone in the population had an equal chance of being selected, thus reducing any errors that might suggest that the responses on any one variable are influenced by the responses of another person in responding to the same variable. Generally, independent responses lead to independent residuals from one person's predicted y value to the next person's predicted y value. Due to the probability sampling approach used in the NSAL survey, we can assume that no data point is influencing other data points thus being independent. Even if this assumption had been violated, and as long as we are not trying to make generalizations to the population of persons from whence the sample came, we can assume that the distribution that we do have is a possibly random probability sample.

Results

When looking at the bivariate correlations table it is made clear that the COIV, the number of relatives that can help if needed, has a medium strengthened statistically significant negative correlation to the DV, tendency to react violently at the .05 level; meaning that as the COIV increases the DV decreases. Table 5 displays the results of the regression analysis:

For hypothesis 1, we hypothesize that one's tendency to react violently regresses significantly on the number of relatives one has to call upon for help if needed even when accounting for the effect of neighborhood amenities, neighborhood safety, and main romantic involvement.

According to the results, we reject the null hypothesis and accept the above stated alternative hypothesis. The COIV has an unstandardized regression coefficient of -.034, meaning that DV decreases on average .034 units per 1 unit increase of the COIV, a t-value of -1.973, and the significance level of .049. This falls below the .05 significance level standard meaning the numerical entry occurs by chance and thus has a Type 1 error (α) at 5% or less. Substantively, this Beta or standardized regression coefficient is -.038, meaning that there is an average decrease in the DV of .038 of 1 standard deviation per increase in the COIV.

For hypothesis 2, we hypothesized that the variance in the tendency to violently react can be explained by the number of relatives to call for help, acting additively (cumulatively) with neighborhood amenities, neighborhood safety, and main romantic involvement. According to the results we retain the null hypothesis; the variance in the tendency to violently react is not explained by the IV's combined. The r squared value is .022 meaning that only 2.2 % of the variance is explained well under the 30% criteria needed to reject the null hypotheses and say that a substantial amount of variance is explained by the IV's combined.

For hypothesis 3, we hypothesized that the number of relatives to call for help is relatively more important than neighborhood amenities (IV3), neighborhood safety (IV2), and main romantic involvement in explaining the tendency to violently react. According to the results this we retain the null hypothesis, the number of relatives to call for help is not relatively more important than neighborhood amenities, neighborhood safety, and main romantic involvement in explaining the tendency to violently react. In looking at the statistics it is found that the COIV has a t value

Table 5
Regression Summary Table:
Regression of DV on X1, X2, X3, X4, & X1X2 (NEffective= 2670)

Model	*b*	*SEb*	*T*	*p=Sig*	βb	*R*	R^2_{Adj}	*F*
Additive Model (A)						.152	.022	15.791
X1 = # relatives	-.034	.017	-1.973	.049 -	.038			
X2 = Romantic Invo								
X3 = NSafety	-.432	.068	-6.353	.000	-.123			
X4 =NAmenities	-.021	.025	-.858	.291	-.017			
Interactive (I) (+A)						.153	.022	.667
X1X2	-.007	.009	-.817	.414	-.030			
						$F_{\text{I-A change}}$ [c]		0

of -1.973, significance value of .049, unstandardized coefficient of -.034, and standardized coefficient of -.038. IV2 (X3) has a t value of -6.353, a significance value of .000, an unstandardized coefficient of -.432, and a standardized coefficient of -.123. IV3 (X4) has a t value of -.858, a significance value of .391, an unstandardized coefficient of -.021, and a standardized coefficient of -.017. IV2 meets the less than or equal to .05 significance value criteria and thus the numerical entry occurs by chance and thus has a Type 1 error (α) at 5% or less. So for IV2, it can be said with confidence that DV regression on it is statistically significant. The COIV meets that same criterion as well however, the IV2 has a stronger effect on DV since the DV decreases on average .432 units per unit increase in IV2 and the DV has an average decrease of .123 of 1 standard deviation. IV3 does not meet that significance value criterion of .05, the numerical entry does not occur by chance and thus had a type 1 error at 39.1%. This alone takes it out of contention because we cannot say confidently that the DV regresses statically significantly on IV3. Main romantic involvement is a dummied variable so we do not consider it.

For hypothesis 4, we hypothesized that the number of relatives to call for help produces the tendency to violently react, especially for those that do have main romantic involvements, and that this interactive effect significantly extends understanding of the tendency to violently beyond that of the addictive model. According to the results, the null is retained, the number of relatives to call for help does not produce the tendency to violently react, especially for those that do have main romantic involvements, and that this interactive does not affect significantly extend understanding of tendency to violently beyond that of the addictive model. Statistically, the interactive variable COIVIV1 has a significance value of .414, t value of -.817, unstandardized coefficient of -.007, and standardized coefficient of -.030; not meeting the criteria of less than or equal to .05 meaning that the numerical entry does not occur by chance, and thus has a Type 1 error (α) at 41.4%. This means that the DV does not regress significantly on the interactive variable COIVIV1. Also, the interactive variable COIVIV1 when combined with the other IV's only has an R-squared value of .022; the same value as the IVs acting independently of it. This means that even when including the interactive variable, 2.2 % of the variance in the DV is explained as falling well below the 30% criteria. Also, the F change statistic is zero, showing no change between when the interactive variable is added.

Discussion

Overall, the number of relatives one has to call on for help if needed

can explain to some extent one's tendency to violently react. Relatively, the COIV, the number of relatives one has to call for help if needed is not the most important variable in explaining one's tendency to violently react, neighborhood safety is. The interactive variable, the combination of the COIV, # number of relatives one could call for help if needed, and IV1, main romantic involvement does not extend understanding of the DV, tendency to violently react.

The statistics confirm that the theory concerning family availability, utilizing structural-functionalist ideology, does hold some truth concerning its possible determination of whether one will tend to react violently in situations. However, it may not play an important part as the theory would suggest. As the literature review mentioned, drugs already have been known to be connected to violent tendencies and the situations that bring them about. In this research, the variable, neighborhood safety, took account for this and the results supported its already considered importance. The amenities in one's neighborhood were not a significant factor, however, limitations concerning population and the fact that the data was collected in the early 2000s may play a part in this.

Practically, if the U.S. is going to continue to attempt to lower violent incidents within the African American community, it must continue to support and develop, on all governmental levels, helpful programs. Without acknowledgment and addressing factors that may increase the likelihood of violent reactions violence may never decrease. These programs must attempt to address family availability for support as well as the drug issues that are rampant throughout the United States in African American communities. Initiatives such as the African American Family & Cultural Center opened in 2011 as an MHSA funded collaboration between Youth for Change and the Butte County Department of Behavioral Health in California and those similar to it across the nation need more support if any headway is going to be made.

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Integrative Fourfold Teaching Approach for Multicultural Subjects

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Abstract

This article describes an "Integrative Fourfold Approach" to teaching multiculturalism in secondary and higher educational settings. Four general approaches to teaching multicultural issues are presented, followed by critical reviews from each perspective of the other three approaches. Next, the authors propose a teaching approach that integrates all four of the perspectives. Lastly, four applications of the integrative perspective are described.

Introduction

Currently in the field of education, there is a great push to focus on diversity and inclusion, with the aim to increase safety for, respect toward, and acceptance of different cultures through teaching cultural competency programs. Ideally, educators would be inclusive through understanding and welcoming differences; however, education has a long history of assimilating persons from different cultures into what is basically a White Euro-American system. Too often "social justice" and

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"diversity and inclusion" have been hijacked to serve this purpose rather than used to challenge our fundamentally "White" educational system and help educators accommodate it to culturally diverse needs and differences. While increasing diversity among student body, faculty, and staff, attempts to better understand people from diverse cultures can potentially be a beginning to changing an oppressive system. Profound positive change in regard to appropriateness and equality requires that teaching approaches, pedagogy, and more relevant curriculum changes take place to accommodate increasingly diverse populations (Patel, 2016). To do so would be a step in a direction to disrupt what are basically white pedagogies that dominate formal education systems in the United States.

In the U.S., k-20 classrooms consist of students who have a wide range of experiences and background culturally, linguistically, racially, and ethnically. Each student who has been embedded in diverse and multi-layered social contexts bring in their own cultural knowledge, unique ways to think and feel, and different ways to handle challenges and engage in help-seeking behavior. In order to tap into all students' potential and maximize each student's learning, educators need to develop diverse approaches that draw on invaluable resources of students' language, culture, history, and relational and communication styles (Gonzalez, Moll, & Ammanti, 2005; Rivet & Krajeik, 2008). Instead of assimilating diverse groups into interactive styles of dominant society, the integrative teaching style attempts to accommodate the educational system to the diverse unique learning needs of students (Brown-Jeffy & Cooper, 2011).

An Indigenous person, the first author of this article, was inspired to create this integral teaching approach by the wisdom found in various tribal medicine wheels. In general, Indigenous medicine wheels have four directions, represented by different signifiers and colors (which vary according to different tribes and sometimes clans). The four directions on the medicine wheels are often associated with critical dimensions of our lived reality, such as: mental, emotional, social, and spiritual. In this paper, the authors have slightly modified these signifiers, though not significantly, to better address the specific needs and conditions of educators (Clarke & Holtslander, 2018).

Problems with Teaching Multicultural Issues

There have been a variety of criticisms directed at multicultural education. The following critics stem from cognitive, relational, decolonial, and mindfulness perspectives. Sleeter (2012) argued a need for an overall reform in the prevailing pedagogical structure of the

multicultural college courses, describing them as standardized, simplistic, and guilty of promoting distorted understandings of the experiences of diverse populations. She advocated that instructors should focus more on evidence-based information concerning multicultural experiences. Tartwijk, Brok, Veldman, and Wubbels (2009) delineated the challenges of forming a supportive teaching environment when discussing sensitive multicultural topics. Further, their research revealed that the most successful multicultural classes occurred when the instructors did the following: provided clear interactive guidelines and classroom management; covered current critical issues; promoted proactive outlooks surrounding those issues; cultivated positive relationships with their students; and accounted for students' backgrounds when discussing diversity issues. In contrast, Horton-Ikard, Munoz, Thomas-Tate, and Keller-Bell (2009) expressed cynicism about their ability to effectively teach multicultural courses due the perceived challenges for both instructors and students to truly shed the heavy influences of societal and cultural factors implicitly brought to the classroom. They argue that more attention should be given to helping instructors and students to engage in profound self-reflection and meditation. Some researchers have argued multicultural education has failed to provide a broader, more comprehensive, coherent and challenging pedagogy. Martin (2010) advocates Confluent Education (CE), involving an integration of "cognitive, affective and psychomotor learning, one that reflects the whole student." He reported, in his study that, of 365 students who took a Race, Culture, and Politics (RCP) course, such a holistic approach contributed to fifty-five percent of students scoring significantly higher on attitudinal changes about minority groups.

Overview of the Integral Teaching Approach and Definitions

There are as many effective ways of addressing multicultural issues (or any class, for that matter) as there are instructors, but most teaching approaches fall within certain broad overlapping categories; these include (1) cognitive processing, (2) relational interaction, (3) decolonial critique, and (4) mindfulness. In reality, any given instructor's teaching approach cannot be so clearly confined to one of the foregoing categories, but many instructors have a primary teaching approach that may be linked more closely to one of these categories than to others. We will discuss the strengths and weaknesses of each approach and then propose an integrative approach that may prove to be enriching.

The Cognitive Approach focuses on transmitting knowledge through didactic and teacher-centered manners. The instructors' role is primarily conveying scholarly information to students and assisting students

to develop evidence-based knowledge claims and arguments. The Relational Approach emphasizes inter-subjective emotional relationships between the teacher and students, and students and students, which facilitate developing in-depth understanding and complex thinking. All class members' comments and opinions are equally valued, and legitimately contribute to form intersubjective cultural networks. The Decolonialization Approach challenges the basic assumptions that hold up societal structure, knowledge base, and power dynamics. It challenges the societal institutions that are imbued with racism, oppression and white supremacy. Instructors who foreground the decolonialization approach deliberately provide space for students to challenge their own assumptions, assumptions of white supremist society, and actions that can mitigate identified issues. Lastly, the Mindsight Approach searches for undetectable, yet the most fundamental levels of understanding of concerning their own opinions. Mindfulness is also a practice in education to aid students developing awareness and understanding about the interconnected reality and worth of all people.

Cognitive Approach

The cognitive teaching approach entails instructors working to effectively transmit information and knowledge. The instructor is likely open to new ways of conveying knowledge about the subject, but instructor/student interaction is essentially didactic and controlled by the instructor. While the instructor and the students may occasionally interact tangentially, the primary structure involves the instructor expertly providing scholarly information. The instructor, due to their presumed expertise, has the last word on covered topics, and discussion is utilized sparingly only as it assists the students in accurately and satisfactorily assimilating the information, not as a joint search for what is meaningful.

The cognitive approach is founded on the assumptions of the constitutive nature of reality proposed by positivist science and logical empiricism. The basic view proposed by positivists is that the only sort of knowledge that is possible is obtained by means of observation and controlled experiment. Ayer (1940) argued for clarifying the vague language of discourse and believed that much philosophic discourse consists in nonfactual grandiose generalizations. Logical empiricists continued the positivist line of argument contending that all reliable human knowledge is limited to sense experiences, while ordinary beliefs are false, though convenient. Consequently, discourse is most connected with reality when it is conducted with a scientific attitude; that is, related to factual knowledge that can be verified with sensory data and can be logically analyzed with precise language (Russell, 1956).

The underlying assumption of this approach is that a pre-existing reality can be mapped by experts armed with the latest methods of empirical inquiry. Limitations of methods, gaps in knowledge, and controversies between theories are reported and discussed when necessary. Scientific methodology involves rigorous testing, experimentation, and critical thought. The purpose of education is to furnish students with current data, information, and ideas about objects of knowledge. Successful students recite this validated information correctly (or answer correctly on exams) and such information will enable them to perform their future roles more effectively. Additionally, critical examination of current ideas and hypotheses based on emerging from data analysis is encouraged.

The instructor in this classroom is typically the resource for information and the guiding facilitator of discourse. Such an arrangement provides a comfortable environment for some students, especially those who may have been conditioned in earlier courses to study other subjects by accumulating information from experts, rather than engaging in subjective reflection and intersubjective interaction. The students are able to possess a measure of relative certainty about the valid and useful information they receive, substantiated and demonstrated by the work of research experts in their respective fields and continually updated to reflect current research. Research has made sense out of a morass of phenomena by carefully gathering data, organizing it effectively, and interpreting it with methods that are substantiated by evidence. In a strictly controlled "cognitive" classroom, a-priori ideas offered without evidence are viewed as indefensible. Feelings expressed uncoupled with reason and supportive data are viewed as insubstantial.

Education has benefited enormously because of its grounding in Positivistic philosophy and Logical Empiricism. It has offered students a plenitude of knowledge gleaned from rigorous scientific studies for most subject areas, including Multicultural studies. Such knowledge has helped to dispel dogmas previously accepted as truth, and liberated us from limited and contradictory ideologies, theories, and approaches that lacked foundations based on strong evidence (Maki & Syman, 1997). Furthermore, in classes dealing with multicultural issues, empirical evidences can be used to support or counter emotional assertions made during discussions. The cognitive teaching approach allows the instructor to challenge the students to support their arguments rationally and with evidence derived from research. When teaching from this perspective, declarations about multicultural issues which are founded exclusively on subjective and inter-subjective experience, social activist and critical race theories, or meditative awareness emerging from mindfulness are not deemed sufficiently supported.

Relational Critique

Teaching that only involves a mono-logical reporting of bare, observational data without creating conditions that facilitate subjective and intersubjective realities is lacking in relevance for students. Li Rao and Tse (2012) report that significant numbers of educators do not think cognitive styles of instruction are always the most effective ways of teaching certain topics, especially multicultural topics. They argue that a cognitive style of teaching in not always appropriate nor is it effective for students who were not raised in a non-white culture.

All comments, objective data or subjective expressions, delivered by an instructor are constructed in part by intersubjective cultural networks because they are communicated through language that is symbolic and cultural. Habermas wrote that the "success of a speech act [depends on] the hearer not only understand[ing] the meaning of the sentence uttered but actually enter[ing] into the relationship intended by the speaker" (1979, p. 59). He also maintained, "The limits of theories . . . are built up from accumulated evidence," but they are "constructed, and progressively reconstructed, in the context of conditions pertaining to the nature of argumentation" (Habermas, as cited in Held, 1980, p. 340). Multicultural classes cannot afford to degenerate into mono-logical instructional dispensations of empiricist data. Intersubjective, contextual, and constructivist knowledges are crucial parts of the constitutive nature of multiculturalism.

Decolonialization Critique

Instructors of multicultural topics should be aware of how their mode of communication impacts human relationships in and out of the classroom. Unconscious power relations are embedded in any dialogue and are conspicuous in teacher/student relationships (Freire, 2000). If unacknowledged, they lead to an anxiety of influence that distorts self-reflection and communication. In order to provide a framework of openness for student development in the realms of both communicative competence and individual development, instructors must work to eradicate dialogic barriers. While working to maintain an openness in communication may be challenging, arresting another's journey toward subjective meaning with one's incontestable data and opinions is a greater potential violation. Individual students/teacher relations are a microcosm for larger hierarchical societal relations and impact future socio-economic-political relationships that students will have in their homes, workplaces, and with ethnic and racial differences.

Dewey saw dangers he associated with limiting teaching primarily to

dispensing scientific facts to students : "It is taught as a finished product, with little regard either to the ways in which it was originally built up or to changes that will surely occur in the future" (Dewey, 1938, p. 19). Full awareness requires deep self-reflection and inter-subjective interaction, as well as empirical investigation, with a teleological perspective about one's role in society. Empirical data is a vital part of the quest to understand reality when it is integrated into holistic, inclusive, interpretive and sociological/cultural contexts. Tuck and McKenzie (2015) argue that all research findings are context bound, entangled in place and temporality, and are shaped by concept references that are never objective, neutral or universal and can invalidate, even erase marginalized groups' values and eventually ethnic communities' structures.

Mindsight Critique

Accumulating information does not necessarily result in changing our attitudes and the way we live our lives and interact with others. Feenberg (2005) writes that the technological biased consciousness oversimplifies and compartmentalizes our interaction with the world. Students may learn a great deal of information which is crucial, but if it is not integrated into their daily experience it lacks vitality. One of the potential problems with cognitive approaches is that there may be no attempts to nurture emotional centeredness and awareness of interconnectedness in the classroom. Such neglect may result in egoistic, combative arguments, and a failure in holistic integration of information.

Relational Teaching Approach

Helms (1989) and Sue and Sue (2008) contend that multicultural courses should be taught dialogically which entails teaching characterized by inter-subjective relationships between people. Greene (1995) wrote, "When teaching engages the relational, that is the emotive, intuitive and imaginative influences, cognition itself becomes inter-subjective." Instructors ascribing to this teaching approach relate to students on a more personal level and invite students to respond to the subject matter more subjectively, encouraging them to put what they have learned in their own words and to offer opinions about the subject matter. Learning is a matter of processing information, sometimes incorrectly, but working through subject matter in a discursive interaction toward more profound clarity and understanding (Freire, 2000). When students' comments are encouraged and respected, students may engage in sifting through and grafting new perspectives onto their own that may be more on a level they can comprehend, preparing them for ever more complex thinking.

A sole preoccupation with factual information and research reinforces a non-reflective technocratic consciousness and potentially impairs in-depth understanding of meaning as well as inter-subjective relationships (Habermas, 1962/2001). Habermas argues that many students may become focused on the extension of technical control rather than complex understandings. In the extreme form, some students will simply want a class in which they learn information that will be on a test. In contrast, effective dialogical teaching is not only the transmission of ready-made knowledge in an objective, scholarly cognitive fashion but also involves situating it in affective relationships. Helms argues that (1989) cultural identity development always includes affective as well as cognitive experiences.

Holistic development involves relationships with others and with the information studied. Fraser and Walberg (2005) state, "Not only has past research consistently replicated the advantages of positive teacher-student relationships in terms of promoting improved student outcomes, but positive teacher-student relationships also are worthwhile process goals of education" (p. 103). Learning environments where the teacher was viewed as "closer" or more "friendly" or more "understanding" were rated as superior to those where teachers were more "distant" (Fraser & Walberg, 2005). In a dialogical teaching situation, a student acquires multicultural knowledge by using it in relation to the teacher and other students. An emphasis on discourse rather than cognitive transference is a means of practicing communication skills that can enhance knowledge and cross-cultural interactions.

Gadamer (1960/1989) argues that it is self-delusional for an instructor to believe they can offer objective ideas untarnished by the cultures in which they participate. For Gadamer, there are never detached observers, nor is there a conversant who possesses and offers purely objective evidence during a dialogue. Each party enters the dialogue situation with a framework of concepts, beliefs, and standards which is largely a product of culture and personal prejudices. There is no independent ground to offer evidence. Integral to authentic communication is inter-subjective mutuality of reciprocal understanding, shared knowledge, mutual trust, and accord with one another. Yeung (2013) and his colleagues found that traditional white students respond well and actually increase their sensitivity and connectivity to diverse others by participating in inter-subjective, constructivist, "dialogue"-styled classrooms (Yeung, Spanierman, & Landrum-Brown, 2013).

Cognitive Critique

Overactive feelings can cloud clear rational thinking and even

interfere with genuine connections with others. By encouraging the full expression of feelings in dialogues about multicultural issues, instructors may be subjecting students to unresolved fears and anger from which they have little control, opening the door for some students to project their unconscious issues onto other students. One of the dangers of teaching multicultural issues is that instructors may at times find themselves working with discussants' chaotic unresolved emotions. Classrooms can quickly turn into group counseling sessions, which is unethical in classroom sessions (APA, 2017). While emotions are an integral part of multicultural classroom experience, teachers are not in environments conductive to therapy.

Decolonialization Critique

While the dialogic approach to teaching challenges authoritarian, top down hierarchy, and reflects a more democratic theory, its foregrounding of personal and inter-personal emotional connections may lead to a relative post-modern outlook that may lack a strong foundation from which to engage in actions to promote concrete transformation. Relational teaching approaches are launched from a fractured foundation that may suggest that all worldviews are arbitrary tastes. Patel (2016) exposes the empathetic feelings for the oppressed without intentionality as ultimately supporting the ongoing project of coloniality. Tuck and Yang (2012) call such and often overly emotional perspective that claims as "the move to innocence" which may care but lacks content and consequently intentional engagement and ultimately supports the ontological de-humanization of the marginalized peoples. The relational teaching approach may actually frustrate substantive attempts for inter-relationships. Focusing too much on feelings, some students may have only a superficial understanding of the structures within an oppressive system that contribute to oppressed groups' precarious and dehumanizing financial, medical, and educational predicaments.

Mindsight Critique

The mindsight perspective agrees with the relational perspective in its promotion of personal interactive experiences, which is requisite to transformative learning, but contends that this is only a fragment of a holistic learning experience. Students may be unstable in their emotions and their insight may be limited and distorted accordingly. It is crucial to detach oneself enough from one's feelings to analyze what one has said in an objective way. Furthermore, when some students become violent in their emotional expression, or on the other hand, put on an armor to

protect themselves from emotion, their intellectual receptivity is blocked. Emotional deregulations actually breed alienation among students. Interrupting unhealthy interactions with "pauses" (Shahjahan, 2014; Robbins & Hong, 2013) can contribute to more profound learning and less competitive interaction.

The Mindsight approach to teaching stresses a non-competitive interdependency and directs students to find commonalities that allows for non-polarizing productive conversations about difficult topics such as racism and sexism. While constructive argumentation can lead to insights, all too often persons during arguments label persons who disagree with them and characterize them negatively. An instructor who values the mindsight approach tries to facilitate students to engage in profound self-reflection and harmonious interaction that acknowledges the interconnectedness of everyone in class.

Decolonizing Teaching Approach

The production of all knowledge is entangled in larger socio-political contexts. Further, the generalizability and objectivity of the theories and information taught is limited and biased by the positionality of the sources and the presenter. Even larger projects that glorify themselves with labels like "diversity and inclusion," "equity and opportunity" typically operate in a theoretical frame of liberal humanism that uncritically accepts racialized structures and systems. Cacho (2012) argues that most social justice perspectives and approaches actually strive for the successful assimilation of oppressed groups of people rather than transforming the oppressive racist systems (Cacho, 2012). For instance, when teaching about violence in Black communities or poverty in Native American communities, discussions may be conducted with unintentional anti-Black and anti-Native American frameworks when dire statistics are presented in ways that do not take into account the strengths and needs of the oppressed people, the unique logics in these communities, long histories of accumulated suffering and oppression, continued discrimination and prejudice, varying values and beliefs and the their unique epistemologies and ontologies. Too often, these larger frameworks are not sufficiently interrogated in multi-cultural discussions, and opportunities to resist them are not provided (Tuck & McKensie, 2015).

Summerville (2013) criticizes the failed efforts of white teacher preparation for multicultural classroom settings. He argues that white teachers tend to be trained by white educators which contributes to their entering into the field of education ill prepared to deal with multicultural students, topics, and issues. Sheets (2000) argues that teachers in general are, "culturally disadvantaged, experientially limited, and often

linguistically deficient in both preparing and teaching the nation's recipients of this knowledge and service (p.19)". Brandon (2003) argues, "To play fair, then, requires that white teachers recognize when their classroom practices assume assimilation into the dominant culture and their actions exclude the contributions of diverse individuals and groups (p.31)". Furthermore, as Thurston (2004) writes that much less than working to dramatically alter educational environments to accommodate diverse students, "schools often do not help to resolve racial conflicts and tensions (p. 166)". He continues arguing that to think that we are ahead in adequately preparing white educators for multicultural classrooms is misinformed, and perhaps delusional.

It is the responsibility of the instructors to facilitate students in developing curiosity and a critical mindset about multicultural issues and knowledges and to examine their own assumptions concerning multicultural relations, assumptions that underlie Western theories methods of research inquiry, and epistemologies taught in educational programs. Because these issues do not automatically emerge in classroom discussions, instructors must be willing to ask difficult and probing question to facilitate students' explorations into Western white assumptions and to look at pernicious prejudices and assumptions that may undergird their personal outlooks about race and ethnicity.

Even if students acquire heightened awareness about colonizing structures and systems without direct engagement in their communities to address the dehumanization of oppressed people, students are vulnerable to becoming impotent armchair activists. Some educational programs emphasize the importance of community-based treatment and the manipulation of social conditions associated with risk and resilience, and advocacy for vulnerable segments of society (Bemak & Chung, 2008; Burnett, Oyemade-Bailey, & Toldson, 2006). Currently, many American Psychological Association (APA) doctoral programs and American Counseling Association (ACA) programs are assessed on the extent to which their programs engage with their communities (Rebecca Toporek, 2005; 2006) and act as change agents (Roger Worthington, 2010). These focuses have brought an action or behavioral dimension into classrooms and educational programs.

Cognitive Critique

Deep learning never takes place when one is absorbed in clinging tenaciously to ideologies without support from scientific data. Critical Race Theories from which this Decolonialization derives, is primarily a collection of theoretical concepts and definitions largely unsupported by empirical studies. Instructors speaking from this ultimately rigid

ideological perspective may be filled with an emotion and passion which occludes them from direct genuine empathy for real human beings. The "empathy" is often principle based rather than based on research data and reason. Instead of transforming the world for the better, the students who swallow these encapsulated theories find themselves imprisoned in this ideological false identity that many people perceive as inauthentic. Banks and Banks (1997) describe how individuals often subsume their thinking into a consensus with a group they identify with, effectively reinforcing attitudes that have no valid knowledge base. Such oppositional/binary mentality ignores the possible in-between spaces of dynamic interchange between and among self and other. Consequently, a we/others perspective only serves to alienate people that otherwise might have united in causes that might have led to positive transformation.

Relational Critique

There is an irony about the lives of social activists. While they may challenge conventionality, the united front they form in order to have the power to bring about social transformation may give birth to a new kind of conformity, spawning an airtight politically correct way of thinking to which all "caring people" are pressured to adhere. This is dangerous from a relational perspective, as conformity replaces authentic relationships. In an authentic relationship, persons may band together and work together against oppression, but they do not lose their unique and differing feelings and perspectives.

When discussing multicultural issues, students will inevitably feel pressured to either be among those who are supportive of oppressed groups or to remain true to paradigms that are often conspicuously linked with "whiteness." The reluctance to question the new paradigm on both sides of the argument makes honest interaction and potential productive relationships impossible. Inevitably, the class turns into a war between the exemplars of social change and those who feel they are guardians of the intact realized order. Consequently, the dialogic awareness of free interaction is not achieved. Most people are resistant to social activists who judge them for not feeling enough anger about whatever the multi-cultural issue might be. Feeling must arise from the free verdict of the heart.

Mindsight Critique

The social activist persona can become problematic and limiting. It does not allow for holistic growth nor authentic feelings; instead, it insulates and acts like a shell of armor against antithetical ideas

and as an uncritical devourer of ideologically congruent perspectives. When social activists fail to engage in mindfulness, they may think of themselves as being responsible for converting other people to their worldview, and when the persons do not change their viewpoints, because they lack a non-judgmental mindsight, they may negatively label them. Consequently, in classrooms, students in the shell of a social activist persona may engage in knee-jerk reactions that alienate other students. They may divide other students and professors into simple categories, accepting or rejecting them accordingly. In contrast to this perspective, Bateson (1972) argued that instead of fostering separation by simplifying choices within the rigid, either/or framework, we should explore ways of thinking and being in our connectedness and complexity, which will grant new possibilities of thinking.

The mindsight perspective begins with the notion that we are not isolated separate beings but interconnected and inter-related in multiple ways and activating mindsight through meditation and mindfulness exercises will lessen tendencies to rush to judge others. Substantial paradigm shifts can occur when we know that we are one and that our knowledge of our ultimate inter-connectedness guides our efforts to bring about change.

Mindsight Teaching Approach

Dan Siegel (2012) writes, "Mindsight is a kind of focused attention that allows us to see the internal working of our own minds. It helps us to be aware of our mental processes without being swept away by them...to move beyond reactive emotional loops we all have a tendency a tendency to get trapped in (p. xi)". The mindsight teaching approach is based on mindfulness which has been practiced by Zen Buddhists and Christian mystics in the form of meditation and contemplation for thousands of years (Lynch, Chapman, Rosenthal, Kuo, & Linehan, 2006).

Stress and anxiety are common emotional responses but can be detrimental to learning when they are experienced chronically (Wilson & Conyers, 2013). Mindfulness reduces emotional distress (Kiken & Shook, 2012). High stress levels sometimes characterize multi-cultural discussions in classrooms. Using mindsight strategies in when engaging in multicultural discussions may help students learn more effectively by providing students with concrete strategies for regulating their stress and intense emotions. For example, practicing mindful movements such as yoga can be used for reducing symptoms of anxiety (Zoogman et al, 2019). These results can be explained by looking at the impact that participating in a mindfulness intervention has on the human brain, specifically how the brain processes emotional experiences. Practicing

mindfulness can physically alter the way the brain processes emotional experiences such as anxiety (Shanok et al. 2019). Practicing mindfulness help students engage in multicultural education discussions with fewer symptoms of anxiety.

A mindsight perspective is also synonymous with achieving an awareness of ourselves and our inter-relationships that transcends merely acquiring more information, empathizing with others' feelings, or a comprehension of the structure and action needed to resist oppressive systems. A primary goal of multicultural studies should be to facilitate the process of methodical deep self-reflection to penetrate surface meanings that often manifest themselves as deformations in communication interactions and social institutions (Helms,1989). Through contemplative self-reflections students may be able to appreciate and accept differences and arrive at a universal awareness of the worth of all people and to understand the deep interconnections between humans and non-humans. Mindsight involves the nonjudgmental observation of one's thought processes to their conclusions, which subsequently leads to a de-identification from one's personal opinions. One maintains openness, capable of constant negotiation. Mindfulness promotes positive reappraisal of emotional experiences (Gardland, Gaylord, & Park, 2009). Positive reappraisal is a way of achieving distance from emotional phenomena regardless of emotional valence.

Lastly, the mindsight approach advocated here involves an attainment of awareness of our interconnections in reality. Heidegger (1962) describes a spiraling concept of self, which dynamically evolves as it stretches toward its "widest orbit" with others in the world. Thinking and feelings expand, growing ever more complex, diverse, and interconnected. Heidegger argued that the continued contrivance of a rigidly intact, unchanging self contributes to disconnection from others. Mindfulness helps to situate multicultural discussions beyond mere political and cultural domains, reducing them to material relations, fleeting emotions, cognitive knowledge or into a fragmented diversity.

Cognitive Critique

Spiritual wisdom can be problematic because persons professing it often disregard any empirical evidence that challenges their views. Mindsight, which is an element of spirituality, is typically relegated to inner subjective experience, much of which is not currently verifiable through empirical investigation. When intuition and invisible realities are valued as highly as reason and sensory observation, it is simply unacceptable. At this point, there is not enough research to make mindfulness a major part of our education curriculums. Language such

as "unitary experience" and "interconnection" are concepts too vague for validating and generalizing to actualize in classrooms. Students and teachers who base their arguments on spiritual intuitions lack the solid foundation of concrete objective reality from which to demonstrate and support their ideas. Unless intuitive insights can be subjected to feedback loops of evidence and reason, which provide checks and balances, biases cannot be evaluated. When one acts upon these biases there is a greater likelihood for potentially destructive initiatives.

Relational Critique

The Relational teaching approach is founded on the premise that emotional intelligence should be respected and nurtured. Regulated emotion can contribute to greater awareness of situations and can enhance memory, facilitating retention of information learned in classroom situations (Lynch et. al., 2006, Linehan, 1993). On the other hand, while Mindsight approaches help students to become aware of problematic emotions rather than allowing themselves to be dominated by them, there is the danger of over-regulating our emotions. Many successful students in college and graduate colleges have likely learned to exercise a degree of control over their lives, including regulating their emotions, which may contribute to their success in school. Therefore, in teaching students to be aware of their emotions, instructors should take care not to inadvertently encourage their repression. Regulated emotional interactions can enhance learning as well as cohesion in a classroom.

Decolonialization Critique

Social activists have always been the most formidable critics of spiritual contemplative traditions. The contemplative and meditative religious traditions from which mindfulness originated teach renunciation of our illusory world. Mindsight teachings of meditative detachment retains the lineaments of renunciation, which cuts people off from ourselves as change agents. Encouraging mindfulness in a classroom might be interpreted in a way that leads students to become absorbed in their inner or spiritual worlds, becoming less engaged in working to alleviate the suffering of the world.

Integration of the Four Elements of the Integrative Model

Limiting one's teaching to one of the preceding approaches can potentially inadequately address students varying learning approaches as well as limit the breadth and depth at which the multicultural subjects

being presented. Appropriately integrating different combinations of the four approaches described above may address these issues. To briefly summarize: knowledge acquisition lacks relevance until it manifests itself in the occurrence of inter-subjective discourse. Inter-subjective interactions in multicultural classes that are uninformed by research studies and theory are devoid of substantive content. Integrating the Decolonizing approach with the above approaches allows for a more complicated and profound exploration of the oppressive systemic influences that we may unconsciously adhere to. We must deeply consider how we have been socialized to fit into social institutions and how we rationalize our own role in the sufferings of minority groups. The Mindsight approach promotes a detachment from our feelings and thoughts to allow for objective considerations of our feelings and thoughts. Considering overall meanings about not just the cognitive, affective, and political domains of life but about interpretations about life as a totality.

Classroom Applications

It is not within the scope of this article to offer an intricate integral pedagogical rubric as a guide in discussing multicultural issues or even to offer a wide array of relevant classroom activities. But it is hoped that by utilizing the fourfold integral approach described above, instructor' imaginations can be released to expand the way they teach their courses. The following paragraphs contain a few integrative teaching approaches and activities that have been successful when covering multicultural subjects in our courses.

Teachers may begin with an assignment for students to do library research on a given multicultural subject. To include a relational element, instead of having students investigate the topic individually, the investigative process, the writing of the paper, and its presentation might be conducted in groups of three or four. In the discussion section of the paper, students might discuss the cultural and political implications of the information they have gathered. Then students might write a page about the process of working together interdependently. Lastly, after each presentation, a few minutes of a teacher led mindfulness meditation about the meaning of the information of the assignment had for them and then have students self-disclose about it.

But sometimes an activity specifically designed to facilitate students to connect and feel validated can be helpful. A circle of five to ten students might be formed with one student sitting in the center. Each student, going around the circle, might compliment or encourage the student in the middle. They might recall a comment in class that helped

them understand or that might have challenged them in a good way. A cognitive element may be added to the activity by having the teacher quote from research about how cohesiveness in a classroom contributes to accelerated learning. Students may discuss how acknowledging unique strengths and providing space to actualize them may lead to improved outcomes in social action projects. At the end of the activity, students may discuss any mindful considerations they engaged in about how they were to best compliment students in the middle of the circle.

Providing opportunities to participate in activist projects helps students move from the contemplative to the behavioral domain. A few of the activities arranged for our students included: attending Tibetan Buddhist ceremonies, dinner with the monks and then distributing literature about the political injustices in Tibet; distributing canned goods during Christmas time; and providing a meal for the homeless in our city on Thanksgiving day. Others have included not only participating in Native American sweat ceremonies but helping to chop wood and gather rocks for the sweat group's future ceremonies. Another activity involved participation in a weekend immersion experience at Heifer Ranch, where students approximated living experience of persons living in poverty-stricken areas of the world. Studies about the conditions of the persons living in the regions can be reviewed as well as studies about the value of immersion experiences raising social consciousness for students. In all the above activities, students presented research in small groups to the class about the activity. Students had to work through a variety of feelings, both personal and interpersonal as they participated in the activities. Process groups were set up, with required attendance, in regard for each of the above activities. Classroom discussions after each activity revealed that students felt that as they broke out of their safe cultural boundaries, they felt that they had assumed greater responsibility as global citizens.

While mindsight activities certainly characterize the extra-curricular activities listed above, students may engage in various meditation activities in class as well. Meditations can be completed in short blocks of time that may lead to more mindful speaking and living. Some may include focusing the mind on an object while others might involve learning to detach from feelings and thoughts in order to objectively consider them, and others may entail contemplating global issues and even the interdependence of all living things. Mindfulness exercises such as group meditations have been associated with facilitating groups achieving greater emotional resonance and empathy for each other (Siegel, 2010). Social activists have long recognized the value of mindful interactions between comrades in deliberate decision making (Freire, 2000).

To conclude, many instructors have experienced the stress of leading

difficult discussions about multicultural issues. The writers of this article do not pretend to have concocted the perfect formula to teach these topics successfully, but it is hoped that the above intellectual reflections about a fourfold integrated approach have expanded educators' perspectives. Further, it has been the intention of the authors to address the issue of students needing different teaching approaches to address their unique learning styles.

Worth mentioning, is that we have presented this model as a debate panel at three university education schools and at several program departments. Each time it was a major success in terms of professors becoming intensely engaged in and having fun during the reflections about which approach they were most closely identified with. We do not know the extent that it may have affected their teaching approaches, but with the current emphasis on diversity and inclusion, we hope that teachers will consider reflection upon the subjects of this paper worthwhile.

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Parents Want Their Voices to "Matter":

Perspectives on School Enrollment in a Shrinking Urban School District

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the school selection process of parents whose children attended an urban school district in Northern California. Like numerous urban school districts across the United States, the district highlighted in this study also encountered students exiting its schools for the past decade. The findings shared in this paper from a mixed methods case study of parents whose children attend school in the district. Data were based on a quantitative survey and qualitative focus groups. The data indicate parents consider several key factors when selecting schools for their children including academics, class size, and differentiated instruction and support for their children; the school and administration's relationship to diversity and the community; and the overall enrollment process. The parents' narratives also revealed educational leaders must create a culturally relevant learning community in order to ensure parents, students, and community stakeholders will garner the support, resources, curricula, and learning activities to stop the exodus of children from schools within the school district.

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Introduction

Over the past decade, the number of K-12 students attending U.S. public schools in urban centers across the country has shrunk enormously (Aron, 2017; DeNisco, 2013; McCoy, 2016). For instance, the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUD), which had its district's enrollment peak "in 2004 at just under 750,000, began to drop" (Aron, 2017). Gradually, schools within the district, which were once overcrowded, became under-enrolled (Aron, 2017). According to school board member Ref Rodriguez, the LAUD currently contains "buildings built for 1,000 kids," but has "something like 400" kids per building (Aron, 2017). In 2018, the District's enrollment was about 453,000 students (Blume, 2019). The District now grapples with a lack of resources to support its under-enrolled schools. It is now a cash-poor and land-rich district (Aron, 2017).

One of the most important factors behind the shrinking of urban K-12 schools across the U.S. is school choice. School choice stands as a pillar of the corporate reform movement in education (Anyon, 2014; Gilbert, 2019; McLaren, 2015). In fact, school choice is viewed by some as the solution to a U.S. public school system that is often described as failing. According to numerous scholars, school choice shows no sign of going away as more for-profit corporations seek to pull students away from existing public schools through opening and managing charter schools (DeArmond, Jochim, Lake & University of Washington, 2014). For-profit corporations feed their coffers when they manage the schools, construct buildings to launch schools, sell curricula, and sell supplies and services so as to support day-to-day classroom operations (Prothero, 2018). Others factors behind shrinking urban schools include families across the U.S. having less children, the relocation of families from urban centers to inner-ring suburbs, and the disenchantment of some urban families with their children's schools (Gorlewski, 2010).

The research team, consisting of three educational faculty members from comprehensive universities in the U.S. launched a mixed method study in 2017 within a large urban school district in Northern California. The district has been dealing with an exodus of students from its schools for the past several years. For instance, in 2014-2015, 33% of students between 5th and 6th grade and 27% of students between 8th and 9th grade left the district. Consequently, there are less resources to serve students, which has resulted in cutting of academic programs, elimination of staff and teaching positions, and rollback of other services for students and the broader community.

The purpose of the study was to examine the perceptions of parents in relation to how and why they selected schools for their children to attend in an urban school district with declining enrollment. The study was based on a mixed methods case study design that used an online quantitative survey followed by qualitative focus groups with parents in the district. The focus groups were designed to provide further depth and expand on the survey findings, as well as provide an additional platform for parents to share their own narratives and insights of how urban schools can be equipped to support student learning, foster community engagement, and stem the exodus of students leaving urban K-12 schools.

Theoretical Perspectives

This study is informed by the collective work of critical pedagogues who capture how schools in the U.S. function to maintain the dominant social order along the lines of race, class, gender, disability, and sexuality (Darder, Mayo, Paraskeva, 2016; Goodley, 2016; McLaren, 2015). There are numerous policies, practices, and pedagogies responsible for educational institutions breeding oppressive conditions within schools as well as perpetuating inequitable educational outcomes. For instance, in 2009, the Obama Administration "enacted a $4.35 billion, competitive, voluntary grant program," Race to the Top (RTT), which further propelled educational disparities in the U.S. (Onosko, 2011, p. 1). The plan had several components that were devastating for minoritized students who attended K-12 schools in urban contexts (Onosko, 2011, p. 2). RTT was responsible for creating national common standards in mathematics and language arts; for supporting evaluation of teachers, students, educational leaders and school districts through high-stakes standardized testing; and for devaluating academic subjects and co-curricular activities that were not part of the common standards or testing mandates (Ososko, 2011). The components of RTT homogenized knowledge and standardized teaching and learning practices in schools, which, to echo Freire (1985), blocked students to have the "passion to know" why there are power differentials in school settings, urban contexts, and the broader global world. The plan also supported the opening of numerous for-profit charter schools in the U.S., which played a significant role in shutting local neighborhood public schools in urban communities including schools within the school district of this research study (Bryant, 2018).

Numerous critical pedagogues also remind us that there are fissures within schools that allow leaders, parents, youth, and concerned citizens to challenge inequalities, entrenched power relationships, and oppression (McLaren, 2016; Prier, 2017; Wright, 2016). The researchers believe examining the perspectives of parents in relation to the school enrollment

process in a school district with declining enrollment affords educational leaders, families, and government officials vital information to thwart the exodus of minoritized students from public K-12 schools in the U.S.. In the pages that follow, the study will show how the parents' insights may lead to the development of resources, programs, and curricula designed to enable the most marginalized children to become successful academically as well as ensure urban schools in the U.S. reflect family and community priorities, rather than the values embraced by the dominant culture.

Literature Review

This study examined how and why parents select K-12 schools for their children. Most researchers who have engaged in similar investigations were particularly informed by rational choice theory (Scott, 2000) and Bourdieu's (1986) theory of social capital. Rational choice theory suggests that parents engage in a school choice process that employs individual, cogent decision-making after investigating salient school factors (Bosetti, 2004). The school choice movement presumes that parents, armed with a complete understanding of their child's learning needs and each school's attributes, will engage in a "spirit of competitive individualism" (Bosetti, 2004, p. 394), making rational decisions, while also putting pressure on all schools to be more responsive to parents. In short, rational choice theory stands as a critical element of a market-driven theory to improving our schools, further espousing the idea that weeding out unsuccessful schools works in the same way unsuccessful businesses are weeded out in a competitive environment (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Friedman, 1962).

Rational choice relies on information about the conditions at hand (Scott, 2000). In order to make a reasonable choice and access the means for attaining that choice, an individual must have adequate information (Bosetti, 2004). Studies have shown that parents often obtain information about schools and the school choice process through their social network (Bell, 2009; Bosetti, 2004; Bosetti & Pyryt, 2007; Klute, 2012; Villavicencio, 2013); thus, a well-informed, well-connected social network serves as a critical purveyor of information. Bourdieu (1986) stated that "the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term" (p. 249). This begs the question of who can readily access thorough information, thereby calling for not only an examination of how and why parents make a school choice, but the process for school choice including dissemination and acquisition of information.

Parents choose a school for many different reasons. In a report

sponsored by The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Boyer (1992) stated,

> At the heart of the [school choice] argument is the expectation that parents will choose schools of higher academic quality [...] However, evidence suggests that [...] academic concerns often are not central to the decision. [...] Many parents base their school choice decision on factors that have nothing to do with the "quality of education. (pp. 12-13)

Several prior studies shed light on the factors that parents consider when selecting a school for their child (Jochim, DeArmond, Lake & Gross, 2014; Goldring & Rowley, 2006;). We use three categories to organize the research salient to this study: (1) academics, (2) geographic factors, and (3) social influences. We conclude with comments on the school choice process.

Academics

Although the architects of school choice view academics at the forefront of the school selection process, in reality, parents grapple with a complex interplay of factors. In a report to the Center on Reinventing Public Education, researchers found that a strong majority of 4,000 parents surveyed in eight major cities listed academics as the first priority in school selection (Jochim et al., 2014). However, Goldring and Rowley (2006) conducted a study in a countywide system of 129 schools serving 70,000 students, and found that most parents ranked academic achievement as their first priority in school selection, but several factors ranked closely behind academics: safety, convenience, and school characteristics.

In fact, in an analysis of 23,254 school choice forms in the Denver Public Schools, Klute (2012) found that parents often indicated multiple reasons for selecting a school, even when specifically asked to indicate the "most important single reason" (p.7) Bell (2009) found that in addition to academics, parents also focused on the child's overall well-being—whether or not a child could thrive in the school environment—and social aspects, considering friendships and if the child knows other students who attend the school. When it comes to convenience, parents consider location and transportation options. Klute (2012) found that 48% of parents who completed a school choice form for Denver Public Schools indicated a school's proximity to their home, work or other family members as a factor in their selection of a school. Moreover, De Jarmond, Jochim and Lake (2014) found that lack of transportation serves as a factor that may eliminate a choice in their decision-making process.

Geographic Factors

Jochim et al. (2014) also found that although parents prioritize academics, some parents face trade-offs with safety and location; it is likely that less advantaged parents are forced to consider safety and location when available schools are unsafe, or when few good schools are available near home. Similarly, distance to a child's school was a significant consideration in a study conducted among parents in the Denver Public Schools (Together Colorado, 2012). Finally, based on a survey of 1,500 parents in schools across Alberta, Canada, Bosetti (2004) found that 50% of public-school parents indicated *proximity to home* as the most important factor in choosing a school. Lack of transportation may also force difficult choices, including the availability of free school transportation, geographical constraints in a city or region, and the quality of a public transit system (Jochim et al. 2014).

Social Influences

Villavicencio (2013) referenced Bell's (2009) assertion that parents do not choose among every school accessible, but rather that they choose among much smaller choice sets (Lurie, 2004) determined in part by a parent's social and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). When parents select a school, including charter schools, they are influenced "not only by what options are readily available, but also by individual choice sets (or the perceptions thereof)" (Villavicencio, 2013, p.4). In a study conducted with 42 mostly white, middle-upper income parents Holme (2002) found that most parents selected a school based on information from their social network. Similarly, friends, neighbors, and other parents were cited as the most important source of information in the survey of 1,500 parents conducted by Bosetti (2004). In a system dependent on accurate information in order to exercise rational choice, it appears that parents use social networks to not only base their decision on what may or may not be accurate information about school quality, but actually construct the quality of a school, good or bad (Holme, 2002; Roda & Wells, 2013).

School Selection Process

Many parents, especially those who lack social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) face limited choices in school selection, often due to barriers such as inadequate information, lack of transportation, and uneven school quality (DeArmond, Jochim & Lake, 2014). Although parents want to exercise school choice, current research indicates that parents often have few options that fit their child's needs, with an even greater struggle if a child requires special education (DeArmond et al., 2014; Jochim et al.,

2014; Roda & Wells, 2013). Intense competition over the highest quality schools means that some families end up no better off, no matter how hard they try.

Jochim et al. (2014) indicated that information is a key barrier to school choice, and that parents with a bachelor's degree or higher reported using more information sources than parents with a high school diploma or less. Sadly, Jochim et al. (2014) found that even in school systems with the most comprehensive information systems, parents were no more likely to report having the information useful to their school search. This affirms the recommendation in Zaich's (2013) study that educators must improve communication regarding school options, and increase the amount and attention placed on the information used to determine school effectiveness so that all parents become well-informed consumers.

Summary

School choice has moved from the margins to the mainstream, including the opportunities and challenges choice brings and under what conditions (DeArmond et al. 2014). Although academics often rank highly in parents' decision making, it is one of several factors including geography and social influences that make choosing a school a complex process.

Methods

This study was based on a mixed methods case study design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017; Stake, 1995) on the enrollment processes for the district and the factors that parents identify as most important when selecting a school for their child. Although a case study design limits our ability to make generalizations, this design allowed us to investigate the perspectives of parents in a much more detailed fashion than another design would have allowed (Stake, 1995). The study used a two-phased approach. Stage 1 entailed online surveys distributed to two parent groups: (1) parents of all current students in the district and (2) parents whose students were no longer in the district (but for whom the district still had contact information). Stage 2 entailed follow-up focus group interviews with parents in the district.

This second qualitative phase was included to provide further depth to the first quantitatively oriented phase (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017; Krueger & Casey, 2009). The two stages were integrated by identifying demographic groups for the focus groups based on survey responses compared to district demographic data, using findings from the quantitative phase as a deductive framework to analyze the qualitative

phase data, and presenting the findings in an integrated way. The findings from the data from parents in the district are the focus of this article.

Setting

This study was conducted in a large, urban, Northern California school district that at the time of the study was serving almost 37,000 students. More than half of the students spoke a language other than English at home, and the majority of students received free or reduced priced lunch. Latina/o students comprise almost half of the student population, with additional demographics reported as follows: 25.4% African American, 13.3% Asian, 11.4% White, 4% Multiple Races, 1.1% Pacific Islander, 0.8% Filipino, 0.3% Native American, and 2% not reported.

Quantitative Survey Data Collection and Analysis

Stage 1 of the study entailed a 16-question anonymous, online survey hosted on SurveyMonkey. The survey was shared with all parents of currently enrolled children in the district. Parents were notified via email, robocall, newsletter, and/or a posting on the district website. We received 882 completed surveys. Since students' ethnicity are reported measures from the district, the survey asked parents to identify the ethnicity of their oldest child. Based on this question, we received an over-representation of respondents who selected White (38.4% in the survey, 11.4% in the district) and an under-representation of respondents who selected Latino (9% in the survey, 41.8% in the district) or African American (12.9% in the survey, 25.4% in the district).

Descriptive statistics were used to provide information to the district regarding respondent demographic data and quantitative data regarding the closed-response questions on the survey. Open-response survey questions were coded for emergent themes, and focus group transcriptions were recorded, transcribed, and coded for emergent themes.

Qualitative Focus Group Data Collection and Analysis

Stage 2 of the study entailed four focus group interviews. Focus groups were used rather than individual interviews to encourage more self-disclosure and to create a welcoming environment for conversation (Krueger & Casey, 2009). The focus groups were conducted by members of the research team at three of the district's elementary schools on four different days. Since the surveys from Stage 1 under-represented African American and Latina/o students compared to the demographics of the district, the researchers used these focus groups to better understand their experiences with the enrollment and school selection process in the district (Krueger & Casey, 2009). Participants were then identified

for the focus group interviews by the site administrator. A total of 12 parents, all women, participated in the focus groups.

Each of the focus groups were run by 1-2 members of the research team. When the participants' primary language was Spanish, an interpreter was present to help. All focus groups were recorded and transcribed (with Spanish components both transcribed in Spanish and translated into English).

The three major themes from Stage 1 were used as a deductive analytical framework (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018): the importance of academics, class size, and differentiated instruction and support for their children; the school and administration's relationship to diversity and the community overall; and the overall enrollment process and specific suggestions from improvement. A fourth "other" category was used to code salient quotes not represented in the original framework. Each English transcript was coded individually, and then reviewed for any missing coded passages after the initial round of coding. Contextualized coded passages were then grouped together so that the original interviewer question and participant response were included together with all other similarly coded passages across the four transcriptions (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 1994). These coded groupings were then analyzed for common themes, support for the quantitative findings from Stage 1, and any new nuances that would shed light on the Stage 1 findings.

Findings

The findings presented below are organized by the major categories identified during the quantitative analysis phase: academics, class size, and differentiated instruction and support; relationships of the school to diversity and the community; feedback on the enrollment process and how to improve it; and other salient quotes and topics. Findings from both the quantitative and qualitative data are presented with each category.

Making the Choice: Factors Parents Consider in Selecting Schools

How and why a parent selects a school for their child is multi-faceted. Responding to a survey question that listed school choice factors, parents of current students indicated that the top four most important factors in selecting a school are, in order: safety at school (and the school neighborhood), special needs programs, teachers, and academics (see Table 1).

Concerns about students who "inevitably fall through the cracks": Meeting students' individual needs through smaller class sizes. Looking at the survey data holistically, respondents seemed

concerned that their child would or did "inevitably fall through the cracks," as one respondent put it (though four participants used this imagery in at least one of their responses). This seemed to be an issue both in terms of the large number of students per school/class, as well as in terms of the lack of support or accommodation for students ($n = 15$). As one respondent wrote, "By keeping schools under-resourced, [the District] fosters high turnover, and keeps our schools constantly in crisis."

Supporting the survey data, the focus group data similarly revealed a close connection in parents' minds between class size and individualized support for their students' needs. One focus group participant stated that families will have different experiences with this issue, but that she "siempre abog[a] porque las escuelas identifiquen a los niños, que se les ayude de acuerdo a las necesidades de cada uno. No en general, sino basado en las necesidades de cada uno, porque no es lo mismo" ("always advocate[s] that schools identify children; that they be helped according to the needs of each one. Not in general, but based on the needs of each because [their needs] not the same"). The participants shared that this kind of individualized support could have many manifestations, e.g., after school and special education programs, more academic tutoring and support, and more psychologists to help students express themselves.

"What extra is [the student] going to gain?": Importance of academics outside of the classroom. The focus group data revealed some of the complexities parents' face when they consider a school's "academics." Their responses revealed the various types of academics

Table 1
Current Parents' Most Important Factors in Selecting a School

	N	*Mean**	*SD*
Safety at school and school neighborhood	872	4.72	0.597
Teachers	877	4.69	0.593
Academics (classes, curriculum, school test scores)	880	4.67	0.620
Safety to and from school	881	4.48	0.803
School climate	870	4.24	0.865
Location	862	4.19	0.935
School principal	876	4.18	0.878
Extracurricular (sports, music, clubs, etc.) or after school activities	876	4.04	0.907
Diversity	880	4.01	0.998
School reputation	879	3.93	0.960
Parent leadership	879	3.84	0.966
School size	876	3.37	1.129
Child's friends attend the same school	879	3.07	1.168

*Minimum value is 1, maximum is 5.

taken into consideration: after school programs, the breadth of the curricula offered, hands-on activities inside and outside of the classroom, and the "extras" a school has to offer academically. As one participant put it, "Most of the schools, they are going to get the same core, the same values about math, science, and everything else, but what extra is [the student] going to gain? That's my priority." When asked to elaborate on the "extras," she shared examples of schools that had students learning to read music and doing scientific experiments and projects each month. Others shared that they wanted more "action about science. It doesn't have to be rockets," but more hands-on activities. They offered that these activities could take place outside. As one participant shared,

> Something more open. I don't like the idea that all day [they are] in a class. For example, my daughter comes here at 7:30 to practice music and after that, it's school and after that it's school. I pick her up at 6:00. Today I am going to pick her up at 6:30, so it's 12 hours [sic] inside a building.

Another participant stated that she wanted schools to offer "more realistic courses" with practical applications, like budgeting, home economics, and cooking. The women connected this need to how some children have to feed and take care of themselves when they get home.

"Me pueda ayudar si necesito ayuda": Connecting with school staff through a shared language. The focus group data in particular emphasized the importance of communicative relationships between the community, parents/guardians, and school staff. For one participant, the principal's communication was especially important when selecting a school:

> Is he very communicative? Is he outreaching? Does he reach out to parents? Does he email us back? [laughs] Because I've heard some schools where they don't even email them back or they're not on top of it like most principals are. It's really about [the] administrator and how comfortable my child will feel there.

For this participant, the principal served as a model for what communication would look like in the school and how her child would feel there.

Parents themselves also wanted to have connections with school staff, which was a finding unique to the focus group data. In particular for one participant, she wanted resources in Spanish and to know that one or more staff members at her school could speak in Spanish: "Como para mí también que no hablo mucho inglés, saber que en la oficina hay alguien que hable español y me pueda ayudar si necesito ayuda" ("As for me also I do not speak much English, knowing that there's someone in

the office who speaks Spanish and can help me if I need help"). Another Spanish-speaking participant said that having more Latinas in the school would help her feel "more confident that they speak the same language as [you]" ("Esta escuela tiene mucha gente que es latina, como que te sientes más seguro de que hablan el mismo idioma que uno"). Having someone on staff from the same cultural heritage and/or who can speak the same language could help parents and guardians feel more comfortable at the school.

Interpreting School Information: Parents Need Support When Selecting a School

Parents of current students who responded to the survey were asked to rank the level of challenge (1 = not challenging, 5 = very challenging) associated with six factors of the school enrollment process. There was also an option to write in a factor not represented in the original list. On average, all factors were "moderately challenging." School performance was considered a "challenging" factor (see Table 2).

"It's a lot": The amount of information for school selection. Adding depth to the discussion on academic scores, one parent in the focus group stated that she would like to see more information on the score distributions across subjects and groups of students. When asked if she felt she had enough information from the school, she said,

> *La verdad no. Las veces que me he venido a las reuniones que hacen regularmente los viernes se hablaba de que había niós que estaban teniendo problemas—un porcentaje, pero no recuerdo bien—de niños que estaban teniendo problemas para la lectura, u otros en matemáticas. Pero no estoy muy segura de eso*. (Not really. The times that I came to the regular meetings on Fridays talked about that there were children who were having problems—a percentage, but I do not remember well—of children who were having trouble reading, or others in math. But I'm not sure about that.)

Table 2
Most Challenging Factors in the Enrollment Process for Parents of Current Students

	N	*Mean*	*SD*
The school in my neighborhood attendance area was not performing well	876	2.70	1.655
Available schools were not a good fit for my child	879	2.48	1.468
Neighborhood safety of school options was a concern	878	2.43	1.534
Complex application	877	2.01	1.158
Available schools were too far from my neighborhood	882	1.97	1.301
Transportation options were not acceptable or available (AC transit, carpools, etc.)	877	1.94	1.343

Another participant said,

> I had the opportunity to go and check the school, and the [test scores] and all the district's information [is there] but you have to go one-by-one. If I don't know the area or I don't know… So it takes a lot of time to go one-by-one.

In another focus group, a parent shared that although she understood a school's desire to collect all of the information from parents at one time, she said "meet the teachers and go from station to station and find out, 'Do you want to be in this class' or 'What elective' and all that stuff. It's a lot." Another said "The class schedule is there, but then you have electives. You're picking stuff. There's just so much going on that day." These examples point to how overwhelming the enrollment process can be to newer families and/or non-English speaking families.

"What do you think" and "We need translation": Parents need help to interpret school information. One parent in a focus group recommended that schools have a staff member onsite that can help parents navigate the enrollment process, forms, and information.

> I know for some people the language barrier is a hard thing, because I remember I had to help a lot of people with those [enrollment] papers. It was helping them understand, or if they really couldn't understand the booklet about these different schools, they would ask me, 'What do you think," or stuff like that. Maybe if someone was on site. I don't know if there is already. Maybe if someone's on site, even just for that week of the choice paper, so that they can come and be, 'We need translation,' or 'Can you tell me more about this school' I think that'd be great.

Here she shared that her advice was sought because some parents did not know how to interpret the information shared. She was also a parent who had grown up in the area. Although long-standing community members help to fill these needs, such information and assistance could also come from a school staff member.

Looking to the Bigger Picture: Parents Want to See They and Their Communities Matter

There were several important findings in the qualitative focus groups that were not captured in the quantitative data, either due to the nature of the survey and/or the demographic differences between the survey respondents and focus group participants.

Make schooling "more like it was a family thing": Increased community engagement. Participants across several focus groups also expressed wanting more community engagement from schools—a nuance unique to this data set compared to the quantitative Stage 1

data. One participant shared that she enjoyed when a former science teacher invited families to the school to take part in her classes. "We made it more like it was a family thing so everybody had the opportunity to participate." Another participant shared that a school's community program was particularly beneficial to her family. They learned about budgeting, credit scores, tax preparation help, and maintaining a business. However, during the course of the focus group's conversation, another participant shared that the organization the school was working with was leaving, and another one was going to replace it. She was unsure what type of programming would still be offered; the first participant replied "Well, there you have it."

"What is the foundation of the school": Parents consider the school's core values. A finding that was unique to the focus groups and not represented in the quantitative data was that some parents/guardians consider the school's history and foundational values and beliefs when making school selections. As one participant, who was now helping to send her grandchildren to district schools, said,

> The thought process then [when sending her first child] was more about convenience. I was thinking about, how convenient can this be for me as a parent? Now that I am actually in a different role, I picked this particular school because there was more than one option. I picked that one because my children went to school here. It's more generational for me. I had more information about the foundation of the school. For me, what I looked for at that time was foundation. The statistics and all that that they do, it's like, 'Ok. That's cool, but what is the foundation of the school, and what are they built upon? Are they really built upon success? Are they built upon pride? What will my grandchild gain by participating in the school? Will she get book knowledge and then end up losing her self-identity?

This quote also hints toward a generational difference in what parents and guardians look for when selecting a school.

Demonstrate that parents' voices "matter." One important theme that came solely from the focus group data was that not only do parents want their children to feel supported in the schools, but they themselves also wanted to feel supported.

> I didn't want my grandchild just to be a number so that the school district can say, 'Oh yeah. They got this many kids.' I wanted to know that my child mattered. Not only did she matter, but I mattered. […] To me, that mattered, to be able to know that I had a voice, that what I say, it matters (emphasis added).

She went on to share how she was greeted each morning by school staff when dropping off her students. Earlier in the same focus group, another

participant spoke at length about the community program hosted at the school, and how much her family gained from it.

Discussion

The narratives of parents connected to the school enrollment process in a large urban school district in Northern California capture the myriad of factors parents consider when enrolling in children in K-12 schools in the United States. Like previous studies related to factors impacting parents' selection of schools for children, academics, information from their social networks, and distance to a child's school were key factors behind this study's participants' selection of schools for their children. Yet, unlike previous studies, the participants' narratives provide additional insight as to why the parents selected schools for their children. For example, the participants' narratives reveal they want their children to attend culturally relevant schools that center their needs, the needs of their children, and the needs of stakeholders connected with the school setting. The participants believed it was vital for their children to attend schools where all parents and community members are valued, where their children are supported, and where academic offerings are connected to the needs of the community.

Moreover, this study makes it clear that school leaders must build upon the knowledge of minorized children and community members—in all aspects of the schooling process—if they are dedicated to ending the exodus of children from urban K-12 schools in the U.S. For example, school leaders need to ensure non-English speaking families' culture and linguistic background are infused in the school selection process, which will ensure non-English speaking families select schools consonant with their values (Petri, 2019; Jiménez-Castellanos & García, 2017). These leaders should also engage in inclusive communication practices with all minoritized community stakeholders in order to determine what practices are best designed to keep students safe, what pedagogues best promote students' intellectual development, and what resources will help ameliorate violence outside of schools (Jiménez-Castellanos & García, 2017; Miranda, Radliff, & Della Flora, 2018; Murphy & Louis, 2018)

Finally, the study demonstrates parents believe additional resources are vital for improving the quality of education for children attending urban schools. Schools within the district lacked after school programs for special education, programs for gifted students, curriculum dedicated to the arts, and after-school time to support students' intellectual growth. Other participants believed the lack of resources contributed to large class sizes and a lack of school-community engagement (Jiménez-Castellanos, & García, 2017; Khalifia, Khalli, Marsh, & Halloran, 2019; Miranda,

Radliff., & Della Flora; 2018; Murphy & Louis, 2018; Williams, Horvath, Wei, Van Dorn, & Jonson-Reid, 2007).

Conclusion

For the past decade, the exodus of school children from urban schools in the U.S. has been a vexing problem for school leaders and minoritized parents, children, and urban communities. This study has demonstrated centering the perspectives of parents connected to the school enrollment process provides insight to educational leaders for how to revitalize urban school systems in the U.S. The parents' narrative revealed urban schools ought to create culturally-relevant school cultures, where students, parents, and community stakeholders' values and beliefs are embraced, where schools support minoritized communities in solving problems and where adequate resources and scaffolds ensure parents select schools that promulgate their values. If urban school districts begin to center community voices and values in salient aspects impacting life inside of urban schools, the exodus of children from urban schools has the potential to be ameliorated (Banks, & Meyer, 2017: Khalifia, Khalli, Marsh, & Halloran, 2019).

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Understanding Whiteness

A Multicontextual Overview of Whiteness in Campus Climate

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Abstract

Whiteness is more than a racial identity. It is a concept that is deeply embedded into the structures and histories of many institutions of higher education. Due to the pervasiveness of Whiteness, institutions are likely to have campus climates that are hostile and unsupportive of students who identify as Black, Indigenous, and People of Color. Campus climate is comprised of multiple dimensions, and it is influenced by multiple contexts that are both internal and external to the institution. By examining these contexts, institutions can unearth the origins of Whiteness in their operations and examine the influence on campus climate.

Introduction

Whiteness is more than an identity; it is a systemic issue built into the bedrock of educational institutions in the United States. Prospective students from minoritized groups are met with resistance rooted in Whiteness during the admissions process, and the barriers do not end there. Many universities have histories of intentional exclusion of students who are Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC). Due to racial segregation, institutional processes have been customized to meet the needs of White students, which has ultimately resulted in racial privilege (Garces & Jayakumar, 2014). The most notable example is the University of Virginia, which was founded by President Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson was a proponent of equality in word but not in his actions. In addition to owning slaves, he mandated segregation in campus

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spaces to limit contact between White students and the enslaved Black workers who maintained the campus (Whitford, 2019).

Today, BIPOC students are still impacted by the racist histories of their institutions. BIPOC students are welcomed to campuses across the nation, yet they face a hostile college climate. White peers and faculty inflict psychological harm with microaggressions (Cabrera et al., 2017; Harper, 2015). White students use "affirmative action" as an attack that undermines the intellectual abilities of BIPOC students by questioning whether or not they earned their place on campus (Vue, Haslerig, & Allen, 2017).

While White members of the campus community are creating hostile environments for BIPOC students, they are also feeling challenged by interracial environments, likely due to a rudimentary understanding of race. Cabrera (2014) interviewed White male college students about their perceptions of racism, and four themes of Whiteness emerged in students' responses. First, a majority of students defined racism as an individual issue rooted in hatred and perceptions of inferiority. Secondly, students had a tendency to minimize and dismiss BIPOC individuals who reported racism as a barrier to success. The students expressed that BIPOC individuals experienced racial inequality due to having values that did not support educational attainment or upward social mobility. Thirdly, the students believed that multicultural efforts resulted in "reverse racism" and that they had experienced racism from BIPOC students. Lastly, students felt like their college experience had a minimal influence on their racial views. In conclusion, Cabrera (2014) stated that understanding how White people perceive racism and racial privilege "provides insight into the process of hegemonic Whiteness formation" (p. 51).

Hegemonic Whiteness Formation

Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) is an epistemology that identifies the social structures that support and recreate White hegemony (Cabrera, 2014). Cabrera et al. (2017) identified five interrelated concepts that are essential to understanding Whiteness in higher education: colorblindness, epistemologies of ignorance, ontological expansiveness, property, and assumed racial comfort. These concepts are simultaneously damaging to BIPOC students and beneficial to White students (Cabrera et al., 2017).

Colorblindness

Colorblindness stems from a perspective in which White people believe that racial inequality is no longer an issue in higher education (Williams, 2013). Proponents of colorblindness argue that diversity is divisive and

results in segregation so assimilation is more beneficial for the campus community (Williams, 2013). Colorblindness is problematic because it "amounts to a requirement that people of color become more White" (Bergerson, 2003, p. 53). Additionally, colorblindness creates a false vision of social harmony that reinforces Whiteness (Williams, 2013).

Epistemologies of Ignorance

Epistemologies of ignorance refer to the gap of understanding between the existing racial inequities and the persistence of White people to believe in colorblindness (Cabrera et al., 2016). By denying reality and demonstrating an unwillingness to learn, White people can "remain racially blissful" while systemic racism "remains uninterrogated and therefore remains in place" (Cabrera et al., 2017, p. 21).

Ontological Expansiveness

Ontological expansiveness refers to a sense of entitlement that White people have in terms of accessing space, whether it is a physical space on campus or a metaphorical space (Cabrera et al., 2017). Because minoritized groups are often numerical minorities on campus, the appearance and actions of BIPOC students attract attention in environments that support Whiteness (Williams, 2013). In comparison, White students do not consider their race when navigating campus environments, and in turn, they are not questioned about their whereabouts because their presence is considered the norm (Bergerson, 2003).

Property

Whiteness as property is a form of ownership that provides White people with permission to act freely while excluding BIPOC individuals (Cabrera et al., 2017). Harris (1993) explained that Whiteness as property began with slavery. Being White determined whether a person was free or enslaved, and if a person was free, they were guaranteed legal rights (Harris, 1993). Additionally, Harris (1993) stated "exclusion and racial subjugation" are the foundations of Whiteness, which increases its value due to exclusivity and associated privileges (p. 1737).

Assumed Racial Comfort

Maxwell and Chesler (2019) noted that issues of comfort are "often central to conversations about race and racism involving White people" (p. 250). Assumed racial comfort emerges in interracial dialogues in

which White individuals are confronted because they have used dialogue, such as microaggressions, that is harmful to BIPOC students (Cabrera et al., 2017). Racial comfort is derived from a sense of entitlement in which White people do not want to engage in racialized conversations because it might make them feel uncomfortable (Cabrera et al., 2017; Maxwell & Chesler, 2019).

Campus Climate

Campus climate is the degree of inclusion that campus community members experience in their learning and professional environments (Williams, 2013). Williams (2013) stated that it is "crucial to examine the multiple dimensions of the campus climate" due to the "inherent complexity" of diversity (p. 280). Hurtado et al. (2012) established a multi-dimensional concept of campus climate that operates on two levels: the institutional and the individual.

Institutional Level

According to Hurtado et al. (2012), the institutional level of climate has three dimensions: the historical, organizational, and compositional. The historical dimension considers the legacy of exclusionary policies used by many institutions to maintain a White campus community. The organizational dimension covers institution policies, practices, and procedures that result in privilege and oppression. The compositional dimension is the numerical representation of privileged and minoritized individuals in the campus community.

Individual Level

The individual level of campus climate consists of the behavioral and psychological dimensions. Hurtado et al. (2012) described the behavioral dimension as the "context, frequency, and quality of interactions on campus" that occur either formally (facilitated by the institution through coursework and programming) or informally (chance occurrences) with members of different identity groups (p. 66). The psychological dimension refers to how individuals perceive interactions and the campus environment, which influences whether the climate is perceived as inclusive or hostile.

Researcher's Positionality

My orientation to Whiteness and campus climate is influenced by

my identity as a White staff member and alumnus of the institution that will be analyzed in this article. Throughout my undergraduate education, I perceived the campus climate positively as a White, cisgender, heterosexual woman. However, the campus climate was not warm and welcoming during conversations where peers responded negatively to my dialect, which is part of my identity as an Appalachian from Eastern Kentucky. This type of backlash was not a new experience, but I was disappointed because the institution was designed to primarily recruit and serve students from the Appalachian region.

I was unaware of racial privilege at that time, but now I think about how my BIPOC peers perceived the campus climate and wonder about the extent of a misalignment between the institution's commitment to interracial education and their lived experiences as students. Now that I am a staff member, my goal is to identify and decentralize systems of Whiteness to ensure that BIPOC students feel physically and psychologically safe. This begins with being more observant during student interactions involving myself and my White colleagues to determine how Whiteness is being reinforced so that process can be stopped. Bergerson (2013) stated that White scholars should help other White people understand their racial privilege and how privilege is maintained. This work is one small step in applying CWS in daily campus life.

Purpose of the Research

Issues in higher education will persist until campus community members with privileged identities truly understand how institutions and individuals support and engage in behaviors that reproduce racial inequity. When allies want to stop being a part of the problem, they need to act from a place of informed understanding because common sense and a passion for diversity are insufficient when engaging in strategic diversity efforts (Williams, 2013). The purpose of this research is to examine the structures that maintain Whiteness in higher education by utilizing a multi-contextual framework to understand the dynamics that influence campus climate.

Framework

Rationale for Framework Selection

The perpetuation of Whiteness in campus climates will be examined using the Multicontextual Model for Diverse Learning Environments (DLE model) created by Hurtado et al. (2012). Hurtado et al. (2012)

developed the DLE model to "emphasize the pervasiveness of climate, the contextual nature of the position of institution, the individual-level dynamics within institutions, and the outcomes for individuals and society" (p. 47). The DLE model was selected for this research due to the framework's emphasis on the multiple contexts of campus climate. If contexts can be altered to decenter Whiteness, institutions will be able to cultivate diverse learning environments that promote an inclusive campus climate.

Contexts within the Institution

The institutional context is represented by the curricular and cocurricular contexts. The curricular context encompasses how students are impacted by the social identities of faculty as well as inclusive pedagogy and curriculum. The curricular context is mirrored by the cocurricular context, which includes campus-facilitated activities that take place outside of the traditional classroom and academic curriculum. The cocurricular context examines how students are impacted by the social identities and multicultural competencies of staff in addition to inclusive programming that is developed using best practices.

Processes

Processes are the results of the activities taking place inside of the curricular and cocurricular contexts. Processes are utilized by institutions to "advance both diversity and learning to achieve essential outcomes" for students (Hurtado et al., 2012, p. 83). Hurtado et al. (2012) identified socialization, validation, and community building as the most prominent processes that emerge from diverse learning environments. Socialization is teaching students the knowledge, skills, and competencies needed to promote equity and to succeed in a multicultural world. Institutions use validation to help students build their confidence and affirm their worth "through active fostering of academic and interpersonal development" (p. 86). Lastly, institutions build community to increase students' sense of belongingness. Facilitating a sense of belongingness is especially important for students from minoritized groups as they are likely to experience a lower sense of belonginess (p. 86).

Contexts Outside of the Institution

Hurtado et al. (2012) stated that institutional dynamics are affected by contexts that are outside of college operation such as the sociohistorical, policy, and external commitments/community contexts. The sociohistorical

context looks at how institutions have been influenced by political and societal movements, economic conditions, and legal decisions. The policy context acknowledges that institutional operations are influenced by local, state, and federal educational policies and regulations. The community context considers the influence of the local community as well as extensions of the campus community, such as alumni and current students' parents. External commitments are "push-pull" factors, including personal obligations and family commitments, that may support or detract from students' college experience (Hurtado et al., 2012, p. 93).

Analysis

The analysis of Whiteness in campus culture will begin by reviewing the contexts outside of the institution. That review will be followed by an examination of the contexts that operate within the institution. From there, the analysis will look at the dimensions of climate as they are pervasive in the curricular and cocurricular contexts (Hurtado et al, 2012). The analysis of the framework will conclude with implications and recommendations for institutions who need to develop inclusive campus climates. To provide consistent examples, the DLE model will be applied to Berea College (BC), a small, private liberal arts institution in the southeastern United States.

Review of the Multicontextual Levels

One of the main tenets of BC's mission is interracial education and equality. Throughout the institution's history, this mission has been compromised due to external events and movements occurring in the local community, state, and country. Beginning with the community context, there has been a tense relationship between the institution and the local community. For example, local citizens sometimes organize "parades" where they drive around the college campus while flying the Confederate flag out of their vehicles. In addition to displaying this symbol of white supremacy, some citizens have shouted slurs and thrown objects at students to inflict harm.

However, the community context also includes groups with external connections to the college, such as "friends of the college", who are people who believe in the mission and donate money to assist college operations. Donor funded initiatives include programming that facilitates interracial dialogue in the campus community as well as an initiative that provides coursework and programming customized to first-year Black male students. The community context has a mixture of factors that create an inclusive campus climate whereas some factors create hostility.

Along with the community context, students have external commitments that influence their college experience. These commitments may be personal or related to students' families and local communities. One external commitment that has mostly affected Latinx students is fear of immigration status for their loved ones. Latinx students who are DACA-mented have worried about family members and friends who are undocumented due to raids from immigration officials. While the relationship between external commitments and campus climate are still unclear, according to Hurtado et al. (2012), pull factors are important to recognize because they place additional stress on students.

Whiteness has had deleterious effects on BC in the first 100 years of its history. The sociohistorical context of BC is its status as the first interracial college in the southern United States, which caused tension with locals who were pro-slavery. The founder and faculty of BC were threatened by the locals and were eventually forced out of town in 1859, and they did not return until the Civil War had ended (Berea College, n.d.-c). During the war, BC's founder worked at a refugee camp that served escaped and freed slaves (Berea College, n.d.-c).

The policy context was impacted by white supremacy when Kentucky passed the Day Law, which prohibited interracial education from 1904 until 1950 (Berea College, n.d.-b). In response to the Day Law, BC used funds from its endowment to establish an all-black institution. After the Day Law was struck down in 1950, the first Black student to graduate in the wake of this law completed her degree in 1954. The sociohistorical and policy contexts of BC demonstrate a legacy that has been relentless in the pursuit of racial justice despite adversity from white supremacy.

The institutional context of BC is understood through the curricular and cocurricular contexts. One aspect of the curricular context is the General Education program (GE). In terms of race, the GE intends to impart knowledge of BC's "historical and ongoing commitments to racial (traditionally Black and White [people]) and gender equality" and to develop habits of mind that develop appreciation of diversity, promotion of peace and justice, and the consideration of issues from multiple perspectives (Berea College, n.d.-a). The GE has developed a curriculum that promotes in-depth study of racial equality through a series of writing seminars, convocations, and active learning experiences.

One aspect of the cocurricular context is programming offered across the various centers that are dedicated to interracial learning. BC has the bell hooks Institute, Black Cultural Center, Center for International Education, and the Carter G. Woodson Center for Education. These centers have inclusive programming that covers topics such as interracial dialogue, global connections, racial equality, and oppression. However, while the curricular and cocurricular contexts have inclusive efforts, the main issue

with both contexts is that the racial diversity of staff and faculty does not match the demographics of the highly diverse student population.

Review of Campus Climate Dimensions

Now that the multiple contexts of BC have been examined, the dimensions of campus climate are the next concepts to consider. For each dimension, some questions and considerations will be provided that will help institutions develop a better understanding of the historical, organizational, and compositional dimensions of climate. When examining the climate of higher education institutions, review the history of the campus. Did the institution only serve White students? Was the institution impacted by societal movements and policies that excluded BIPOC students?

When looking at the organizational dimension of climate, review the policies and structures that outline the procedures for student admissions as well as the selection and promotion of employees. Are these policies prohibiting the advancement of racially minoritized groups? The compositional dimension is the easiest to measure because it is based on the numerical representation of groups. However, the racial composition of institutions is likely influenced by the complexity of the sociohistorical, policy, and community contexts.

The individual level of climate is manifested in the behavioral and psychological dimensions. To understand the behavioral dimension, ask students about their formal and informal interracial interactions on campus. For both types of interactions, how did students perceive those interactions? Were the interactions welcoming or hostile? It is particularly important to learn about the behavioral and psychological experiences of BIPOC stsudents as White students are likely missing critical elements that support Whiteness due to ontological expansiveness and property. Also, see if White students are shying away from interracial interactions to protect their assumed racial comfort.

Implications and Recommendations

After working through the DLE model, it is important to consider the implications for Whiteness concepts. For a campus climate to be inclusive, colorblindness, epistemologies of ignorance, ontological expansiveness, property, and assumed racial comfort need to be addressed. The institutional processes of socialization, validation, and creation of a sense of belonging should be used to diminish Whiteness. All students need to feel safe in all campus spaces, whether it is classrooms, cocurricular centers, or residence halls. Additionally, centers that are designed to

serve specific racial groups should not be the only places where BIPOC students feel comfortable. The curriculum and co-curricular programming need to address colorblindness and epistemologies of ignorance as well as challenge White students to step away from assumed racial comfort.

It is recommended to develop strategic diversity plans that intentionally remove Whiteness as the norm in campus operations. One way to do that is to assess the current campus climate by surveying and interviewing students about their experiences. Williams (2013) declared: "Addressing campus climate is a necessary component of any strategic diversity plan. To provide a foundation for a vibrant and collegial learning community, the academic institution must help foster a climate that cultivates diversity and celebrates difference" (p. 280). Fostering a climate that values diversity and difference is a rejection of colorblindness and refutes epistemologies of ignorance.

While many institutions have histories centered in Whiteness, all institutions should strive to have legacies of inclusion. While some contexts such as history cannot be changed, institutional reactions to exclusive histories and policies are a start to rectifying those wrongdoings that have excluded BIPOC students. Institutions need to be deliberate in their dismantling of Whiteness to create inclusive campus climates. This intentional focus on undoing Whiteness will likely make White members of the campus community uncomfortable at times. However, a few tense moments for White people pale in comparison to the hundreds of years of oppression that have barred BIPOC individuals from accessing higher education and having a positive educational experience.

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Book Review:

A Review of *Translanguaging for Emergent Bilinguals: Inclusive Teaching in the Linguistically Diverse Classroom*

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Reviewed by Meghan Valerio

(In)visibly education in the United States echoes and constructs societal-dominant norms. Disrupting and dismantling existing norms is a political decision, which requires the mindset and stamina to resist the common narratives of schooling practices. *Translanguaging for Emergent Bilinguals: Inclusive Teaching in the Linguistically Diverse Classroom* by Danling Fu, Xenia Hadjioannou, and Xiaodi Zhou (2019) sheds light on monolingualism, a dominant norm in the U.S. among many others entangled in school and "being schooled" structures. Fu and colleagues reveal the problematic monolinguistic-centered experience for emergent bilinguals, suggesting translanguaging as an alternative pedagogical approach and stance to disrupt the English-dominant cultural norms in U.S. school systems. The authors draw attention to the common rhetoric and problematic identification of labeling English Language Learner (ELL) or English Learners (ELs), as an assimilation to the English-only learning outcome. This is also suggestive that English-only speaking peers have mastered English speaking. Fu et al. change the labeling of a multi-lingual student from ELL or EL to Emergent Bilingual (EB), suggestive of a different language outcome.

While the goal and intentionality of an ELL or EL label and thus instructional ideology is to seek English-only proficiency, an EB approach acknowledges and encourages the use of heritage language instead of

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abandonment of that heritage language while learning English. This understanding lays the foundation of translanguaging and the label of EB is used throughout the book. Fu et al. have made a valid argument in understanding the EBs' challenging experiences, the call for a paradigm shift from monolingualism to translanguaging, and the tools necessary to make truly inclusive instructional transformations. Missing from their text though is more development in explaining the harmful schooling cycles that perpetuate racism, overemphasize heterosexuality, and can often operate from an androcentric perspective, all important connections to immigration and language learning.

In the introduction, Fu et al. orient the reader to the following ELL school program problems: Finding qualified bilingual teachers, overused and overemphasized English-only materials and products, and the harmful practice of labeling EB students as "always behind." The authors respond to such problems asking, "Shouldn't we instead be trying to help them [EBs] reach their potential as accomplished bilinguals?" (p. 1). To do so, translanguaging is recommended to challenge dominant monolinguistic practices and end problematic ELL programs in schools. In the past, wording like "*code-switching, code-mixing, or code-meshing*" (italics in original, p.25) were used to explain how a person communicates from one language to another. In these perspectives, a person's language repertoire operates as separate entities that are turned on and off in the moment and context. Translanguaging requires an ideological shift that maintains that multiple languages cannot be separated in any given circumstance. A multilingual person, for example, is thinking, speaking, and expressing from all linguistic repertoires. Translanguaging is not just operating through multiple linguistic repertoires, but in addition a belief that language is also an identity. In schools that fail to recognize the multiple languages and identity in a student, the student is at risk for limited content knowledge development, restricted and potentially harmful social and emotional development, and also is lost as a benefit for the monolinguistic peers who do not learn from or with their EB peers. Fu and colleagues end the introduction disclosing to the reader that each author is bi- or pluri-lingual. There is potential buy-in from the reader that the authors are not just established literacy scholars, but also have lived and continue to live at the intersections of monolingualism vs. heritage language.

In Chapter 1, Fu et al. begin making a case that translanguaging is a promising approach, first by problematizing ELL programs. These programs measure success by how fast an EB exits the program, no longer requiring special services, suggesting the child has reached the goal of "English only." Assessments to determine success are given in English only, leveling the EB child in comprehension proficiency that is well below

their comprehension ability in their home language. These assessment outcomes lead to harmful literacy instructional trajectories and thus practices, such as reading duller content texts and using English-only assessment measures that forever label the EB as a deficit learner. Fu et al. call upon readers to "let go" of fixed literacy understandings and utilize new literacies as tools for understanding EBs, and supporting EBs cognitive and emotional growth and development.

Bringing the reader back to translanguaging, the audience learns through Fu et al.'s analogy that translanguaging is a multifunctioning "room" where an EB is encouraged and provided support to use their own individual linguistic repertoires and language identities to communicate and express understanding, as opposed to forcing an EB to work within one set of English-only apparatuses. Fu et al. provide an often-overlooked assumption in ELL programs that even when the *product* is English only, the *process* is not. So instead, translanguaging empowers EBs to move freely among linguistic features to communicate, requiring teachers to attend to *process* rather than product. Although the authors' recommendation is both ethical and foundational for meaningful instruction, translanguaging is likely to be met with resistance because of problematic school histories established by a standards-based education (Kliebard, 1970) that continue means-end, standards-based education that perpetuate a cycle of hierarchizing students based on race and socioeconomic status (Au, 2011; Gershon, 2012 & 2017; Shelton & Altwerger, 2015). American schools and the schooling process have and often times continue to (dis)empower students, specifically, non-White students.

Fu et al. move into Chapter 2 acknowledging that teachers and schools are making efforts to meet EBs' needs through attempts at push-in, pull-out, and self-contained models of ESL language support. Despite instructional efforts to support EBs, the authors report the standardized testing achievement gap between EBs and their monolinguistic peers still exists. Although the essence of translanguaging is intended to remove these achievement gaps, Fu et al. "play it safe" by not confronting the standardized tests themselves that establish norms and hierarchies that create achievement gaps (Au, 2011; Gershon, 2012 & 2017). Acknowledging these problematic standardized assessments is important because instruction is often driven and guided by the assessments that are in place. As long as harmful, hierarchizing, and monolinguistic standardized measures are used, translanguaging adaption may not be possible. Fu et al. go on to explain instructional approaches currently used, like those within bilingual programs intended to assimilate children and subtract their home language. In the absence of further standardized criticism, harmful instructional practices are outlined with clarity, including EBs missing general education instruction to receive English instruction

in another room, which forces EBs remain behind in subjects they are already not performing at monolinguistic grade-level expectations.

The authors warn that alternative programs to ELL, including bilingual and transitional ones, at face value appear to engender more home language usage, but really, such programs serve as an attempt to "regulate language use" (p.45). Bilingual and transitional programs are rooted in harmful ideologies that students only use specific tools to express certain ideas, using one language at a time in a given instance, ultimately limiting literacy development in both home language and English. In a translanguaging classroom, Fu et al. argue for communitive vocabulary development alongside academic language in the general education classroom, welcoming all languages. This requires a sociolinguistic competence, which Fu, Hadjioannou, and Zhou describe as "a key concept in language acquisition which describes individuals' abilities to modulate what they say and how they say it in response to different kinds of situations" (p. 46). The argument is clear, but may only resonate with the reader if ideologies align, or if the reader is open to new ways of knowing and being. Teachers who believe in English-only environments will not be open or willing to accept translanguaging.

Chapter 3 attunes to the social challenges caused by harmful ELL programs and society at large. EBs are often battling racial, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic challenges and discrimination. The current structures of special programs forever brand EBs as "Other," contributing to both a learned and reinforced social identity. This is not unlike Foucault's (1977/1995) argument that discourse constructs and reflects reality. Through Foucauldian perspective, the special program both teaches and creates the EBs to become an other, non-monolinguistic peer who is forever seen as deficient and unable to fit in. Using the vignette of Emmanuel (pseudonym), Fu and colleagues explain how Emmanuel is a "successful" EB because from a monolinguistic perspective he has achieved English proficiency. Emmanuel reveals the sad reality he is constantly performing in an identity that is not his, similar to Goffman's (1959) argument that a person performs and transforms to fit in to the presence of another/others. Translanguaging would change the social construction of EBs from the non-proficient in English deficit lens to "other language enabled" (p.73), encouraging students (and their peers and teachers) to embrace their language identities and not part with any of their culture or language.

Using interviews and observation data in Chapter 4, Fu et al. present the trials schools face educating EBs. These issues include the consistent problematic generic grouping of students solely based on being an EB (as opposed to grouping students who are also fluent in the same language), budget issues leading to a shortage of qualified

teachers, harmful certification requirements for Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) which require only passing two written tests in two languages, and no formal preparation in teacher education. Not mentioned by the authors is in many public schools and University TESL certification programs, sometimes the designated TESL teacher does not speak a second language at all. Fu et al. propose solutions for a multilingual K-5 school including encouraging children to think first in their heritage language and then translate, using multimodal texts, and providing opportunities to interview parents on culture-related topics that pair well with class content; bridging together content, culture, and language. Fu et al. suggest current students serve as guides for new EBs, assisting in the new-school transition process.

A caution to readers (and authors) is to ensure first the larger structures in school are rooted in translanguaging as preventative to the student guide serving as "self-surveillance" agents (Foucault 1977/1995), thus (un)knowingly assimilating EBs to the harmful normalization structures. Fu et al. argue within the same chapter that adapting translanguaging "requires teachers to enact a paradigm shift in teaching beliefs and practice, but it also demands additional effort in lesson planning, resource searching, and community building" (p. 97). Returning to the larger, further attention is needed with the big D Discourses (Gee, 2014), at play that created a curricula and socializing structures teachers may not so easily overturn, or even aware they are enacting and consequently, enabling. With any micro-level student and teacher suggestions, one must also consider and dismantle the structures that require the needed suggestions in the first place.

The book concludes with Chapter 5, "Translanguaging in Action", using a question and answer format that answers/speaks to commonly received teacher questions regarding translanguaging enactment. Fu et al. warn the reader once more the monolinguistic emersion does not mean learning is happening, and requests an interesting twist that the teacher see herself as an EB, learning new languages and cultures. The authors provide guidance on finding different language with common topics by replacing what is known as a traditional literacy (e.g., written, English only books), leveraging students to read different types of text (e.g., books, video, audio recordings) in different languages, and communicate understandings in a variety of formats and languages. Teachers inquired how to evaluate written work if in a language the teacher cannot understand. Fu et al. suggest students work together to translate, supporting their explanation with the rationale if given the opportunity to think first in the most comfortable language(s), the student's thinking content is more robust. The authors contend, "Translanguaging sees language as action—something we do—rather than treating it as

a structure that locks us into a certain group, a certain nation, and a certain way of speaking, viewing and being" (p. 111). Many teachers and scholars reading Chapter 5 will find answers to questions they may have including addressing issues from time allotment for home language use (always), to how to welcome new EBs into a classroom.

The Fu, Hadjioannou, and Zhou text is timely in many arenas as scholars are also challenging the norms in school and of schooling children today including sustained racism (Emdin, 2016; Love, 2019), gender and sex identity discrimination (Wozolek 2018 & 2020; Wozolek & Mitchell, 2018), and the problematic achievement gaps perpetuating inequitable cycles in schools (Au, 2011; Woodson & Love, 2019). Many argue for paradigm shifts consistent with Fu et al.'s recommendations of decentering the teacher for social justice (Emdin, 2016 & Love, 2019), thinking and using literacy in non-normative ways (Tarc, 2015 & Snaza, 2019), and rethinking school curricula (Gershon, 2019). In the field of literacy alone, recent Science of Reading debates (Seidenburg & Borkenhagen, 2020; Rasinski, Nichols, Paige, Young, & Valerio, 2020), leave out monolinguist considerations, thus rarely considering translanguaging.

Language is centered to analytically challenge the norms in schools today by Fu et al. Missing from these conversations are discussions of race, beyond the several instances of race mentioned within the text. Romero (2008) explained that all too often, race, ethnicity, and immigration are considered separate entities, when in reality they are intersected. Critical race theory centers race (Leonardo, 2012), and can be used to expose the ways in which immigrants of color are also faced with the battle-fatigue of being a person of color (Call-Cummings & Martinez, 2017; Romero, 2008). Some believe the U.S. has attained a colorblind status, where skin color is no longer seen (Johnston-Guerrero, 2016), but others (Gershon, 2012 & 2017; Love, 2019; Wozolek, 2020) identify systemic racism's lively and harmful presence in school. The authors offer guidelines for instructional approaches and suggest translanguaging to embrace an EB's linguistic and language identities, more attention is needed considering the biases and possible racist teacher perceptions of students (Ngo, 2017), whom may judge and act upon unfairly upon a person based on skin color in addition to bi-/plurilingualism.

Fu et al. make their argument clear: Translanguaging is a way to disrupt the heavily dominant norm of monolingualism in school systems today. With care, Fu and fellow authors have articulated the tools necessary to understand and employ translanguaging. Echoing Au's (2017) recent question though, I also reflect, "Can someone who is fundamentally anti-immigrant (or anti-LGBTQ, ani-Islam, anti-Black, for that matter) be trusted to care for immigrant students, let alone be an effective teacher?" (p. 148). I am left wondering how and if many of my

fellow teachers, teacher educators, and scholars would adopt translanguaging when we live in a divided country where some citizens support building a wall, or caging and separating families at the border. Like all educational pedagogies and ideologies, translanguaging is a political decision.

Reviewed Book

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Book Review:

Perversion(s) of Queerness' Backward Identity

A Review of Jen Gilbert's *Sexuality in School: The Limits of Education*

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Reviewed by Whitney Neumeyer Roach

Jen Gilbert's (2014) *Sexuality in School: The Limits of Education* is a relevant and absorbing text that fractures concepts of sex in schooling by emphasizing its entanglements as always present—yet hidden, undiscussed, and problematized. Explored amidst Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Questioning, Intersex, Asexual+ (LGBTQIA+) negotiations with(in) education, Gilbert highlights the responsibility of schooling in acknowledging, teaching, and understanding development and variances of sexuality. Her framework, which includes queer theory and psychoanalysis, works in conjunction with the book's overall narrative to underscore an exploration of sexuality as inherent and not divorced from adolescence.

Setting the stage for the remainder of the book, the almost poetic introduction utilizes anecdotes of Gilbert's experiences as a queer educator. While the five chapters all begin in conflict, each narrows its focus on separate arguments, including relationships between adults and adolescence, sex-education, and risk-taking. On occasion, Gilbert makes her stance known, but more often, ambiguity serves as an opportunity for readers to situate themselves within the manuscript through broader points of entry. Entangled narratives throughout the text address similar concerns from varied purviews while maintaining steadfast emphasis, arguing that "being on the right side of an issue is not enough" (pg. xiii).

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As such, Gilbert specifies a reconceptualization of sexuality and sex education to recognize conflicts of sexuality as a symptom of society's sexual unease.

Chapter One delineates expectations between the queer child and the LGBTQIA+ adult through an account of two separate Canadian court cases; one addresses censorship of queer-type children's books in schooling, and the other involves a trans woman who was denied a volunteer opportunity at a women's only rape crisis center because of her assigned gender at birth. By expounding upon questions of necessity regarding visibly queer adolescent experiences, Gilbert suggests the queer adult must retroactively (re)construct an always existent, albeit veiled, queer childhood through an "'afterwardness' of experience" (p. 32). A recognition of the value of relationships between childhood and adulthood problematizes notions of queer identity as linear. Illustrating how the queer adult might acknowledge a queer childhood, Gilbert proposes concepts of the "ghostly gay child," (p. 14) wherein "[t]he queer adult, in a sense, brings up that child—her lost child—to be gay" (p. 1).

Gilbert unveils children as both markers of our beginning and as agentless actors in adult narratives, thereby exposing the precarious position of adolescence as both an adult repository of "hopes, wishes, disappointments, aggressions, and longings" and as the embodiment of humankind's futurity (p. 8). Her argument makes clear that a socially limited demarcation of queerness as only applicable to adults situates any acknowledgment of a queer child(hood) as the symbolic death of the ideal straight person. By employing Freud's psychoanalytical interpretation of formation throughout adolescence to adulthood, Gilbert explains the hegemonic ideal of "the child" is an assemblage of polyvocal discourses and contingencies of childhood who is dependent on adult protection.

In Chapter Two, Gilbert makes use of psychoanalysis to present the complexity of sex-education, development, and risk. Ensuring no need to advocate for queerness under the pretense of a neutral omission of sex from schooling, subsequently offering a platform of securing youths' innocence and a sheltering from obscenity, institutions of education often fail to account for the need of queer persons. Exploring the implicit erasure of queer insights and promise, Gilbert notes that educational institutions presuppose an undisturbed childhood innocence. However, these quintessential productions maintain a narrow and discriminatory white-supremacist epistemology.

Schooling's presumed neutrality serves as a disguise to ensure discussions of queerness need not happen with direct regard to LGBTQIA+ individuals as their identities are promised not to come into play. Gilbert indicates this deletion is due, in part, to the linear model of progression in developmental theory, often utilized in sex education to understand

the journey from adolescence to adulthood, as it fails to account for individualized sexuality or gender. Queer children, rendered non-existent, already matured by knowing queerness, and thereby divorced from innocence run counter to understandings of "the child" as immature. This rhetoric, according to Gilbert, generates concepts of sexual knowledge as developmentally inappropriate, risky, and dangerous.

Separating childhood risks from that of adults, "grownupness," as Gilbert designates, engenders distinction of risky behaviors as they are vital to labeling differences between adults and youths (p. 26). For the empirical "child," risk is tied only to action, not emotion or vulnerability, thereby unquestioningly positioning sexual behavior as an adverse risk. Utilizing the works of D. W. Winnicott to explore adolescents' risky behaviors and their relationship to authority, Gilbert declares that risk-taking behavior must not be viewed as a failure of sex education, but includes as a topic of discussion throughout schooling. Accepting risk as a natural step in the progression and development into adulthood should be underscored throughout childhood and schooling as the backbone of sexual education.

In Chapter Three, Gilbintroduces the film campaign, *It Gets Better*, to highlight structures outside of schooling explicitly created to ensure discourse between queer youth and adults. The campaign presents exemplars for queer youths to envision queer adulthood and a "future when their sexual identity is not only a source of pain and ostracism but also a site of pleasure and love and hope" (p. xxvii). While the campaign sets out to provide examples of successful queer adults, it problematically fails to ensure inclusivity and maintains a limited scope of white middle-class representation. Moreover, the campaign places the onus of survival on the queer youth rather than society at large, essentially gaslighting queer youth to remain in exclusionary spaces. Plotting how adults and social norms apprise educational institutions and, in turn, determine and restrict abstract childhood sexuality, Gilbert proposes that not being told queerness is an option while existing in a society awash in heteronormativity, the queer child is forced to adapt. Offering the representation and opportunity for youths to construct their imagery of adulthood brings into question the necessity and value of adult identity to depend on youth knowledge as well as the overt erasure of queer adult possibilities.

Arguing for a model of thoughtful sex education, Chapter Four turns to the "paradoxical qualities of prohibitions" and the overt tendency of adults to say no (p.72). Connections across "prohibitions and demands for compliance" to theories found in Freud's negation of Bion's description of the "mother's capacity for thoughtfulness" challenges readers to reconsider if prohibition has the occasional possibility of transitioning

to "conditions for thinking" within sex education (p. 67). Suggesting prohibitions as an entry point to "understanding desire as the grounds of our intellectual judgment," Gilbert posits parental demands of no sex (education) as a developmental boundary, merits critique through comprehensive sex education (p. 72).

The fifth, and final, chapter names a strategy modeled throughout the text, one in which Gilbert maintains a supportive and non-accusatory tone to welcome contemplation, as Derrida's concept of hospitality. Detailing hospitality as contradictory, imperfect, and idealistic, "hospitality emerges from the conflict between what we imagine and what we can do; our commitment to justice and human rights does not, and indeed cannot, lie flush with social practices" (p. 93). To distinguish between "the laws of hospitality and the Law of hospitality," (p. 84) Gilbert exposes their commonalities and nuances. The laws of hospitality attend to societal conditions and norms while informing administrative policies to govern on a larger scale. In contrast, the Law of hospitality "demands that we accept what is not yet intelligible" welcoming all before inquiring about who they are (p. 84).

Debates between welcoming and erasing queerness (and all other unwelcome identities assumed foreign) from education, juxtaposes Derrida's concept of hospitality against the tension of "pervertibility," wherein spaces of queer inclusivity are erased when placed against legislative domains (p. 85). Ethical dilemmas pertaining to the "law" and "Laws" of hospitality "resides in that perverted space between the laws and the Law," where individuals both fail to welcome "foreigners" while refusing to attend to underlying identities of those who are welcomed (p. 86). Thereby leaving adequate room throughout systems of education for the perverted paradox of failing to meet the needs of students we attempt to value while simultaneously undercutting successes we hope to create.

Closing with a call to action, Gilbert offers a reluctant five-point manifesto meant to address how educational institutions, educators, and parents might offer a hospitable welcome to the messiness of youth and their sexuality, support families and students, and inspire research(ers) to examine the limited parameters of sex in education overall. This conditional plea affirms:

> 1. While valuable, specific endeavors to exterminate homophobia from schools will not work. Instead, because entanglements of a profound heterosexist nature exist, the best schooling can do is try to be welcoming of unknown foreigners.
>
> 2. If schools and personnel are serious about the eradication of homophobia and transphobia in schooling, everything matters. All representations must be opportunities to discuss sexuality, both formally

and informally. We must be willing to be messy learners and teachers and accept our inevitable shortcomings.

3. The natural response from educators and schooling to eliminate all use of the words "lesbian," "gay," "bisexual," and "trans" and mark them as slurs perpetuate their use. To counter the lack of understanding around these words, "We need chances to practice saying 'lesbian' and 'gay' with each other" (p. 97).

4. Issues and topics of queerness need to be explored through avenues beyond that of Othering. Schools should explore and offer narratives of LGBTQIA+ relationships and successes which expound queerness as acceptable, natural, and valuable.

5. Acknowledging struggles for queer educators who are often left out of discourse for change but mandated to act as student advocates, Gilbert contends that too much responsibility and too little support is offered to the queer teacher.

Gilbert has offered great insight into the formations of limits—implied and mandated—placed upon those with queer identities, "the child," and sexuality's relationship to schooling. Discourses around queer adolescents, dependent upon their presumed and eventual free adulthood and imagined futurity, ensuring schooling is tolerant of difference. However, disentangling tolerance might be the most significant political and pedagogical task for LGBTQIA+ individuals and their advocates. While many who complete schooling leave as fully functional adults, others (specifically those who are queer) are merely survivors of a straight and narrow education.

Reflecting upon the text's totality, I am left with several lingering sentiments regarding its application and audience. Gilbert's thoughtful consideration of the ghostly gay child(hood) will, I expect, be relatable for many queer readers. Much of the discussion on self-construction through hindsight in hopes of imagining a queer childhood is not only intricate but clearly personal—an experience unlike any other, one which is often left out of discourse concerning youth and queer inclusion. Her point makes clear that those who successfully transition from adolescence to manifest successful LGBTQIA+ adult lives do so not because of their experiences, but rather despite them—speaking volumes to the tenacity, grit, and survival of oppressed and marginalized queer individuals to manifest storylines of success.

While dense in its use of theory, Gilbert's interpretation and use of psychoanalysis lays bare the value and use of understanding and implementing discussions of sexuality throughout education. Gilbert's use of real-world accounts results in a text that can easily be of service to myriad readers for whom space is created for authentic introspection.

The explicit focus on education's entanglements with sexuality ensures it would be of great use for seasoned educators as well as in a university pre-service education seminar. Additionally, because *Sexuality in School* successfully connects studies of sexuality and theories of education, filling gaps by carefully teasing apart unchallenged fundamental canons of adolescence, schooling, and sexuality, I expect it to be of interest to individuals across varying academic domains.

Reviewed Book

Gilbert, J. (2014). *Sexuality in school: The limits of education*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

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