DEMYSTIFYING LANGUAGE TEACHERS' CULTURAL DIVERSITY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS THROUGH DEEP SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

by

Harun Serpil

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The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

François V.Tochon, Professor, Curriculum & Instruction (Advisor)
Carl Grant, Professor, Curriculum & Instruction
Catherine Compton-Lilly, Professor, Curriculum & Instruction
Gloria Ladson-Billings, Professor, Curriculum & Instruction
Mary Louise Gomez, Professor, Curriculum & Instruction
Richard F. Young, Professor, English

ABSTRACT

This study uses a phenomenological study design to better understand the phenomenon of teacher approach to diversity. Qualitative data were collected using Seidman's phenomenological interview protocol and then analyzed through thematic coding and conceptualizing. Participants included eight former and current language teachers of a Midwest University language education program.

Using Symbolic Interaction Theory (SI) and Deep Approach (DA), this study attempts to help answer the following primary question: Through the lens of their lived experiences, how do world language teachers explain the ways they have formed their knowledge and beliefs regarding diversity?

Findings from this study support previous research findings demonstrating the importance of having cross-cultural experiences for teachers and the need for giving them adequate social and institutional support to successfully address learner diversity. This study is expected to contribute to the literature by offering a new perspective about teacher diversity knowledge and belief formation by synthesizing two complementary conceptual frameworks of SI and DA. Findings suggest that teachers' symbolic interactionist experience constructions are shaped through the dynamic interplay between personal agency and the sociocultural factors present in specific local contexts, driven by their past and future perceptions of the Self as "I" and "me".

Suggestions include providing opportunities for teachers to have real-time interpersonal communication with people from diverse cultures, involving parents and community in the schooling processes, organizing cultural exchange programs and non-touristic visits to other countries to facilitate in-depth personal interactions with a wide range of socio-cultural perspectives.

Key words: *Language teachers, teacher knowledge formation, teacher belief formation, diversity*

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We're all one thing. Like cells in a body. 'Cept we can't see the body. The way fish can't see the ocean. And so we envy each other. Hurt each other. Hate each other. How silly is that? A heart cell hating a lung cell.
— Charlie Kaufman, Adaptation: The Shooting Script

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

I was born and raised in Turkey, and lived and worked there until I came to the USA at the age of 28 for my Ph.D. study. Growing up in Turkey, I had never thought along race or ethnicity: everybody around me had the same skin color and nobody seemed to be very different unless they had some visible disability that marked them as "different." I guess I was in an insulated bubble, a "cultural encapsulation" as Banks (1994) so properly labels, and enjoying "the luxury of ignorance" as Howard (2006) describes in his own life story, not identifying myself as part of an ethnic group and being totally unaware of any racial or ethnic issues. Still, I remember being aware of accents of those coming from rural areas to attend my school, and we (city people) would make fun of them, feeling a certain degree of superiority, and finding them not up to par with our own standards. Peers in school setting can be cruel towards each other, and we would try to make fun of anything that stuck out as "abnormal." Perhaps this was due to the basic survival instinct that perceives anything different as a hostile threat, and tries to eliminate them, or even punish them for being dissimilar. I also recollect my deep trust in my family and later in the school authorities that never suspected any mistreatment towards minority students. Everybody spoke Turkish, and was expected to follow the national curriculum, to be good law-abiding citizens. I viewed social problems around me as "economic" only, and minority people as just "poor" people. Even during my later years of adulthood, I mostly saw the world through this monochromatic lens.

My sensitivity to multicultural issues increased exponentially after coming to the US. I met many people from very different backgrounds which led me to question my own identity and ethnicity. I wanted to be a welcomed part of this society but at the same time, I dreaded assimilation and losing my ethnic self. Living in another culture forced me to become more aware of many layers of cultural texts, artifacts, expectations and stereotypes. I felt welcome at my department, but I had always been reminded of being an "alien", in numerous little situations of cultural miscommunications or blatant racism. I learned that many

things in the US are not what it seems in the Hollywood movies I used to watch back home in Turkey. Although I like to believe (based on my test scores) that I have near-native fluency in English, I often came across expectations of poor linguistic performance by the native speakers, and in one specific instance my clearly intelligible sentences would be interpreted in class to the American students by the course instructor, making me feel deeply humiliated - which is a case of linguistic racism, called "linguicism" in the relevant literature (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984). I have also observed and learned about the rich diversity of people living in the US, but unfortunately I have also witnessed many cases of racial and ethnic discrimination, however indirect they might be. One very recent example is an experience one of my colleagues on campus had. She is a white female assistant professor teaching a social work class. She reports that one of her students (an African-American man) showed up for a meeting to prepare for a group presentation. The student said he tried to be friendly and open but all of his ideas were discounted and none of the information he provided was included in the presentation in the end. He felt that the other students had met earlier and worked on their presentation excluding him. My colleague thinks the other students were oblivious to their part in this and felt that they had a high academic standard. They felt that they came prepared to the meeting and the student of color was "unprepared" and "uncooperative". Both sides (still) have absolutely no insight into how there might have been a different way to handle things or how they failed to be respectful. The majority students can't seem to even imagine that there is a different way of approaching this assignment or that there are any cultural or racial bias. To me, this shows how the dominant White epistemology does not recognize or tolerate other epistemologies. What might be perceived as openness, flexibility or creativity is taken as "unpreparedness." This vignette is just one of the many daily lived discriminations that happen over and over, even on a campus that takes pride in being tolerant and progressive.

I have also begun to closely follow the news and events regarding diversity and I was appalled by the frequent stories, for example, about tougher school discipline on African American students (Witt, 2007), "admitted, but left out" students of color (Anderson, 2012), openly racist Tea Party people (Rosenthal, 2013), growing proportion of African-American men imprisoned (Roberts, 2012), increasing negative attitudes towards Hispanics and African-Americans (Blow, 2012, 2013), the NYPD's bias towards people of color in stop-and-frisking (Goldstein, 2013), and trigger-happy police shooting African-Americans all too readily, as in the recent case of unarmed black teenager named Michael Brown in Ferguson, MO (Kristof, 2014), and more

recently in the cases of police bias an ensuing protests in Baltimore (Stolberg, 2016) and Milwaukee (Eligon, 2016). A recent report by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) about the negative impact of the presidential candidate Trump's campaign on minority students is worrisome (Costello, 2016). All these have led me to realize that issues of race, ethnicity, class, and gender are crucial for all parties involved in schools, because this is where young minds are educated to see themselves and others in certain ways and form their fixed beliefs about others. Thus, being an "outsider" to this culture, and having had to reflect on and learn many important cultural rules I empathize with the minority groups in the US educational system. During this journey of reflection two conceptual frameworks have been especially helpful: Symbolic Interactionism (SI) and the Deep Approach (DA). Thanks to SI, I have been able to appreciate signs in my environment not at face value, but try to figure out their deeper meanings, and critically think on how they are constructed, negotiated and even used for consolidating oppression. And through DA, I have improved my sense of empathy and openness towards others and my sensitivity of ecology, how everything is organically interconnected, like a live tissue, but from the more field-specific perspective of world language education. It has taught me caring instead of ignorance or contempt, love and tolerance for others instead of narcissism and egocentrism. Having clarified how my dissertation topic relates to my own life, and how it connects to the conceptual frameworks that I am using to make sense of it, now I would like to turn my attention to now to what I exactly mean by "diversity" and why it is so important.

What Do I Mean by *Diversity*?

My definition of diversity has a narrower scope than what the term normally refers to; it does not include disability, gender and LGBT issues.

Significance of the Study

Using the bifocal lense of SI and DA (DSI), this study is expected to contribute to world language teacher education by allowing a deeper understanding of how language teachers tackle and relate to cultural diversity issues, with suggestions to teacher educators for consideration in later curriculum planning.

Purpose of the Study

The general purpose of this research is to find out the specifics of preservice language teachers' development of cultural diversity knowledge and beliefs in coping with their students' diversity needs by attempting to understand teachers' cultural diversity knowledge and belief development in the light of their representation of them in their personal narratives.

Research Questions

1. How do language teachers explain the ways they have formed their knowledge and beliefs of diverse learners through their lived experiences?
2. What is the nature of language teachers' cultural diversity knowledge and belief development?
3. How do these teachers represent and make sense of their cultural diversity knowledge and beliefs in their personal narratives?
4. How do language teachers explain forming and acting upon their own racial identity through their lived experiences?

In my attempt to find answers to these questions I use two conceptual frameworks: Symbolic Interactionism (SI) and Deep Approach (DA). Now, I turn to an overview of my first framework: SI.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

"I am not what you think I am. I am not what I think I am. I am what I think you think I am."

(Anonymous)

SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM (SI)

By Symbolic Interactionism here, I refer to the traditional, early SI that was originally postulated by George Herbert Mead, and then later developed and refined by his student Blumer. Rooted in pragmatism and widely used in sociological analyses, SI is the process of social/self interaction in the formation of meanings for individuals. Blumer (1969) formulates SI as:

> …human beings interpret or "define" each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their "response" is not made directly to the actions of one another but instead is based on *the meaning which they attach to such actions*. Thus,

> human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions. This mediation is equivalent to inserting a process of interpretation between stimulus and response in the case of human behavior (p. 180, italics added).

Developed at the University of Chicago in the 1920s, the SI theory consists of three core principles: meaning, language and thought, which form the basis for a person's self and socialization. People are able to change the meanings and symbols they use in their interaction depending on their interpretation of the situation partly because they can interact with themselves, allowing them to assess the potential pros and cons of certain possible courses of action and then act on their selected decision (Ritzer, 2011). Humans act toward people and things according to the meanings that they give to those people or things. Language gives humans a means by which to negotiate meaning through symbols. As a mental conversation, thought modifies each individual's interpretation of symbols, which requires different points of view. People use the *looking-glass self*: they take the role of the other, imagining how we look to another person. Our generalized other is the sum of responses and expectations that we pick up from the people around us. We tend to give more weight to the views of significant others, like family members (just like my childhood experience I have mentione above, that's why personal histories are very important and formative). When one imaginatively rehearses the likely outcomes of various future conducts in light of previous experiences before picking a single action, then one is engaging in "minded" behavior (Reynolds, 2003). This minded behavior is where positive changes can occur towards a more equitable society; depending on how aware and open you are to others, to becoming "enminded" with others' minds (or collective minds, as in culture). SI opposes the psychological reductionism of behaviorism and the structural determinism of more macro-oriented sociological theories such as structural functionalism. Its distinctive focus is on the mental capacities of actors and their relationship to interaction as a process; actors are seen as driven neither by internal psychological states nor large-scale structural forces. SI theory accords primacy to the social world because it is where consciousness, the mind, and the self emerge. With four dialectically related stages (impulse, perception, manipulation, and consummation), "act" is the most basic unit in SI. It involves at least two persons, and its basic mechanism is the gesture. People have the unique ability to have an inner conversation with themselves in assigning meaning to their situations. "The subjection of the act to the process of self-interaction imparts a career to the act – the act may be stopped,

restrained, abandoned, resurrected, postponed, intensified, concealed, transformed, or redirected (Blumer, 1975, p.60)." Mental processes including reflective intelligence, consciousness, mental images, and meaning are part of the larger social process. The self is the ability to take oneself as an object, put oneself in the place of others, and to see oneself as others see it. The self develops through the play, the game and the final "generalized other" stages of childhood, with increasing awareness of other actors. Seeing oneself from the community point of view is essential to the emergence of the self as well as of organized group activities. The self has two components: the "I," which is the creative aspect and the source of innovation in society, and the "me," which is the organized set of attitudes of others assumed by the actor, allowing social control to operate. Lacking a macro sense of society, SI treats social institutions as collective habits (Ritzer, 2011). Mead underscores the "I" because it is the basic source of novelty and personal values. It is what enables us to develop a unique personality and the realization of the self. Mead sees an evolutionary process in which people have progressed from a mostly "me" self toward a more "I" self. "It is through the 'me' that society dominates the individual. …The 'me' allows the individual to live comfortably in the social world, while the 'I' makes change in society possible. The 'I' and the 'me' are thus part of the whole social process and allow both individuals and society to function more effectively (Ritzer, 2011, p.363)." Helen Keller's life story illustrates all aspects of Mead's theory because after becoming "capable of symbolic interaction, she not only possessed a 'me' as well as an 'I,' but she could also 'take the role of the other' and could internalize the 'general other,' allowing her to form her social self (Wallace & Wolf, 2005, p.205).

As the founder of SI, George H. Mead explains individual behavior within the context of the collectivity, in which others are always mentally present, even if they are physically absent. Society is possible because human beings act in cooperative behavior, which is itself made possible because people have the ability to take the point of view of the other(s), mentally place themselves in the position of the other. Each acting individual ascertains the intention of the acts of others, and then makes his/her own response on the basis of that intention, and can guide his/her own behavior to fit in with those lines of action. We are more or less seeing ourselves as others see us. We are unconsciously addressing ourselves as others address us and putting ourselves in the place of others and acting as others act (Mead, 1934). This gives us the relativism of self and ethnicity; one is not necessarily superior on another. Instead of strengthening ill-conceived

stereotyping and biases, understanding self-construction of prejudices is the most important step towards destroying them.

SI is also supported by phenomenological thought, asserting that the objective world has no reality for humans, only subjectively-defined objects have meaning. We respond to the world in which we live by representing it, by constantly classifying and reclassifying it. We create a world of objects with abstract individual and social goals. We are born into an existing symbol system, with seemingly fixed objects, and predetermined meanings where the responses are variable and the actions are creative. The object itself has no value; humans load it with their values. For me, understanding how this is accomplished through symbols is helpful. For example, the word "cilantro" has deep symbolic cultural connotations for a Mexican, while for most Turks it is virtually unknown. Likewise, religious Christians would react very differently to a necklace in the shape of a cross, due to its sacred religious value, while a devout Muslim might see it from the opposite perspective. Another recent example is the symbolic power of the initials "T.C." which stand for "Turkish Republic." This has recently became a huge Facebook controversy when many Turkish people began adding "TC" in front of their Facebook names, just to protest the new government policy of removing "T.C." from the signs of official public institutions. Evidently, "T." and "C." are more than just two letters for millions of Turks; they symbolize an essential part of being a Turk. Mead (1934) and Blumer (1969) present a critical paradigm to analyze how selves and others use and manage identities, appearances, strategic forms of discourse, and anticipations to respond to various social arrangements. Society is symbolic interaction with direction, memory, and people 'committed to its endurance' (Katovich & Maines, 2003). Unfortunately, "endurance" usually translates to the reproduction of the existing injustices. Such reproduction relies on the construction of "the generalized other" by individual members of a society, but it can be resisted and challenged: "To stand up to the generalized other, the individual must construct a still larger generalized other, composed not only from the present but also from the past and the future, and then respond to it (Ritzer, 2011, p.362)." The concept of generalized other is quite similar to the Bakhtinian notion of "authoritative discourse" and the "I" dimension is the level where "internally persuasive discourse" works as a semiotic filter for other types of discourse (Bakhtin, 1981; Gomez et al., 2014; Gomez, 2016).

SI tries to achieve an in-depth, contextualized understanding of human behavior, with no ambition to predict and control it. SI underscores the social, emergent, and alterable characteristics of human behavior, and

thus justifies melioristic social reconstruction (just like Deep Approach). In fact, this is not a simple process of "reconstruction," but creating a unique hybrid "third space" (Bhabha, 1990, Soja, 1996, 2004) by merging deconstruction and reconstruction. Using the Heideggerian dialectical process, this third space is used to reach something more than just thesis or anti-thesis, but more of a synthesis in the Gestaltian sense. Nominalism and realism meet in the trialectics of a third space to create an ontology of complexity (Tochon, 2013, personal communication). Interactionists believe that power and politics influence whose definitions of reality are accepted. Unlike postmodernists (who accept all reality claims as equally sound), interactionists do not avoid political responsibility by taking diversity in interpretation as a basis for judgmental relativism. They are ontological realists, but at the same time aware that the world is systematically interpreted through symbols of epistemological (social) constructivism. This is a crucial point because through symbolic systems, people are connected or separated by certain interpretive practices (Soja, 1996, 2004). The symbols that people use to communicate are interpreted through the lenses of particular situated cultural lenses, "corresponding to a set of internalized representations imbued with values that make communication possible" (Tochon & Azocar, 2003, p. 219). To be able to gain a firm grasp of how these symbols and values are used in particular constructions of teaching, I find using Tochon's (2007) *Deep Approach* (DA) as a useful conceptual tool. Mind is a symbolic process that reflects an ongoing larger social process, which ties in with the DA in that personal symbolic constructions are connected to the bigger symbolic scope of other ecological systems like schooling, in the search for meaning and purpose for actions. SI helps with the theorization of how student teachers enact imaginary scenarios in their minds and interact with the society, but building on this, the DA allows a researcher to further analyze how these teachers make meaningful bridges between their primary and secondary worlds. Both SI and DA are deeply rooted in Peircean semiotics, which focuses on how people create and interpret signs and symbols to make meanings in their lives. The signs (called "representamens" by Peirce); themselves don't have any inherent meanings in them, until people assign them those meanings. In the mind of that person, a sign creates an equivalent or even a more developed sign, which creates the *interpretant* of the first sign. The sign stands for its *object*, not in all respects, but in reference to a sort of idea, which Peirce calls the *ground* of the *representamen*. Interaction between the *representamen*, the *object* and the *interpretant* is referred to by Peirce as *semiosis* (Peirce, 1931-58, p. 484). In his model, for example, a traffic light sign for "stop" would consist of: a red light facing traffic at an intersection (the representamen); vehicles

stopping (the object) and the idea that a red light indicates that vehicles must stop (the interpretant). It is the deep *semiosis* that SI and DA (DSI) try to explicate and understand. I am interested in how the semiosis refers to the way student teachers interpret diversity objects in their own terms; how they reconfigure and represent these. Here, as my second framework, I'd like to present Tochon's (2007) Deep Approach.

DEEP APPROACH (DA):

She's the ocean because she is part of the ocean but she lives as a drop (and) the deep education is the link between the self and the ocean (Tochon, 2013, Deep Education Workshop at UW-Madison).

The humankind has increasingly become an invasive species; let alone recognizing and respecting diversity among human cultures, it denies the right to live for other species, moving toward an ecological uniformity, not unity. In reverse ratio to exponentially increased quantity of knowledge, people's inner identities have become more and more deprived and out of touch with the earth society. The humankind moved from a "mother-earth" paradigm, when its sustenance was based directly on earth, to a "more-earn" paradigm, where its relationship to earth is lost or rendered insignificant. The carrots-and-sticks paradigm devalues human life if it cannot be turned into cash. Human value hinges upon its profitable value. The industrial revolution destroyed the social aspect of humanity, the very fabric of being human. So now people are richer but not necessarily happier. Humans control the machine, but the dominant profit-based paradigm stays the same. It's time to notice that there's something above information and knowledge: wisdom. It's the internal voice in all of us, it is the conscience-wisdom that is rooted in knowledge-in-action. Happiness must be (re)connected to internal reasons rather than the external.

Drawing attention to this alarming problem, Tochon (2012) makes a case for a paradigm shift, for an integrative ontology, for the need for social and ecological action, and not taking the current world for granted. Equity in the sense of raising uniform people by subjecting them to same procedures and expecting standard outcomes does not work anymore. Shallow education, misinformation, and intensified work has led to a loss of deep values and disabled majority of people from reflection.

The Deep Approach (DA) views both subjects and objects as one with their ecosystem and recognizes unique characteristics, skills and aspirations of individuals. DA is transdisciplinary and stresses curricular interconnectedness and strives to address ontological dualism by synthesizing a wide range of disciplines such

as ecology, ecopsychology, economy, politics, cross-cultural communication, psychology, and languages. It is strongly informed by semiotics, process philosophy and complexity theory (Tochon, 2010, 2012). "Depth is plural, multivalent, and relative to the variety of microworlds that constitute our visions of reality as a space filled by the mind" (Tochon, 2012, p.286).

The current system of education serves to reproduce the "social divide" and financial interests of a few, ignoring the costs on ecological systems. To turn the tide, Tochon (2010, 2012) urges for a "deep turn" in education. This "deep turn" means that regardless of their usefulness to humans, all life forms on Earth are inherently valuable and their diversity is a value in itself, which is not to be reduced by humans. Thus, aspiring for higher "cultural and spiritual consciousness," people must be educated to become aware of their moral obligations to earth and appreciate life quality, not higher standards of living and accumulation of wealth. The biosphere must be turned into a "semiosphere," where all living systems are valued members share meaningful signs. All educational endeavors need to revise their basic underlying instrumental reasoning to complete it with practical (how to act) and theoretical (how to appreciate) reason, to gain meaningful purpose and critical reflection, otherwise instrumentality alone will lead to irrational self-destruction. In fact, theoretical wisdom (*sophia*) should be the overarching tool governing others, not the other way around. When exponential knowledge doesn't match higher virtues and morals, social inequalities, injustices and oppression deepen, with catastrophic effects for everybody (Tochon, 2010, 2012). Science and education must shift from a predominantly quantitative orientation to a quality-oriented one, in which quality "prevails as evaluated on the scale of deep human values such as social justice, ecological respect, fair information and communication, truthfulness, care for others, intrinsically motivated effort towards improvement, non-interference unless requested" (Tochon, 2010, p.9). This shift to quality also brings a better appreciation of the aesthetics of life, a deeper reading of the seemingly superficial and meaningless because DA values dynamically interconnected human experiences by unifying theory, practical reflection and instrumental operation. It can be understood as a dot-linking process, a discovery of the hidden code within inexplicable "truths." It involves emotion and reason, signs and symbols, meaningfulness and situatedness (deixis). It deciphers embodied "epistemic beams of meaning" (Tochon, 2002) embedded in cultural worlds and identities that interact with each other and explicate the complexity of agency, which is never linearly or fully directed by structures or systems. Embedded within the surface layers of worldliness are deeper connections that lead to layers of interpretation

that arise from a postulated primary world, a constantly re-visited and non-foundational foundation. Its understanding is not dualistic, and it is based on an integrated semiotics with moving signifiers, signified and situated interpretants that interact symbolically.

This type of poietic semiosis collaborates with inquiry through deep politics: while it imagines moral alternatives for the future, the inquiry paves the way for new possibilities for justice (Tochon, 2010). Instead of competing and killing for limited resources, humankind must practice 'politics of consciousness' by moving out of the emotionally-driven consumerist trance (*magical consciousness)* and self-centered but uncritically obedient *imperial consciousness*, advancing toward a caring, ethical, collaborative *socializing consciousness* and appreciating diversity and relative truths by *cultural consciousness*. The culmination of this quest would be *spiritual consciousness*, the realization of multidimensional interconnectedness and complexity of holistic creation. The transition from cultural consciousness to spirituality can come from deep encounters with others, eventually resulting in the awareness that we are all connected. Cultural and spiritual consciousness help build a more just and peaceful society (Korten, 2007, Tochon, 2010).

Transcending paradigmatic dualism, the DA integrates modern and postmodern approaches at a higher third space, where both construction and deconstruction dialectically engage in a new and complex dynamic of trialectics. It then resituates ontological realism in relative ontology, which necessitates a relative realism of layered and overlapping realities, thus resolving the problem of syllogism. This dialectic and dialogical process is more important than the outcomes. This conceptual third space defines a "semiotic niche" where developmental psychology and sociocultural dimension become compatible. Since no one single theory can account for the complexities of practice, their complementary features can be used to avoid linear reasoning and define a theory that is self-adaptive, blended with "learning-in-action," and rooted in "life-action." This is congruent with the epistemological negotiation that Compton-Lilly, Rogers and Lewis (2012) found as a common thread in all the diversity scholars (Freirian pedagogists, funds of knowledge scholars, culturally relevant pedagogists, and critical race theorists): "…the work of diversity scholars features both modernist and postmodernist dimensions, highlighting the strengths, resilience, and agency on the part of diverse families alongside the need for children to meet institutional and structural expectations related to literacy and schooling" (p.49). Their epistemological analysis attempts to focus on the principles undergirding such binaries as strength vs. deficit, qualitative vs. quantitative, home vs. school by going beyond the dualistic

thinking that determines how diversity is tackled. They also urge family literacy scholars to use these multiple epistemologies to "not only build on rich local knowledge and practices but also prepare students for school success" (p.54). In a very similar way to what is proposed by the DA, and underscoring the importance of diverse funds of knowledge, famous multiculturalist Sleeter (2005, p.7) urges benefiting from diverse communities in fixing some US problems like the majority of Americans' insisting on communication be done in English, prizing excess materialism rather than spiritual development, discarding past insights and human wisdom about living sustainably with the earth, and feeling powerless to change society to make it more egalitarian and democratic.

Deweyan Reconstructionism and future dreams may be utopic, but symbolic language can still be positively used to stimulate self-determination, instead of its widespread political misuse for deception. Theoretical wisdom and wisdom of action must be the basis for reflective practice, and choosing appropriate instruments for higher humane goals (Tochon, 2010).

Tochon and Karaman (2009) suggest elimination of "colonial positioning" and "sense of superiority" to be able to have a common ground with others. This sense of superiority indicates a low level of social awareness. One way resolving this is communicating with 'the foreign within.' Through mediation and symbolic action, the representation of the "Other" becomes the representation of the "Self" as "Other". Aspects of the "Other" are perceived as aspects of "Self". Knowing the "Other" is restricted and shaped by how the "Self" defines itself.

> "Humans look at others through a broken mirror. The "Self" on the other side is different. The other "Self" does not have the same cultural reactions, and may be sensitive to other things and other values. Every tiny bit of difference may be screened and judged, until the perceiver perceives that he or she is judging, and is judgmental. This awareness of the spontaneous cross-cultural screening, of this judgmental process comes only at a point when self-awareness rises in such a way that it can perceive its values and commitments as being relative. … At that point the judgmental process may be suspended. It never fully ceases, but it can be suspended" (Tochon & Karaman, 2009, p.146).

This process of slowly growing out of prejudices is an indispensable part of deep cultural learning. This requires dialogical looking at the world through another lens, from immediate experience. This way of fundamental reflective questioning of prejudices in everyday practice, language and discourse is the foundation for caring. This ongoing critique focuses on what claims to validity are, who benefits from

activities, and for what reasons, who guards the 'protected' knowledge, and how knowledge is commodified and used for oppression. These elements of oppression could be imposed worldviews shaping the cultural or ideological thinking processes. When a society does not solve inequity, it becomes a polarized society with self-destructive tendencies, with fear of otherness. The discriminated people may become persuaded that the arguments of the dominant class are valid, by internalizing the imposed qualifiers and accepting the conceptual moulds created for them.

In this approach the connection between primary (the world you read this from) and secondary world (the world you read on paper) are sought in a third space. Harmony has a major role in this approach, because it is the code that creates a dialogue between worlds, across events and experiences, fulfilling homeostatic balance in the end. DA tries to capture human experience at a more profound level by trying to go beyond the superficial or secondary level and connecting it to the primary level. This connection in human experience is enabled by the transformative, deep education framework offered by DA.

Rooted in DA, deep education is thematic, transformational, bottom-up and eco-conscious, which focuses on voluntary participation, responsible citizenship, tackling real life problems, organized around meaningful conversations, self-reflective, strives to engage all levels of emotion, spirit, cognition and body, and is grounded in life grammar by crosscultural 'beams of meaning,' guided by process, not products (Tochon, 2002, 2012, Tochon & Hanson, 2003).

In this sense, discourse of education can be reflectively connected to identities and subjective interpretations through DA (Tochon, 2010, 2012). This way, teachers filter the outside discourse around themselves and construct their identities and interpretations in the primary world, which provides a sense of continuity. Through disrupting of routine conceptions in the field, suspending interpretations during reflection, and knowledge reframing, educators can reach a high level of *metasemiosis*, and further relating the curriculum knowledge to responsible professional action, can develop *semioethics* (Tochon & Ökten, 2010). Acting as a resource, the deep educator has a strong commitment to educate better and stimulate deeper in this world of opposite top-down forces and structural demands, devoted to freeing others from the official chains of schooling and "institutionalized stultification," which can be achieved by "thorough training, expertise, relevance and aptness, delicacy and tact, and a new rapport with the students' lives, who must be considered as adult learners, grown-up with the potential of leading their projects, even in the K-12 grades" (Tochon, 2012,

p.280). The deep educator seeks what is meaningful to the learners and situates learning within the larger context of meeting lifegoals. Forward-planning with a focus on process rather than outcome-focused backward-planning is suggested; "deep formative feedback" and empowering through self/peer assessment is essential. Value-creation through respecting other cultures is emphasized, while discrimination or colonialism are countered.

Furthermore, in DA while the educator and the apprentice can negotiate instructional arrangements, "the major agreement is to take place within the learner and his or her own self" (Tochon, 2012, p.250). Driven by independent, deliberate and intrinsic motivation, this agreement allows the apprentice to go deeper into the target culture. When students are freed from linear, surface curricula and allowed to organize their own projects and resources, they will show real interest in learning. Curriculum designers cannot initiate changes without addressing the mental models and recognizing "teachers' and students' knowledge, beliefs, values and interests in the instructional process" (Tochon, 2012, p.25). Empowerment in DA comes from a critical stance of constantly questioning self practice to see whether it is limiting or liberating the learners, whether learners' inner constraints are eliminated, keeping an eye on the long-term goals, but not for sake of short term, since "the means used influence the attainment of the goal" in Gandhi's words (Tochon, 2010). In this sense, the DA strives to achieve freedom for people who are enslaved by the normative schooling practices. However, this is quite different from the self-centered, irresponsible, destructive freedom of the cancer cell that modernism imposes. As the most free cell in the body, a cancer cell grows rapidly and freely, destroys all the other cells but dies with the dying body in the end. Modernism disrupted the balance between freedom and responsibility.

In the educational premises of DA, "teaching self and otherness is part of teaching cultures and languages. Accessing another culture is the identity building process. Interactions need to be biographically situated. Beliefs about ontology and reality as well as social positioning play a huge role in the perception and stands vis-à-vis the other language and culture" (Tochon, 2011, p.19). At this stage, three levels of interaction determine holistic learning: "the mastery of declarative knowledge, the transfer of procedural strategies, and the expression of situated understanding (a holistic action) encompassing three levels of an educative production – the discipline, the interdiscipline, and the transdiscipline" (Tochon, 2012, p.28). Evaluative

metacognition is the final step in the learning process that integrates all previous levels of learning and transcending the subject area, culminating in meta-awareness.

However, the DA is not to be taken as a teaching method, but rather as a lens to see the world through. The official curriculum may try to bend the mind to its will, but the DA is not about "bending" minds; it's more about empowering and freeing the inner soul. Knowledge is an essential part of identity building process that is not viewed as an object, but rather an intersubjective opposition to commodization and reification. "… both declarative and procedural knowledge are highly context-dependent and influenced by biographic (diachronic) knowledge as well as contextual knowledge present within the interactional situation. Biographic and situated knowledge together constitute the experiential knowledge proper to language apprenticeship" (Tochon, 2012, p.249). To gain knowledge, educative projects are situated in action, disallowing sedimentation. Instead of uniform, standardized outcomes, deep processing and gaining unique perspectives are targeted. Language learning serves higher ambitions toward a wiser world, where people collaborate to solve conflicts, wars, poverty, desertification, deprivation and non-humane politics. This requires viewing the curriculum as a tool to achieve democracy, civic participation, and a more equitable society, as opposed to the prevalent conceptualization of curriculum as "the development of cognitive processes" (Ladson-Billings, 2016). Language depth "relates to applied semiotics rather than the abstraction of permanent and immovable universals with absolute, decontextualized rules of transformation. The clash between meaning and form only exists in dualistic ontology. Meaning and form are integrated in daily use within communicative situations" (Tochon, 2010, p.7). Learner knowledge and reflectivity are contextualized through better attention, a positive attitude, and a personal involvement in interactions "about and in" the target language. 5 Cs standards are subsumed by the overarching C of "Cosmopolitanism," and becomes 6 Cs following Daiseku Ikeda's suggestion. Instead of aiming for "the ideal citizen," this Cosmopolitanism is reached through "politics for the human," involving micro-politics of linguistic, pragmatic and cultural value creation, "forming an interface between government policies and classroom practices" (Tochon, 2012, p.32). DA projects also stimulate a sense of soul searching and therefore identity building. Language learning is a way of this identity construction, but also paves the way for the internalization of cosmopolitanist values such as compassion, wisdom and courage (Ikeda, 2010, 2013). This type of "cosmopolitan turn" shapes the transdisciplinary level: "language studies should educate through and beyond the language" (Tochon, 2012, p.270). Integrated with

cosmopolitan philosophy, critical multiculturalism undergirds the intercultural dimension of the DA. Applied semiotics is favored for hermeneutic value-laden projects to increase sensitivity and responsibility towards other people and our home planet, which involves a deep understanding of adaptive and complex cross-cultural situations. Based on an open approach to world languages and cultures, DA encourages deep reading in the form of dialogue with the Other as part of "transpersonal development" (Tochon, 2012).

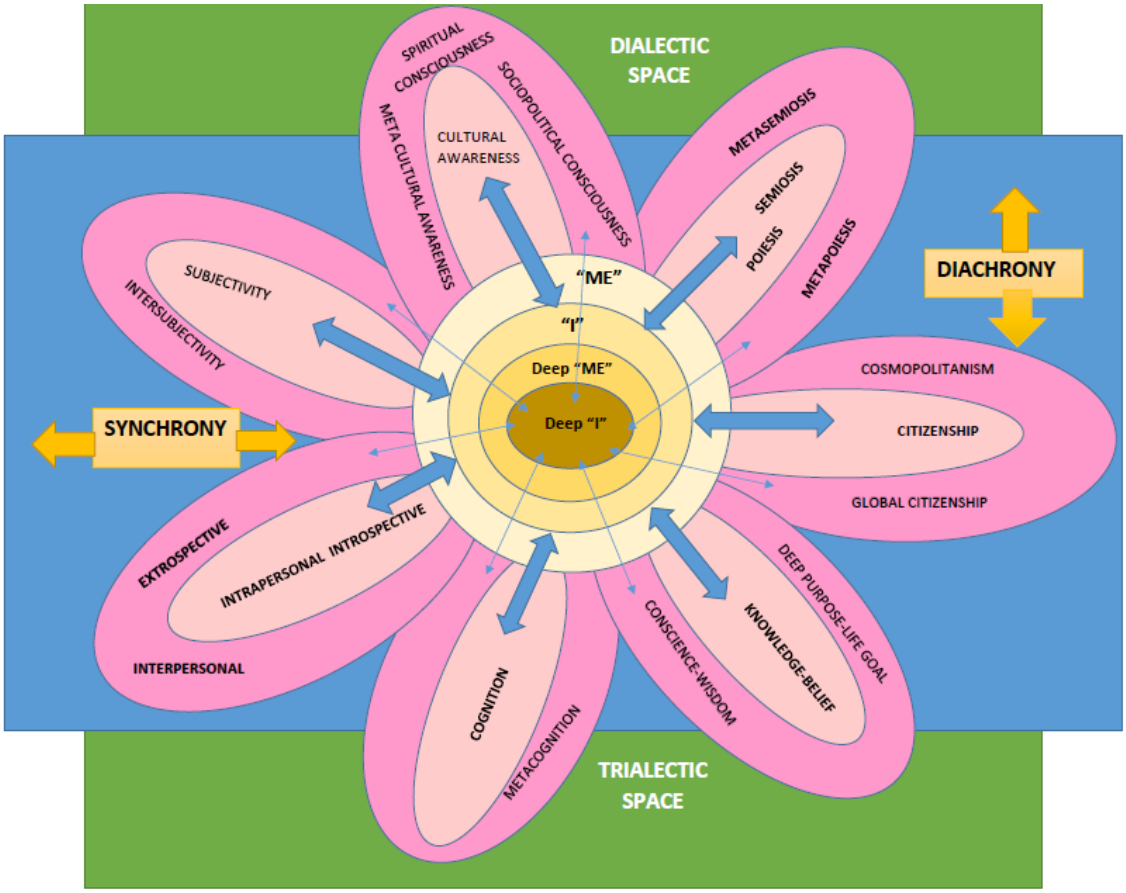
"Global citizenship requires the development of virtues of imagination, empathy, and compassion within the acquisition of the other languages and cultures to create an antidote to collective egoism, ethnocentrism, and the pathology of divisiveness" (Tochon, 2012, p.272). Thus deep education involves a sense of one's deep identity that refers to who we are and how we see ourselves in relation to the world. Creating a sense of connection, "deep education transforms the biosphere into 'semiosphere'—a world of meaningful signs—and creates a meaning-making environment for action" (Tochon, 2010, p.4). This deep identification of self with the world frees the person from the confines of ego, the sense of separation from the earth (subject vs. object) is gone, so one begins to feel directly affected by all kinds of destructive human behavior on earth. DA values diversity of all forms of life, and diversity of cultures, no matter how small or materialistically insignificant they might be perceived.

SYNTHESIS OF SI AND DA: DEEP SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM (DSI)

Like SI, DA values the agency and autonomy of the individual rather than the structural mechanisms operating on the learning process because excessive focus on the structural constraints has the potential to stifle individual creativity. DA values each learner by allowing him/her to bring original perspectives into the educational interactions. DA helps expand SI analysis by its insights into deep individual experiences and by connecting it to the global perspective, since SI shuns the macro-structural analysis considering it inaccessible to examination. However, the global perspective of DA refers not to an attempt to lay bare the undergirding social structures at work, but to providing a higher macro purpose and direction (like social justice) for the individual micro actions and choices. Therefore, with its endeavor to reach a deep, holistic understanding of the present by honoring the past, while developing wisdom for the future, DA complements the microsocial perspective of SI. By merging these two separate frameworks, I aim to bring forth a new theoretical tool to analyze my data: DSI. I believe that DSI provides a deeper analysis because it helps explain both the use of

symbolic interaction at the symbols level and and the way it is idiosyncratically used by an individual as part of a larger life goal. The DSI provides a lens that enables looking at phenomena through a transdisciplinary perspective, but also allows for an analysis of the micro-level symbolic interactions between self and the world in the third space, as these interactions occur in a larger semiosphere of signs and symbols. DSI completes the SI framework by adding the DA framework to it, so that it helps analyze not only "how" teachers interpret their experiences, but also "why" they choose to do so in certain ways by situating and reframing their experiences in line with a certain worldview, a higher transdisciplinary purpose, and intentions guided by certain beliefs and knowledge. The graph below represents the various dimensions of the DSI model.

The DSI MODEL



In the blooming flower of the DSI Model above, the micro dimension (represented by the inner petals of light pink) shows when, where, and how the SI process is enacted. The time dimension (in blue) comprises diachronic and synchronic experience, spanning across childhood, adolescence and adulthood. The temporal context here refers to the present situated in the past (lived) and future (imagined), so the "now" is situated in the "then." The spatial dimension of the deep symbolic experience (in green) refers to the third space, whereby

changes occurring in the cross-cultural contact points allow semiosis and poiesis. Thus, the deictic "here" is situated in the retrospective and prospective "there." The process dimension refers to how the symbolic cross-cultural dialectics and poiesis work. The blue and green dimensions together form the semiosphere. Composed of "me" and "I" at the SI level, and deep "me" and deep "I" at the DA level, the identity dimension refers to how the self and other are described and how self is related to others and how self-integrity/consistency is maintained across multicultural contexts. The Deep "I" with its transformative and moral aspects is the deepest dimension of self, constituting the core self and governing the deep "me," "me" an "I". In the macro dimension of the DSI (represented in the model by the outer petals of dark pink), based on the personal worldview, life purpose and transcendental positioning of the self in the semiosphere, the dialectics of the SI becomes the trialectics of DA, semiosis turns into metasemiosis, and the poiesis transforms into meta-poiesis, resulting in the emergence of semioethics. The subjectivity of SI experience becomes related to the intersubjectivity of DA. In the trialectic third space the knowledge-belief ultimately becomes transcendental conscience-wisdom. This higher level of conscience/wisdom allows teachers develop deeper level of meta-cultural awareness and appreciation, through which then they can reframe their lived experiences from a macro perspective of (interpersonal and global) transformation.

To sum up, in this first chapter, I have presented the focus of my study, given the operational definition of the term "diversity," laid out my research questions, and after reviewing the two discrete conceptual frameworks (SI and DA), I have introduced a new analytical framework that I label as "Deep Symbolic Interactionism" (DSI). In the next chapter, I will review the relevant literature on teacher knowledge and beliefs, diversity problems in preservice teacher education, how these problems have been addressed, and explain how all this previous work by others relate to my study.

"There is no such thing as a 'self-made' man. We are made up of thousands of others. Everyone who has ever done a kind deed for us, or spoken one word of encouragement to us, has entered into the make-up of our character and of our thoughts."

-George Matthew Adams, newspaper columnist (1878-1962)

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, I will review the literature about how teacher knowledge and beliefs are formed, and how diversity issues vis-à-vis preservice teacher education has been dealt with, relating them to my study.

PRESERVICE TEACHER LEARNING AND KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT

Language teachers' prior experiences as learners and teachers lead them to form their pedagogical content knowledge that guides their teaching philosophies and practices (Freeman & Richards, 1996; Johnson, 1994). This process of constructing and internalizing new knowledge occurs through *appropriation*. The extent of this appropriation depends on how much their values and goals overlap with those of more experienced colleagues (Wertsch, 1991), and how much support they are given by their professional communities (Ladson-Billings & Gomez, 2001).

Levin (2003) and Guiterrez Almarza (1996) studied teacher learning over long periods of time. Levin (2003) studied the lives of four educators for 15 years and found some key influences from their prior beliefs and personal values, professional experiences as teachers, their teaching contexts, their personal relationships both in and out of school; and other life circumstances (e.g., children, health, and changing educational policy climate). Echoing Vygotskian intra-and inter-psychological processes, Levin (2003) found that teachers develop pedagogical understandings on two levels: inner and social. Teachers' pedagogical knowledge became more complex when they had to solve problems, confronted dilemmas in teaching, or when there was a mismatch between a teachers' image of teaching and the reality they observed in their classroom. Teachers also looked for help from outside sources, such as talking with other teachers, with the students, with family members, or others who knew more about particular students, or instructional strategies. Then they incorporated this feedback into their thinking through inner dialogues. Guiterrez Almarza (1996) carried out a ten-month longitudinal study of four preservice language teachers' pre-training knowledge, the relationship between the pre-training and teacher education knowledge and how this knowledge related to their practicum practice. She found that internalized models of teaching by *apprenticeship of observation*, and prior assumptions had a stronger effect on their practice than teacher education program. While these teachers acquired some pedagogical knowledge and

learned about language learning processes, their subject matter knowledge remained the same and in some cases, even created contradictions vis-à-vis the new teacher education knowledge. During teaching practice they had to apply the method they learned during teacher education, but the degree of acceptance of this method showed great variety. The limited effect of teacher training programs on language teacher beliefs is also established (Saydee, 2016). Metaphoric case images, lived experiences and positive examples are other sources that converge to form the basis of a teacher's knowledge (Schön, 1983; Shulman, 1986). Ellis (2006) further distinguishes between native and non-native (bilingual) language teachers, saying that "the bilingual teacher possesses far greater resources with which to make informed professional decisions than does the monolingual" because the experiential knowledge of the NNS teachers mirrors their students' language learning.

Preservice teachers' previous experiences and values may not match the particular social context they teach in, and this may lead to a major shift and reconstruction in their pedagogical knowledge, as related by Cook et al. (2002). Cook et al. (2002) studied a teacher's knowledge formation and application during her last year at the teacher education program and the first teaching year in her classroom. They found that though her teacher education program had stressed the constructivist theoretical principles, her constructivist thinking was not supported in her school, and the teacher developed a less unified application of constructivism. The teacher became less guided by the formal concept of constructivism and more and more driven by the daily pragmatic concerns of teaching. Lending support to these findings, Winitzky and Kauchak (1997) researched student teachers' development of abstract conceptual knowledge and found that where university coursework matched practicum experiences, student teachers showed higher structural growth. They also found that these teachers' knowledge was fragmentary and idiosyncratic, but its complexity and coherence increases over the course of preservice teacher education. Student teachers did not have firmly-established, change-resistant teaching concepts to be changed or modified, but "in the absence of domain-specific, principled knowledge, novice learners apply a 'next-best-thing' strategy in attempting to solve novel problems or interpret novel experiences" (p.74). So, they may have to use teaching strategies that are not the best, but the best of what they can come up with at the time. Jones and Vesilind (1996) found that preservice teachers continuously revised and restructured their pedagogical knowledge on the basis of their teaching experiences during their senior year practicum. While they were initially course book oriented in their teaching, they later became increasingly complex, more learner-

oriented and comprehensive. A linear, progressive and cognitive model of teacher development is provided by Gabrys-Barker (2010) below.

Table 1. Stages of teacher development: teaching expertise (Gabrys-Barker, 2010, p.38)

Level of development	Cognitive approach	Description
Stage 1. Novice	Deliberate	• Learning the theoretical basis for teaching • Non-contextualized knowledge
Stage 2. Advanced beginner	Insightful	• Gathering first experiences • Forming perceptions of individual cases as patterns • Modifying behavior according to experience
Stage 3. Competent	Rational	• Make their own decisions and sets goals • Ability to plan accordingly • Awareness of a hierarchy of importance
Stage 4. Proficient	Intuitive	• Have informed intuitions about what works and what does not • Holistic perception of the teaching context and learners • Quite extensive experiential knowledge
Stage 5. Expert	Arational	• Expertise deriving from extensive knowledge and experience • Ability to respond to a variety of situations *fluidly and effortlessly*

In my view, a teacher may be at all these levels in varying degrees, not necessarily following such a strict order of development but the model is still helpful for understanding teacher development.

Through symbolic interaction, teachers socialize into particular shared cultural practices through their interactions with students, parents, and school staff. This shared social ground operating through symbols forms the basis of what Heidegger (1962) calls as *being* and what Bourdieu (1977) – based on the Aristotelian concept of *hexis* – calls *habitus*, the set of dispositions that allow novice teachers to develop their professional understanding over time. Schooling enculturates students into various *discourse communities* (Resnick, 1991), leading them to personalize concepts and forms of reasoning that characterize those communities. These discourse communities also shape the way teachers think and teach. "Indeed, patterns of classroom teaching and learning have historically been resistant to fundamental change, in part because schools have served as powerful discourse communities that enculturate participants (students, teachers, administrators) into traditional school activities and ways of thinking" (Putnam & Borko, 2000, p.8). For preservice teachers, cooperating teachers create a *mini discourse community* where they are enculturated into the teaching community and they co-construct pedagogical knowledge (Margerum-Leys & Marx, 2004).

Teacher learning is deeply intertwined with context and intention, since the physical and social situation in which they learn to teach is an integral part of what is learned. The teaching contexts in which they operate are highly variable and situated socio-interactive systems (Cobb & Bowers, 1999; Greeno et al, 1996; Lave & Wenger, 1991). Ethnographic case studies of language teachers' lives show that the pedagogical content knowledge is dialectically bound up with the specific teaching contexts and autobiographies (Tsui, 2003).

A teacher simultaneously handles two Saussurian axes of knowledge: diachronic (where prior knowledge and new knowledge co-occur), and synchronic (where present circumstances and all their ramifications are considered) (Tochon, 2000, Tochon & Munby, 1993). Teaching knowledge develops diachronically over time and over social contexts. Lortie's (1975) "apprenticeship of observation" illuminates the phenomenon that teachers had been watching their teachers for thousands of hours, and their particular experiences as students shape their early beliefs about teaching. When we focus on the present time and those particular teaching contexts, we find the synchrony of teaching. Tochon and Munby (1993) demostrated that teaching knowledge is a focal point merging instructional diachrony with synchrony. This concept suggests that situated in the present locales and time, teachers develop a broad knowledge of the present, comprising both in and of class rules and values. They learn the particular (informal) rules of their teaching community. These rules are not only the visible formal rules but they extend outside of their classes. Networking with other peers and participants in their specific social communities, they learn the implicit rules that determine what is normal to do at school. The relationships among home, community and school require a broader social understanding of language teaching. "It is the combination and integration of these synchronic and diachronic views captured in the notions of schools and schooling that create a rich, complicated and textured view of the socio cultural contexts in which teacher learning takes place." (Freeman & Johnson, 1998, p. 408) What aspects of this process are valued is political, and the politics of schooling necessitates critical reflection and action. At the micro-level, synchronic can be thought of as the lateral knowledge that a language teacher has of the other skills and lessons being taught to his or her students at the time. For example, a grammar teacher needs to know what grammatical problems were raised in other classes, so that he or she can address them. Diachronically, a language teacher may have the knowledge of a particular group of students' grammar

proficiency development over time and over grades, and teach them accordingly. Teachers' language proficiency is also diachronically and synchronically situated.

The individual person is part of the spatial and temporal situation (Heidegger, 1962). People find themselves in situations formed by all that has occurred in the past, from which they project themselves into the future. Tochon's (2000) model of authentic learning situations describes (pedagogical) authenticity as an intersection of the situated (lived) experience of the learners and the disciplinary mind expressed in planned and enacted pedagogical context. The mind of the discipline is historic and contained within the community of practice and it is integrated with the present locality of pedagogical experience (where the learners are guided by the more experienced members of the community of practice). Tochon (2000) further argues that planning and enacting curricula is a process of *enminding* classroom action with the historic mind of the discipline. He considers disciplines as school genres. This *enminding* becomes the particular genre and discourse of the subject matter. The learner and the mind of discipline are dialectically bound together as they shape each other. In the process of reflection on experiences, the culture, learners, and teachers become reconstructed. Gee (1990) calls the discourse of the subject matter as local language. This is a helpful concept to understand how teachers explain what goes on in their teaching. This is the primary tool of expressing the conceptions of practice which they bring to teaching as well as those into which they are socialized on the job. Local language stems from two sources: One is the teachers' own experiences as students, the other refers to the professional (discipline-based) language of talking and thinking about teaching and learning in their particular school environments. The local language, which is the teachers' primary "identity kit" in Gee's (1990) terms, expresses their tacit conceptions teaching. Teachers' local language may normatively hinder reconceptualizing and changing their practice. The professional language, on the other hand, provides an alternative identity kit, through which teachers can identify, reflect on and reconstruct their thoughts.

Knowledge is distributed across complex cultural, physical, and socio-historical systems. It is the collective product of an individual intentions, other people and artifacts (Greeno et al., 1996; Putnam & Borko, 2000; Yinger and Hendricks-Lee, 1993). When teachers participate in professional development communities, they draw on each other's unique experiences, and different strengths to gain insights and transform their teaching. Each member contributes to this collaborative discourse by making his or her knowledge available to the others. In developing their unique methodologies, language teachers draw on the experiences of other

teachers, preferably the more experienced ones. Using peer experience affords access to various student responses to certain teaching techniques very quickly. Teachers constantly compare notes about their teaching experiences and validate or improve their methodologies in the light of this peer feedback. Communication of meaning depends on cultural artifacts, language being the most important of them but also other culture-specific semiotic signs and symbols, like gestures. It is through the participation in the symbolic systems of the culture that a shared background is developed enabling mutual understanding (Bruner, 1990). On the other hand, this can also be the basis on which racist conceptions are formed. To Heidegger (1962), all interpretation and achieving meaning begins with a shared symbol system, a *Vorhabe* (pre-understanding). Then the interpretation is referenced form a certain perspective and expectations about the meaning. Understanding self and others is tied directly to being-in-the-world, the *Dasein*, which requires constant reinterpretation of the particular situation. For teachers, this understanding is actualized in lived educational situations.

Teacher learning has social and cognitive dimensions that are mediated by language in socially-situated and culture-specific situations. These situations are located at the junctions of certain diachronic (personal/social history/school genre) and synchronic (geographical/temporal present) points in a teacher's life. Arguably, the role of the society (and professional community/ subculture) is the most important element in a teacher's life, and (value-attached) tools of thinking have to be acquired from the certain society one is located within. The society and its specific subcultures constantly feed the teacher with values that lead to personal constructions of belief systems, and beliefs are just as determinant as knowledge ("deeply connected, interactive, and complementary" to knowledge, Gay, 2010) in attitude formation, which are the focus of the following section.

BELIEF SYSTEMS OF PRESERVICE TEACHERS

The nature of teacher beliefs

Belief systems are unconscious associations and inferences that serve as a dynamic filter through which new knowledge is screened for defining and making sense of the world (Kagan, 1992; Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992; Putnam & Borko, 1997; Zanting et al., 2001; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Stored in long-term episodic memory, beliefs are derived from earlier experiences and cultural sources of knowledge, involving moods, emotions, and subjective evaluations that determine the strength of their associations (Nespor, 1987;

Schechtman, 1994). Providing conceptual stability, beliefs "are the substrates of meanings sedimented by habits that crystallize into knowledge." When people genuinely doubt something, they seek a new belief (Tochon, & Ökten, 2010, p.5).

Teachers' educational beliefs form a set of conceptual representations which store general knowledge of objects, people and events and they are derived from their own experiences as language learners, experience of what works best, established practice, personality factors, and research-based educational principles (Bryan, 2003; Campbell et al., 2004; Clark & Peterson, 1986; Fang, 1996; Kissau et al, 2015; Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992; Richards & Lockhart, 1994; Vartuli, 1999; Woolfolk Hoy et al., 2006). "Teachers' belief systems are founded on the goals, values, and beliefs teachers hold in relation to the content and process of teaching, and their understanding of the systems in which they work and their roles within it. These beliefs and values serve as the background to much of the teachers' decision making and action, and hence constitute what has been termed the 'culture of teaching'" (Richards & Lockhart, 1994, p.30). Teachers' educational beliefs are instrumental in defining and conceptualizing tasks and selecting the cognitive tools with which to interpret, plan, and make decisions regarding such tasks (Pajares, 1992). These beliefs are affected by significant episodes in teachers' lives, such as an influential teacher or school-related experience. For example, teachers may try to make classes fun and friendly because their classes were boring when they were in grade school (Lortie, 1975; Nespor, 1987). Their beliefs about learning and the role of teacher are also shaped by personal experiences of community and parenting, even more powerfully than by their teacher education courses (Richardson, 1996). Teacher beliefs are not only influenced by the immediate teaching context (grade level, student characteristics, the learning content, the textbooks, and the context of the school, etc), but also by the larger context of the national policies, cultural norms and values (Uhlenbeck et al., 2002; Vartuli, 1999; Woolfolk Hoy et al., 2006). Supporting previous research indicating an initial focus on teaching as a mechanical transfer of information (Richardson, 1996), and naive optimism regarding the simplicity of teaching (Weinstein, 1989), Leavy, McSorley, and Bote's (2007) examination of teacher metaphors revealed that almost half of preservice teachers had behaviorist notions of teaching and learning and the learner was absent in their self-referential metaphors describing their personal journeys. Phipps and Borg (2009) examined the alignment between experienced teachers' teaching beliefs and practices in grammar teaching. They found

that teachers' practices are consistent with their generic (core) beliefs but not with more specific sets of beliefs, and concluded that teachers' instructional decisions are mainly determined by their core beliefs.

Bunting (1985) enumerated four belief dimensions with respect to teachers' educational attitudes (directive, affective, cognitive, interpretive). The *directive* dimension affirms the value of traditionalism, by referring to the belief in the teacher's role as decision maker in the classroom and the lack of confidence in the student's ability to monitor his behavior appropriately. The *affective* component focuses on the emotional development, while the *cognitive* dimension contains descriptions of instructional techniques oriented toward the active and direct involvement of students during instruction by focusing on the maximum engagement of the mental processes. The *interpretive* dimension reflects beliefs that a maximum effort has to be made to increase the meaning and relevancy of subject matter. The affective aspect of beliefs plays an important part in storing, assimilating, and retrieving knowledge by evaluating and judging gathered information (Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992). Different substructures of the belief system are not necessarily logically structured (Richardson, 2003); and contrasting beliefs remain within the belief system as long as they are not examined against each other (Bryan, 2003). Green (1971, p. 48) suggests that people tend to order their beliefs in clusters, which are ''more or less in isolation from other clusters and protected from any relationship with other sets of beliefs.'' People can hold conflicting beliefs, for instance, about the need for competition on the one hand, and the importance of cooperation on the other.

Values and beliefs are strongly influenced by culture. Values are cultural ideals about what is considered moral and immoral, good and bad, or proper and improper. Since values offer viewpoints about ideal goals and behavior, they serve as standards for social life. Values also serve as criteria for assessing our own behavior as well as that of others. Beliefs are more specific than values, they are ideas and attitudes shared by a culture about what is considered true or false. An example of a value is "democracy is good." An example of belief associated with this value is "nations with democratic governments offer a better quality of life to citizens than nations with authoritarian governments" (Lindsey, & Beach, 2004). Now, I would like to take a closer look at beliefs, starting with teachers' epistemological beliefs and then moving on to their diversity beliefs and how beliefs may or may not change.

Pre-service teachers' epistemological beliefs

Their epistemological beliefs significantly influence how teachers conceptualize teaching. A core epistemological belief is composed of four dimensions about knowledge: certainty of knowledge, simplicity of knowledge, source of knowledge, and justification of knowledge. People go through four main stages of epistemological development: dualism, multiplicity, relativism and contextual relativism, but few people reach the advanced stage of epistemological development, that is, contextual relativism (Hofer & Pintrich, 1997). Brownlee (2001) studied 29 Australian student teachers' core epistemological beliefs about knowing and their peripheral beliefs about learning. 18 student teachers were found to believe that personal truths are constructed individually based on evidence. 10 of them held beliefs that accept knowledge as both constructed and received. Only one student teacher believed in received knowledge. Eliciting 20 American student teachers' epistemological beliefs and categorizing them into five categories (departing absolutist; intuitive relative; selective relative; informed relative; and reflective relative), White (2000) discussed the concern about student teachers' not moving beyond the beginning stages of relativistic thinking. Student teachers may equate their learners' active engagement in classroom tasks as learning (Holt-Reynolds, 2000), and may not be able to reach sound judgments, simply thinking that since all knowledge is relative, the knowledge base of education is a matter of opinion.

Teachers' racial and ethnic identity beliefs

Teachers' racial and ethnic identities are critical in shaping their belief systems (Atwater, 1996; McAllister & Irvine, 2000). Teacher beliefs lead them to treat their students differentially based on race/ethnicity (Guttman & Bar-Tal, 1982; Hale-Benson, 1982). As teachers learn to work with diverse students, it is essential that they be aware of their own racial and ethnic identities to be effective in teaching students from diverse cultural backgrounds. "Teachers commonly see students who are White or Asian as more teachable than students who are Black or Latino/a, and students of middle- or upper-class backgrounds as more teachable than those from lower-class backgrounds, *even when they exhibit the same behavior in the classroom*" (Grant & Sleeter, 2011, p.38, emphasis added).

Several studies have been conducted with preservice teachers regarding racial and ethnic identity. McCall (1995) explored how the beliefs of preservice social studies teachers about diversity were constructed

as a result of their life experiences. Students exposed to discrimination were more likely to embrace multicultural ideologies than students who had not been discriminated against. Similarly, Scott (1995) investigated the perceptions of education students participating in a field experience and found that students were uncomfortable and reacted negatively to working environments that did not resemble their own school experience. Scott concluded that teachers must examine and come to terms with their own belief systems before they can be effective in multicultural settings. Hallman (2012) found that community-based field experiences provide the necessary third space for such self examination. Garibaldi (1992) found that teachers' beliefs about diversity have been influenced by information that reinforces stereotypes of minorities and subcultures. Chevalier and Houser (1995) examined the multicultural self-development of preservice teachers in a social studies and literacy methods class. Most of the students were characterized as mainstream and had little prior interaction with members of other sociocultural groups. Although the beliefs of these preservice teachers were characteristic of mainstream America (i.e., benefits of cultural assimilation, acceptance of the need to limit immigration, and blaming the disadvantaged for social conditions), through classroom instruction that focused on multicultural self-development, they grew in their multicultural understanding. However, an increased multicultural knowledge does not necessarily translate into cultural competence, unless the educator has a corresponding set of accepting/affirming beliefs about diversity (Pohan & Aguilar, 2001). Tatto's (1996) findings indicate that although student teachers subscribe to fair treatment of diverse learners, it is less clear how they translate these ideals into their views regarding the structure of the curriculum, the criteria for assessing student progress, and the organization of the classroom and the school. Education students seem to have strongly ingrained the lay culture norms, and teacher education in its current form is a weak intervention to improve views regarding the teaching of diverse learners. Bodur (2016) found that preservice teachers do not see culturally responsive pedagogy as an essential part of being an effective teacher.

According to Banks (1988), cross-cultural beliefs and interactions are influenced by an individual's ethnic identity. In his *Typology of Ethnic Identity*, he identified six stages of ethnic identity: ethnic psychological captivity, ethnic encapsulation, ethnic identity clarification, biethnicity, multiethnicity/reflective nationalism, and globalism/global competency. In the first stage, *ethnic identity*, the individual accepts negative images and beliefs of his or her ethnic group and practices some form of ethnic rejection. Members of mainstream ethnic groups are least likely to experience this stage. It is a stage experienced mostly by

ethnicities that have been rejected in mainstream society. In the second stage, *ethnic encapsulation*, the individual possesses an exclusive view of his ethnicity and assumes an image of ethnic superiority. This individual is devoted to the cohesiveness of his or her group and its protection from other groups. In the third stage, *ethnic identity clarification*, the individual accepts the positives and negatives of his ethnicity and has a positive ethnic self-image. Individuals at this stage of the typology have experienced positive interactions with members of other ethnic groups. In the fourth stage, *biethnicity*, the individual has a strong perception of his or her own ethnic identity and can function successfully in different cultures. In this society, non-mainstream cultures are required to function biethnically. The dominance experienced by mainstream cultures affords them security in ethnocentrism. In the fifth stage, *multiethnicity and reflective nationalism*, the individual has positive personal ethnic identity, and also true stable perceptions of other groups. This individual, while having a commitment to his or her ethnic group, recognizes the multiethnic state of the society at which they live and has concern for it as a whole. In the sixth and final stage, *globalism and global competency*, the individual is capable of going beyond the boundaries of his immediate global environment to embrace the ethical values of humankind and function in other cultural communities in other parts of the world (similar to the ultimate "deep" objective of the DA).

Drawing from Banks' (1988) typology, Brand and Glasson (2004) and McAllister and Irvine (2000) explored the development of belief systems as related to racial and ethnic identities of preservice teachers. McAllister and Irvine (2000) found that developing racial and ethnic identity is part of the cultural learning process; individuals may be at different stages of learning and acceptance of their own identity, and that members of marginalized ethnic groups have different identity development journeys than those of members of the dominant culture.

Brand and Glasson's (2004) ethnographic study identified three themes regarding the influence of the racial and ethnic subcultures on the preservice teachers' beliefs about diversity: (a) The early life experiences and racial and ethnic identity of preservice teachers' influenced their beliefs on diversity; (b) racial and ethnic identity influenced preservice teachers' pedagogy and philosophy of teaching as it relates to the role of diversity in the classroom; and (c) Experiences with diversity during the teacher preparation program confirmed or challenged preservice teachers' preexisting beliefs. These teachers became uncomfortable whenever they experienced challenges to their underlying beliefs about diversity vis-à-vis teaching science.

Anything that did not coincide with those beliefs was considered deviant. The more rigid the belief was, the weaker was the possibility of its being invaded by other beliefs. Each preservice teacher encountered experiences that confronted beliefs stored within their long-term memory and they resolved these challenges by situating them within their existing frameworks. Based on Banks' (1988) typology, one of the participants (Josh) was found out to be at Stage 2: ethnic encapsulation. Josh found security in his separation from other groups and enjoyed his privileged status as an Asian American. His perception of acceptance and respect from the dominant culture enhanced his sense of pride and validation for his beliefs, and easily adopted the characterizations for minorities in society. In contrast to this, another participant (Kyle), as an African-American, was at Stage 1: ethnic psychological captivity. Kyle struggled to become assimilated into the mainstream and was upset by what he perceived as nonacceptance. His self-esteem was low and he felt that no matter how successful he was, he possessed certain traits that would always attract negative attention and reactions from his environment. As reported in Brand and Glasson's (2004) study, strong identity development may encapsulate preservice teachers and this encapsulation may serve as a psychological border that preservice teachers must learn to negotiate and cross in the process of becoming a science teacher. As described by Aikenhead and Jegede (1999), this border crossing experience may result in collateral learning in which the preservice teacher may or may not resolve conflicts with existing belief systems. In this study, preservice teachers were reluctant to embrace diversity because of ethnic encapsulation and negative personal experiences in their lives. The preservice teachers entered the teacher education program with safety nets or comfort zones. As a result of being in the teacher education program, they were exposed to different experiences that challenged their original beliefs. However, as a result of ethnic encapsulation, they negotiated their borders in different ways in which the images or perceptions of their own racial and ethnic identities seemed to have provided a basis of support for their stances. When preservice teachers addressed their role in teaching in diverse environments, they focused on either reproducing images in which they perpetuated their own self-identity or restructuring the environment in a way that precluded negative past experiences in their own lives, preferring to teach within the framework of their own comfort levels. Their instructional decisions were ruled by their need to maintain control and familiarity.

Based on the notion that there might be situations in which one's personal beliefs about a given issue could be in direct conflict with his/her beliefs in a professional context, Pohan and Aguilar (2001) suggest that

the distinction between personal and professional contexts/situations could help understand the behavior of teachers. For example, according to Pohan, & Aguilar (2001, p. 160), "in a personal context, an educator might believe that bilingualism is an asset in today's increasingly diverse and global society. Within a professional context (e.g., schooling), however, this same educator might reject the notion of public monies being spent on bilingual education." People generally refuse to use public expressions about the racial/ethnic superiority of certain groups; however, many are uncomfortable with programs that mandate equal opportunity for people of color, such as affirmative action (Crandall, 2002). Thus, to better understand teacher behavior regarding the challenges created by highly diverse groups of students, it is critical to consider beliefs on diversity in both contexts. Ethnocentrism is a fact of group life, and one that can translate into feelings of superiority, both between and within cultures. Analyzing autobiographies of American teachers of French, Siskin (2007) found primary themes of class and power in their belief systems, besides the desire for self-transformation through mastery of French and miming a subset of French behaviors. Instructors are urged to examine their assumptions about language and culture and reflect on the importance of developing critical distance between "outsider" and "insider". Ryan (1998) carried out a case study in Mexico with two bilingual teachers, a native speaker of English and a native speaker of Spanish. Comparing native and non-native teachers' beliefs about culture and foreign language teaching, this study found that both teachers' beliefs were similar; they had common goals for their students, and they both shared ideas about the social context of learners and speakers of the language being studied.

Teachers' diversity beliefs

Pohan and Aguilar (2001) found that diversity beliefs did not vary by age, and that a strong relationship exists between personal beliefs and professional beliefs. The relationship between multicultural coursework and professional beliefs about diversity was statistically significant. Personal belief scores were higher with increased cross-cultural experiences, but this pattern did not persist with regard to professional belief scores. With the same focus, Cardona (2005) studied the diversity beliefs of 75 student teachers enrolled in a postgraduate program in Spain to (1) analyze and contrast their views in personal and professional contexts, and (2) check if these beliefs vary according to teaching experience. She found that the respondents are more likely to agree with issues of diversity at a professional level than at a personal level, their beliefs

about diversity differ depending on personal and professional situations, and that these differences are larger for inexperienced teachers.

Siwatu's (2007) findings suggest that preservice teachers' culturally responsive teaching outcome expectations were the highest for the possibility that a positive teacher-student relationship can be established by building a sense of trust in their students. The expectations were lowest for the possibility that encouraging students to use their native language will help to maintain students' cultural identity. Bodur (2016) recently found that preservice teachers are more open to issues of linguistic diversity than cultural diversity. But, do these beliefs change? If yes, how? I will focus on these questions in the next section.

Change in teacher beliefs

Throughout their careers, teachers integrate different perspectives into their belief systems or functional paradigms (Lantz & Kass, 1987). Some teachers purposely incorporate different teaching ideas, because they have found various perspectives useful in different teaching situations. Others find it difficult to explicate their ideas and may be unaware of the differences and even inconsistencies within their belief systems. It is through reflection and challenge that individuals evaluate and adjust their thinking and turn from "what is subjectively reasonable for them to believe to what is objectively reasonable for them to believe'' (Fenstermacher, 1979, p. 167). "The process of accommodating new information and developing beliefs is gradual, one of taking initial steps, accepting and rejecting certain ideas, modifying existing beliefs systems, and finally accepting new ideas'' (Pajares, 1993, p. 45). As teachers assimilate into new subcultures, they may experience *collateral learning* in which they experience cognitive conflict with their existing belief system (Aikenhead & Jegede, 1999). *Collateral learning* involves a spectrum of interactions and conflict resolutions within existing schemata that are part of long-term memory. At one end of the spectrum, learners may experience *parallel collateral learning* by compartmentalizing conflicting schemata without resolution. Learners may also experience *dependent parallel learning* in which existing schemata are modified without radically modifying existing belief systems. Finally, learners may experience *secured parallel learning* in which conflicting schemata interact resulting in resolution and a new worldview or belief system (Aikenhead & Jegede, 1999).

Teacher beliefs are usually well established by the time a student enters teacher education and are relatively stable and resistant to change (Kagan, 1992; Nespor, 1987; Richardson, 1996; Stofflett & Stoddart, 1991; Weinstein, 1989). The realities of the classroom do not match preservice teachers' expectations or images as preservice teachers enter the practicum lacking knowledge about students. For a change to occur, preservice teachers need to experience this gap between the imagined version of teaching and what they find in their classroom teaching (Kagan, 1992). Zeichner et al. (1987) argue that teachers develop their beliefs and practice vis-à-vis the perceived match between a school's rules and their own personal theories. A close match is likely to confirm their personal theories. In the case of mismatch, there are at least two possible responses that shape the development of their personal theories: teachers may keep their beliefs covertly and 'play along' with the school system; or they may fit in with the system and begin to rethink their values in line with those of their school. These choices make an impact on the school as much as the school on the teacher. Based on their psychosemiotic reflective conflict study, Tochon and Black (2006) assert that student teachers need to be challenged in their interpretations and go through reflective conflicts to break out of their "cozy equilibrium" by watching their actions on video and listen to peer feedback, thus becoming aware of their pedagogical weaknesses. The resulting "disequilibrium" and reflective conflict will eventually make them attain a better way of thought towards fixing the weaknesses in their previous mental representations. Such disequilibrium is called "critical moments of consciousness altering" by Bakhtin (1981), and "punctuated equilibrium" by Morson and Emerson (1990). Unlike the more malleable knowledge structures, beliefs tend to maintain their suppositions even when presented with reason or factual information, and they carry more weight in determining action (Nespor, 1987). Criticizing current education approaches as being reductive, linear, technicist, shallow and instrumental, Tochon and Karaman (2009) suggest holistic changes that are based on a deep understanding of causation at a deep level of identity: "Teachers won't fight inequities until they become experientially aware of injustice on their own. … [to initiate intercultural reasoning] education must be a subjective process targeting the unity of consciousness, a level of perception where the multiple selves can be understood as expressions of processes that discriminate otherness in day-to-day awareness" (p.143). Having reviewed the points on teacher knowledge and beliefs relevant to my study, now I shift my focus on diversity in the context of teacher education. Following an analysis of the diversity problems in preservice teacher education, I will present a discussion of the solutions offered in the literature for the problems. I think it is

important to discuss such problems and solutions here, since I aim my study to be a part of the solution to social injustices by allowing a deep understanding of how they are constructed, perceived and tackled by language teachers.

DIVERSITY PROBLEMS IN PRESERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION

Diversity in the U.S. schools

Currently, in the U.S, one of every three students enrolled in elementary and secondary schools is of a racial or ethnic minority background. More than one in seven children between the ages of 5 and 17 speak a language other than English at home; more than one third of them are of limited English proficiency. Less than 50% of the school population in two states—California and Texas—is White. Students of color compose at least half of the population in the largest 25 cities in the United States (Applied Research Center, 2005). The US Hispanic student population continues to grow. More than 12.4 million Hispanics were enrolled in the nation's public schools pre-K through 12th grade in October 2011. Overall, Hispanic students make up nearly one-quarter (23.9%) of the nation's public school enrollment, up from one-fifth (19.9%) in 2005 (Fry & Lopez, 2012). Enrollment for minority students in both elementary and secondary public schools has increased 73% over the last 25 years, compared to 19% of white students. Despite this rapid population growth in racially/culturally diverse communities in the U.S., the teachers remain monocultural, monolingual, middle-class white females due to the small percentage of students of color (10%) in teacher education programs (Banks, 2001; Causey, et al., 2000; Cochran-Smith et al., 2003; Grant & Gillette, 2006; Haycock, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1999, 2000, 2001; Sleeter, 1992; Seidl & Friend, 2002; Zeichner, 1992). These demographic figures are projected not to change soon (National Center for Education Statistics, 2012). Especially in the Northeast and Midwest, school resegregation is deepening, and the racial and socio-economic segregation of students has intensified over the last thirty years (Civil Rights Project, 2014), accompanied by a "deep resistance" to school desegregation (Ladson-Billings, 2011). African-Americans still experience the highest residential segregation among people of color and as neighborhood school policies are gaining increasing ground, White students are expected to have much less contact with culturally diverse peers than their parents (Tatum, 2007). The failure rate among culturally diverse students is much higher than White students (Irvine & Armento, 2001). According to Schott Foundation (2009) the American

public education system is not meeting the needs of diverse students, and students from historically disadvantaged groups nationwide have only a 51% Opportunity to Learn compared to White students.Wisconsin's dropout disparity by race is the highest in the US (COWS 2013 Report), and the gap between black and white students in reading and math is the widest (NAEP, 2013). Moreoever, in foreign language teaching, colonial representations of "superior Self" and "inferior Other" still persists (Kubota & Lin, 2009). Recent review of family literacy scholarship also indicates worryingly less concern with diversity (Compton-Lilly, Rogers & Lewis, 2012), and the relevant teacher education scholarship draws attention to recently increased neoconservative attacks on multicultural educators accusing them of raising failure and lowering academic standards (Greene & Shock, 2008, Zeichner, 2010). There is a clear imbalance between the demographic status/cultural needs of students and the teaching staff, but why is this such a burning issue? I elaborate on this in the next section.

The U.S. teacher-student cultural mismatch as a critical problem

There is a critical need for better preparation of the preservice teachers for working with diverse populations. The socio-cultural mismatch between diverse students and their white/middle class teachers leads to disconnections among the members of community and school, resulting in lowered teacher expectations and *racialized* attitudes that negatively affect students' academic success (Garmon, 1996; Gay, 2002, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1995c, 1999, 2000, 2005, 2012; Milner, 2005; Villegas et al, 2012). Pre-service teachers are often unprepared to meet the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse students, and most of them prefer to teach White, middle-class youths in suburban settings (Cavendish & Espinosa, 2013; Larke, 1990; Russell & Russell, 2014; Zeichner & Hoeft, 1996). The problem is clearly explained by Gay (2010): "Most culturally diverse students and their teachers live in different worlds, and they do not fully understand or appreciate one another's experiential realities. Daily interactions with one another are sporadic and superficial, and their knowledge about cultural diversity is filtered largely through mass media. These kinds of contacts and related information are far from desirable and often produce distorted perceptions of, beliefs about, and attitudes toward ethnically and racially diverse individuals, groups, and cultures" (p.144).

Many students enter teacher preparation programs with a weak knowledge base regarding other cultural histories and value systems, reinforced by their attendance at predominantly white schools. Most of

these teacher candidates come from white neighborhoods and attend predominantly white colleges of teacher education, where they are taught by White teacher educators. Cultural isolation of white teachers often leads to prejudiced attitudes toward those outside their own group, especially when their knowledge about others is derived from stereotyped media representations. White preservice teachers are usually not self-critical about their racial privilege and advocate a 'caring' and 'color blind' approach to teaching that ignores the socio-historical context of schooling, including institutionalized racism in American society (Achinstein & Athanases, 2005; Gay, 2002, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1991; Lawrence & Bunche, 1996; McIntyre, 1997; Taylor & Sobel, 2001) and promotes treatment of all learners as White and middle-class (Irvine, 2003). When learners' cultural values are not validated, they become alienated from academic learning (Nieto, 2004). "…there is an urgent challenge to prepare new teachers who are knowledgeable about and effective with students of diverse backgrounds. The challenge is especially evident in Western societies where the cultural, ethnic, racial, and linguistic diversity of the student body is generally quite different from the experiences or backgrounds of those who teach them" (Anxo et al., 2000, p. 413). So, how do preservice teachers handle diversity, especially when they are teaching students from cultures other than their own?

Preservice teachers' problematic approaches to diversity

Most teachers are unprepared to create culturally relevant classrooms (Keengwe, 2010; Molina, 2013; Skepple, 2014), they feel uncomfortable to work with students culturally different from themselves (Aceves & Orosco, 2014; Molina, 2013), and see their teaching subjects and cultural diversity as incompatible (Skepple, 2014). So far more progress has been made in raising the diversity awareness of teachers about cultural diversity than in changing their instructional behaviors (Gay, 2010). Teacher education research identified some recurrent approaches to diversity by preservice teachers that are highly problematic: Cultural blindedness, color blindedness, deficit thinking, optimistic individualism and naïve egalitarianism. Cultural blindedness refers to the notion that education is a neutral process with no significant ties to cultural heritages. It is seen as a way of assimilating into mainstream society. This approach leads teachers to believe in cultural hegemony, which expects all students to behave according to school's cultural standards of normalcy (Gay, 2000, 2010).

Similar to cultural blindedness, color blindedness philosophy lead teachers to believe that they should turn a blind eye to race/ethnicity in their teaching because all people are equal (Johnson, 2002). White preservice teachers have been found to use colorblindedness as an excuse to cope with their fear and lack of knowledge of diverse learners, which resulted in ignoring discriminatory institutional practices (Gay, 2010; McIntyre, 1997; Valli, 1995). Color-blind teachers deny importance of race and see students of color as if they are White ethnic immigrants who will eventually assimilate into the mainstream (Sleeter, 1992). Krummel (2013) found that preservice teachers are fearful of discussing race.

Preservice teachers often think about their minority learners through "deficit" lenses. Deficit paradigm views students of color and other minority groups culturally and intellectually inferior and equates "different" with "deficient." Deficit thinking focuses on what learners don't have rather than what they have, misleading teachers to blame them for academic failures, ignoring the larger social structures. In this paradigm, students of color are seen as underperforming corruptions of the White culture (Ladson-Billings, 1999; Sleeter, 1997). Delpit (1995) argues that when students of color fail in school, their cultural and class differences are frequently offered as excuses. "We expose student teachers to an education that relies upon name calling and labeling ('disadvantaged,' 'at risk,' 'learning disabled,' 'the underclass') to explain its failures, and call upon research study after research study to inform teachers that school achievement is intimately and inevitably linked with socio-economic status. Teacher candidates are told that 'culturally different' children are mismatched to the school setting and therefore cannot be expected to achieve as well as white, middle-class children" (p. 178). In their recent study, Kumar and Hamer (2013) found that more than 25% of preservice teachers express stereotypic beliefs about poor and minority students and show discomfort with student diversity. While these teachers tried to apply performance-focused instructional goals, teachers comfortable with diversity reported targeting mastery-focused achievement goals. Many preservice teachers are romantically optimistic that hard work and individual efforts will be sufficient to overcome any problems, ignoring the structural obstacles in front of academic success (Finney & Orr, 1995; Nieto, 2004). **"**…our belief in the meritocracy is further strengthened by the fact that some individuals from oppressed groups do manage to succeed academically despite the limited probability of their doing so. As a result, most people tend to explain academic success and failure on the basis of individual characteristics of the learner rather than institutionalized discrimination." (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p.22) Some teachers are

also naively egalitarian, believing that each learner is created equal, should have access to equal resources, and should be taught equally. But, can these teachers be taught to overcome their problematic approaches and learn how to deal with student diversity in a culturally relevant way?

Preservice teachers' resistance to diversity training

Instruction on diversity is difficult and may generate resistance (Ahlquist, 1991; Bodur, 2016; Higginbotham, 1996; Nieto, 1994; Tatum, 1994). New teachers may be reluctant to receive guidance that pushes them beyond their zones of proximal development or what they can manage during their early stage of teaching career. Focusing novices on their culturally and linguistically diverse students can be challenging. Teachers in survival mode have a hard time moving their attention from their own performance to focusing on learners' diverse needs. Larke's (1990) study of the cultural sensitivity levels of 51 preservice elementary teachers who had taken at least one multicultural education course indicated that although the majority of the preservice teachers realized that their future students would be from diverse backgrounds, only one fifth admitted a preference to work with such students. They expressed a general feeling of discomfort regarding value systems, parental contacts, language usage, and adaptations in assessments.

Several studies have indicated that preservice teachers who have been exposed to multicultural education courses were no more inclined to reject the stereotypes and other preconceived notions they held about diverse students than they were before the course experiences (Banks, 2001; Ebersole et al, 2016; Ladson-Billings, 1991; New & Petronicolos, 2001; Sleeter, 1992, 2001). McDiarmid (1992) found that didactic presentations about various groups actually taught stereotypes and generalizations and did little to change the thinking among the preservice students. Haberman and Post (1992) found that most of the white preservice teachers they studied interpreted their inner-city field experience mainly through preconceptions they brought with them. By the end of the experience, they felt more confident about themselves as teachers but characterized learners with more negative descriptions than at the beginning. Larke (1990) notes that after taking a multicultural education course, preservice teachers continue to reflect much discomfort in working with culturally different students. Faculty in one study discouragingly found participants exchanging prejudices for color-blindness consistent with their ideology of individualism and meritocracy (Finney & Orr, 1995). In a recent study by Ebersole et al (2016), the teacher educator researchers were

"disappointed" to find that by "doing culturally responsive activities," they had actually encouraged superficial teaching of culturally responsive activities, and realized the need for more opportunities to engage in critical discussion to challenge the injustices and inequalities of the status quo. Studying 131 preservice teachers, Curran (2006) found that even with a living-abroad experience, and despite self-reports of being ethnorelative, teachers' views remained mostly ethnocentric. This could be due to a lack of deep reflection on the living-abroad experience. As suggested by Karaman and Tochon (2007), preservice teachers' study abroad experiences can result in increased global awareness and "wordview reframing" *only if* their own cultural microsystems and those of the host country clash, forcing teachers to reflect on their "foreignness" within a cross-cultural "mesosystem."

Research suggests that white students regularly resist pedagogies that address hegemony if they themselves are directly implicated in the oppression. They often resist awareness of hegemony by employing one of three emotional positions with respect to difference: arguing for tolerance; denying difference as significant; and naturalizing it with reference to biology or geography (Boler & Zembylas, 2003).When white students learn about racial oppression and racial privilege, they experience guilt, shame, anger, and embarrassment (Banks, 1995; Tatum, 1994), and as a result of the emotional burden they feel from learning about racism, they may resist further learning by refusing to attend classes, closing-down, or showing reluctance to engage in class discussions. McIntyre (1997) reported that 13 White undergraduate female student teachers believed that racism was individual/ attitudinal and resisted conceptualizing it as a system of power and advantage. "…cultural whiteness refers to a set of dominant cultural scripts that privilege pedagogy and curricula that work best for upper- and middle-class White students. […] it is extremely uncomfortable for many White student teachers to look at their whiteness. […] (They) experience any effort to encourage them to look at their whiteness as a personal attack" (Lea, 2004). White preservice students interpret social change as meaning almost any kind of change except changing structural inequalities, and many regard programs to remedy racial discrimination as discriminatory against Whites (Vavrus, 1994; Su, 1997), although findings from recent research indicate more positive changes in their attitude (Bodur, 2012; Kumar & Hamer, 2013).

Prospective teachers may resist because their current understandings or beliefs may not coincide with the information presented in class. McFalls and Cobb-Roberts (2001) applied the cognitive dissonance

theory (CDT) to reduce preservice teacher resistance to diversity issues. According to CDT, a person can experience psychological tension or dissonance when new knowledge or information is incongruent with previously acquired knowledge. By increasing teachers' awareness of internal discomfort due to discrepant information (i.e., metadissonance), they allowed for deeper processing of the new information and lowered resistance. Typically, students who enter multicultural foundations classes are "apolitical, individualistic, and non-confrontational" (Ahlquist, 1991). Although many teacher education programs include some form of multicultural education, confronting issues of racism in a deliberately antiracist framework is less common. Traditional multicultural education courses provide generalizations about cultural groups that tend to reinforce the stereotypes, misconceptions, and biases (Banks, 2000; McDiarmid, 1992). Milner (2005) found that the prospective teachers initially showed skepticism about the importance of diversity and had to be ''convinced'' that diversity was a real issue. They separated diversity from the subject matter they were teaching. The research suggests that community-based immersion experiences are more powerful than stand-alone multicultural education courses, yet it is likely that the latter are more prevalent because they are easier to institutionalize. Multicultural curricula are typically taught as an "add-on", involving non-contentious issues, focusing on the inclusion of isolated ethnic tidbits and other superficial aspects of cultural difference, while academic work remains monocultural, negating true cultural and social differences. For instance, in the U.S., speaking a language other than English is seldom cherished as an asset; even the bilingual programs are based on a subtractive model: success is achieved only when students go from monolingual in their native language to monolingual in English (Nieto, 1994). Courses aimed at helping white students deconstruct white privilege have produced positive (but limited) results in supporting the development of anti-racist identities. As a result of the short duration of these courses, the difficulty of such work in a racist society, and lack of support for continued development, students easily slip from more advanced forms of an anti-racist identity into a stage of reintegration resulting in blaming people of color for their oppression (Lawrence & Bunche, 1996; Sleeter, 1997). Analyzing a 2-year ethnographic study of teacher adoption of culturally responsive pedagogy in a U.S. teacher education program, Davis (1995) found that preservice teachers ultimately adopt a meritocratic and hegemonic approach to schooling in which academic performance is viewed in terms of individual abilities and mainstream norms, leading to acceptance of the cultural deficit explanation for minority student failure. Student teachers with positive diversity attitudes

who begin a diversity course tend to become more favorable during the course whereas those who are unfavorably disposed tend to become less favorable (Anderson & Holt-Reynolds, 1995; Borko & Putnam, 1996; Garmon, 1996). "… in a divided and racist society where it is quite common for people to live largely monocultural lives, and where there are few opportunities to develop significant and caring relationships across ethnic and class lines, many people lack access to the very relationships that might help to create and nurture multicultural identities" (Seidl & Friend, 2002, p. 422). Brown (2004) found that the course message can initiate some change in cultural diversity sensitivity, but it is the methodology that makes teachers overcome their resistance and embrace the message. Analyzing how a foreign born professor of color negotiated teaching teacher candidates in a culturally responsive way in a predominantly White teaching college (self-study), Ikpeze (2011) found that successful implementation of culturally responsive teacher education depended on the following: a) understanding students's backgrounds and perspectives, b) self reflexivity, c) using biography as a teaching tool, and d) emphasizing content relevancy.

U.S. schools aim to integrate immigrant children into an assumed American mainstream. Ethnically diverse students have been expected to behave according to European-American cultural norms, leaving behind their ethnic upbringing. Mainstreaming the minorities stems from the 19th-century Americanization model that aimed to merge all students, regardless of ethnic and cultural origins, into one ideal "American" model (Olneck, 1995). Many teacher education programs have been implicitly reproducing deficit theories about diverse populations. These theories legitimize assimilation by assuming that students from nondominant groups are culturally inferior and they bring little of value to their education. Prospective teachers have been exposed to the view that student diversity is a problem to be remedied through assimilation to the values and behaviors of the dominant cultural group (Ladson-Billings, 1999; McIntyre, 1997; Nieto, 2000). Lawrence and Bunche (1996) found that multicultural education can help white students unlearn misinformation and provide some guidelines for relearning; it can help them become more reflective about the effects of racism, and it can influence the development of their racial identities to some degree. Despite recognizing the need to learn more about communities of color and take individual actions to challenge discriminatory remarks, few of the students in their study mentioned challenging more institutionalized forms of oppression or joining in alliance with people of color to challenge racist policies and practices. This brief revision evinces that it can be painfully difficult to change preservice teachers'

ethnocentric and meritocratic views on other cultures. However, change is possible, and when it occurs, it occurs in different stages of development, as laid out in Helms' model below. This model is particularly relevant here because the majority (7 out of 8) of the participants in my study are white.

Helms' White Racial Identity Development Model

In developing a positive white racial identity, Helms' (1990) psychological model delineates six stages of development: *Contact Stage, Disintegration Stage, Reintegration Stage, Pseudo-Independent Stage, Immersion/Emersion Stage,* and the *Autonomy Stage*. People in the *Contact Stage* are not aware of their racism, and are likely to have a low level of awareness of institutional or cultural racism. They may be uncomfortable in mixed-race settings and are likely to assume that commonly held and publicized negative stereotypes about people of color are true. Due to the segregation of U.S. society, many people in this stage are likely to have limited firsthand experiences with people of color. Many teacher education students who take a race-focused course for the first time tend to be at this stage of their racial identity development (Tatum, 1992, 1994). When white students begin to learn about their role in racism and the differential treatment that whites and people of color receive, their old ways of seeing begin to break down and they experience the uncomfortable feelings described earlier that can form the basis of resistance. This break-down in previously held perceptions about themselves as non-racist signals entry into the *Disintegration Stage*. When faced with the realization that it will be difficult to change longstanding attitudes about race, some students give up and try to lessen their guilt by adopting an "I-can't-do-anything-about-it-anyway" attitude. Other students try to get relief from their guilt by blaming people of color themselves for the inequalities they see. Students who seem to accept the status quo or "blame the victim" for the racism move towards the *Reintegration Stage* of their racial identity. Even students who do not blame people of color for the racism they see can fall into Reintegration thinking as they wonder whether their struggle to speak out against the injustices they see is really worth the resistance they experience from close friends and family. If, however, students work through the discomfort of the *Disintegration Stage* and the *Reintegration Stage*, while continuing to acknowledge their responsibility for racism, they can enter the *Pseudo-Independent Stage*. At this phase, students have abandoned their previously-held belief in white superiority but may still look to people of color to teach them about racism rather than making it their own responsibility. Students in

this stage may also find it difficult to associate with other whites who seem "blatantly racist" to them as they struggle to define what being white means for them (Most teachers I know seem to be in this category). When students become active in defining a positive white identity and in seeking out information to confirm what being an antiracist white person in U.S. society means, they enter the *Immersion/Emersion Stage* of development. Finally, as students internalize their new racial selves, actively confront racism and other forms of oppression, and can more easily build alliances with people of color, they enter the *Autonomy Stage* of "racial self-actualization."

Transforming teachers' worldviews can be extremely difficult, because this calls for a complete cultural paradigm shift. While upon experiencing *the Other* through study abroad type of cultural immersions teachers may become more sensitive to multicultural issues and social injustice, they still need systematic conceptual training. In the section above, I tried to present an outline of the problems involved in educating preservice teachers about diversity issues, the various ways they respond (and resist) to multicultural education courses, and the stages of Helmes' developmental model, by pointing out to the need for "wordview reframing" and increasing awareness of internal discomfort. What are some other suggestions that can be found in the literature to help preservice teachers address diversity problems? How can they be better prepared to successfully teach diverse learners? In the section below, I will seek answers to these questions by drawing on the literature regarding this subject.

ADDRESSING DIVERSITY PROBLEMS IN PRESERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION

How can teacher educators prepare teachers to address diversity?

Zeichner and Hoeft (1996) and Ladson-Billings (1999) report various approaches used to prepare teachers to teach culturally and linguistically diverse students. These involve including specific cultural and historical knowledge in courses; promoting teachers' self-knowledge through courses and other activities; requiring prospective and practicing teachers to do ethnography-like research in the communities in which they work; and immersing teacher candidates in community field experiences. Tatum (1994) advises supporting and guiding preservice teachers towards developing a positive white racial identity to overcome resistance to culturally relevant pedagogy. McDiarmid (1992) suggests the slowly transforming existing frameworks from the prior experiences of prospective teachers. "Because students in multicultural education

courses are often exposed to information that is inconsistent with their prior beliefs and experiences, they are likely to experience dissonance that may be expressed outwardly in the form of resistance" (McFalls & Cobb-Roberts, 2001, p.165). For restructuring teacher education programs, Johnson (2002) suggests revising candidate selection criteria, increasing the racial diversity of students and faculty, experiencing "immersion" in communities of color, and using autobiographical narrative as a pedagogical tool. Fernandez (2003) suggests autobiography as a tool for unpacking preservice teachers' racial identities. Some suggest prescreening and then recruiting only those with favorable predispositions instead of trying to change the views of resistant teacher candidates (Garmon, 2001; Haberman, 1995; Sleeter, 1993). More time needs to be spent in methods courses making connections and pointing out alternative curricula and possible pedagogical approaches that bridge subject matter learning with that of diversity. Multicultural education advocates argue for an infusion strategy whereby issues of diversity are addressed not only in specialized courses but throughout the entire teacher education curriculum (Zeichner & Hoeft, 1996), and especially in the subject matter-related courses (Milner, 2005). "For multicultural education to be genuinely infused into the structural frame-works of teacher education, it must . . . [have] a dual presence in the program offerings. Issues of cultural and ethnic diversity must be woven throughout all the foundational cores and areas of concentration offered." (Gay, 1997, p. 199). Multicultural teacher education needs to take into consideration the sociopolitical context of schooling (Anxo et al, 2000) and the specific locational characteristics (Lopes-Murphy & Murphy, 2016) as well. Milner's (2005) results suggest that the extent of change in prospective teachers' beliefs and practices was linked explicitly to their interactions and experiences with diverse individuals and contexts. If personal beliefs can be positively influenced by courses dealing with diversity and with direct cross-cultural experiences, program planners should expose student teachers to various meaningful cross-cultural experiences within and outside their coursework. If professional beliefs are directly influenced by personal beliefs, it is critical that preparation program curricula address deeper issues related to diversity (that is, the "isms''—racism, classism, sexism), multiculturalism, oppression, prejudice, and discriminatory practices (Pohan & Aguilar, 2001). Zeichner (1996) points to the need for cultural interaction as opposed to studying about cultures. The list of 'Key instructional strategies of teacher education for diversity' identified by Zeichner (1996, p. 159) include: screening teacher candidates on the basis of cultural sensitivity and commitment to social justice; the development of clearer ethnic and cultural

self-identity; self-examination of ethnocentrism; teaching about the dynamics of prejudice and racism, including implications for teachers; teaching about the dynamics of privilege and economic oppression, and how schools contribute to these inequities; multicultural curriculum development; learning about the promise and potential dangers of learning styles; studying relationships between language, culture, and learning; culturally appropriate teaching and assessments; exposure to examples of successful teaching; experiences in communities and schools serving ethnic- and language- minority students; and instruction embedded in a group setting that provides both intellectual challenge and social support. Using critical race theory, Ladson-Billings (1999) illustrates how prospective teachers can be challenged to address issues of race and inequality by supporting them to develop five different perspectives: "reconsidering personal knowledge and experience, locating teaching with the culture of the school and the community, analyzing children's learning opportunities, understanding children's understanding, and constructing reconstructionist pedagogy" (p. 229). She recommends using autobiography, restructured field experiences, situated pedagogies, and visiting the classrooms of experts to do this.

Smith, et al. (1997) sought the factors that contribute to prospective teachers' developing greater multicultural awareness and sensitivity and identified four factors that appeared to be instrumental in initiating positive change: exposure to different cultural backgrounds (e.g., friendships, dating, sports); education (e.g., influences of teachers and colleges); travel, and personal experience with discrimination. Garmon (2001) identified six factors that appeared to play a critical role in prospective teachers' positive multicultural development: openness to diversity, self-awareness/ self-reflectiveness, commitment to social justice, intercultural experiences, support group experiences, and educational experiences. In her review of 80 studies, Sleeter (2001) identified promising strategies that include recruitment and retention of a more diverse preservice pool, community based cross-cultural immersion experiences; and multicultural education coursework with field experiences developed programmatically, especially those connected with school university partnerships.

Few studies examined the impact of multicultural education coursework on how preservice teachers actually teach children in the classroom. Two exceptions are Lawrence (1997) and Sleeter (1989). Lawrence (1997) followed students into the classroom during their student teaching to find out how much carryover their learning had. Depending on the level of racial awareness students had developed earlier, she found

varying degrees of carryover. Sleeter (1989) surveyed 456 teachers who had been certified in Wisconsin between 1981 and 1986 to find out how they used various dimensions of multicultural education in their teaching. Teachers who had completed programs with more than four credits in multicultural education reported using multicultural teaching strategies more often than those completing programs with less than four. However, the number of credits they had completed was less related to what they reported doing in the classroom than was the student population they were teaching. Teachers were more likely to incorporate multicultural content when their students were of color and/or from low-income backgrounds than when they were not. Johnson's (2002) study revealed that 6 White teachers' high racial awareness was influenced by (a) perceived identity as "outsiders," due to class background or sexual orientation; (b) living and working with individuals of other races in relationships that approximated "equal status" and exposed them to "insider" perspectives on race and racism; and (c) personal religious/philosophical beliefs that emphasized equality and social justice concerns.

Drawing on expertise of leading mentor practitioners, Achinstein and Athanases (2005) suggest a multi-domain knowledge base framework for mentors to be able to ensure new teachers' fair treatment of diverse learners. This framework underscores pedagogical knowledge for teaching diverse youth as the most vital element. It includes a repertoire of strategies to establish a trusting classroom climate, hold high expectations for all students, scaffold lessons to serve all students, provide multiple modes of lesson presentation, and tailor instruction to individual needs. This knowledge also includes specific approaches to support language instruction and development of academic literacy (i.e. Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English (SDAIE) techniques; language development in cooperative learning groups; adequate wait time to answer questions and heterogeneous grouping for conversation with more fluent English speaking peers). Effective mentors know how to integrate content for learning of all students through infusion of diverse racial, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. Effective mentors guide teachers to tap local funds of knowledge so that students, families, and their cultural and community experiences are incorporated into teaching plans in the light of standards. Mentoring for equity requires knowing how to move the resistant teacher past a racist or narrow perspective by always being student-centered. Mentors must help new teachers appreciate the assets diverse learners bring to class. Mentors can help novices move beyond a stance of viewing culturally and linguistically diverse youth as 'problems' by encouraging a closer knowing

of individual learners and encouraging a deeper look than surface behaviors. Mentors also need knowledge of how local and professional contexts affect new teachers' work and knowledge of themselves related to diversity and equity, being prepared to evolve as needed, and of ways to promote teachers' self-reflection regarding equity (Achinstein & Athanases, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2009). In the section above I tried to analyze what teacher educators do to duly prepare teacher candidates to teach diverse learners. The next section focuses on what teachers themselves need to do in their practice to be able to teach their learners fairly and equitably. Underscoring the knowledge of self and the learners as two key dimensions, the essential guidelines regarding this issue come from the scholarship on multicultural education and culturally relevant/responsive pedagogy, which I will now elaborate on below.

How can teachers address diversity?

One major critical movement aiming to treat diverse learners fairly is "multicultural education."

Multicultural education

Based on the premise that "diversity without equality is oppression" (Smith, 2009), Multicultural Education is an educational reform movement whose major goal is to restructure curricula and educational institutions so that students from diverse backgrounds will experience equal educational experiences. It is "a philosophical concept and an educational process (that is) built upon the philosophical ideals of freedom, justice, equality, and human dignity (which) takes place in schools and other institutions and informs all subject areas and other aspects of the curriculum. … It confronts social issues involving race, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, gender, homophobia, and disability… by providing instruction in familiar contexts and building on students' diverse ways of thinking. It encourages student investigations of the world and national events and how these events affect their lives. It teaches critical thinking skills, as well as democratic decision making, social action, and empowerment skills (Grant, 1994, p.31).

Banks (2003) presents four levels of multicultural education: contributions, additive, transformational, and social action approaches. The first level deals with heroes, holidays, and discrete cultural elements. Teachers can conveniently include cultural themes like holidays and heroes in their curriculum. Banks refers to this approach as the easiest approach for teachers to integrate multicultural content into their curriculum. At the second level, the additive approach, teachers add content, concepts,

themes, and perspectives that are multicultural without changing the structure of their instructional materials. This often involves worksheets and reading materials on specific cultural activities related to the main topic being taught. The last two approaches suggested by Banks -the transformation approach and the social action approach- do not necessarily require a separate curriculum. Students engage and critique issues and concepts which deal with diversity and social justice. They learn to take a stand. In these two approaches "ethnic content is added to the mainstream core curriculum without changing its basic assumptions, nature, and structure" (Banks, 2003, p.250). At these two levels integrating standards-based instruction and multicultural education is possible. Multicultural teacher education needs to build on the social and cultural diversity that students bring to school, equipping future teachers with the knowledge and skills to "maximize the opportunities" and "minimize the challenges" presented by diversity (Smith, 2009). Nieto (2000) asserted that one must become a multicultural person before one can become a multicultural teacher through a transformational re-education by first learning more about people from accurate media outlets and cultural activities, and second, confronting unconscious racism. Sue and Sue (2008) define cultural competence as the ability to create conditions to enable optimal development of students, which is possible by reflecting and improving in three areas: attitudes and beliefs of one's own cultural conditioning that affects personal beliefs, values and attitudes; understanding the worldviews of culturally diverse groups; and using culturally appropriate intervention strategies. However, this is not a simple cultural-matching pedagogy. As cautioned by Smith (2009): "The question is not necessarily how to create the perfect "culturally matched" learning situation for each ethnic group, but rather how to recognize when there is a problem for a particular child and how to seek its cause in the most broadly conceived fashion" (p.45). Grant, Elsbree and Fondrie's (2004) comprehensive review of multicultural research found that of the 39 studies involving preservice teachers, 17 focused on attitudes, 16 on curriculum / instruction, 5 on programs and 1 on achievement. Preservice teacher attitude research analyzed perceptions of self and others (15) and perceptions of school (2). Curriculum and instruction studies covered best practice (12), learning (2), and culturally relevant pedagogy (pp.191-192). However, in addition to some "assimilationist" studies that perpetuate status quo, even the pluralistic multicultural scholarship remains too monolithic, rarely addressing multiple ethnicities or within-group differences. Simply putting together *young + Black + woman* constructs does not translate into a deep understanding of *young Black woman* identity. The need for deeper, more intersectional research

is evident (Grant, Elsbree & Fondrie, 2004), which is part of what I am trying to bring in with my own study here. Multicultural education diverges from culturally relevant/responsive teaching in some ways, as neatly summed up by Rychly and Graves (2012): "Education that is multicultural can be delivered to a classroom containing students from the same culture; the content presented is representative of various cultural perspectives. Culturally responsive pedagogy, on the other hand, must respond to the cultures actually present in the classroom" (p.45). Responding to the classroom cultures is the focus of the next section.

Culturally relevant/responsive teaching

In addition to multicultural education, another major movement is culturally relevant pedagogy.

"Culturally relevant pedagogy is a pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (Ladson-Billings, 1994, pp. 17, 18). It is composed of two instructional features: nurturing student achievement and affirming their cultural identities. Ladson-Billings (1995a) argues that culturally relevant teaching "helps students to accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that challenge inequities that schools perpetuate" (p.469). Established on conceptions of self and others, conceptions of knowledge, and social relations, this pedagogy is based on three propositions: focus on student learning, development of cultural competence, and promotion of sociopolitical consciousness (Ladson-Billings, 1995c, 2012). It has three tenets: First, all students must succeed at school, and this requires high expectations for student achievement, a fostering style of interacting with students, building on individual strengths, making time for personal and one-to-one talks with students, and being enthusiastic about learning (Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995b).

"Teachers have to care so much about ethnically diverse students and their achievement that they accept nothing less than high-level success from them and work diligently to accomplish it. This is a very different conception of caring than the often-cited notion of "gentle nurturing and altruistic concern," which can lead to benign neglect under the guise of letting students of color make their own way and move at their own pace" (Gay, 2002, p.109). Second, students must develop and/or maintain cultural competence. Finally, students must develop a critical consciousness through which they challenge the status quo of the current social order. Politics and pedagogy are central to culturally relevant teaching. Culturally responsive teaching

refers to using the cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of ethnically diverse students as springboards for teaching them more effectively. When academic knowledge and skills are situated within the lived experiences of students, they are more meaningful, appealing, and are learned more easily and thoroughly (Gay, 2002). More recently, influenced by Paris (2012), and based on her experience with the First Wave Program, Ladson-Billings (2014) has revisited her "culturally relevant pedagogy" and by expanding it further to embrace the hybridity, fluidity, and complexity of global identities especially emerging in the arts, she has proposed a new "culturally sustaining pedagogy" as a better approach (in that it enables learners to simultaneously meet performance requirements and learn by tapping to their own cultures, without having to sacrifice one for the other), which is highly congruent with the holistic focus of the DSI lens I am using in my analysis.

Villegas & Lucas (2002) define the culturally responsive teacher as: (a) socioculturally conscious, that is, recognizes that there are multiple ways of perceiving reality and that these ways are influenced by one's location in the social order; (b) has affirming views of students from diverse backgrounds, seeing resources for learning in all students rather than viewing differences as problems to be overcome; (c) sees himself or herself as both responsible for and capable of bringing about educational change that will make schools more responsive to all students; (d) understands how learners construct knowledge and is capable of promoting learners' knowledge construction; (e) knows about the lives of his or her students; and (f) uses his or her knowledge about students' lives to design instruction that builds on what they already know while stretching them beyond the familiar (p.21). Weinstein et al. (2004) propose a five-dimensional conception of culturally responsive classroom management: (a) recognition of one's own ethnocentrism; (b) knowledge of students' cultural backgrounds; (c) understanding of the broader social, economic, and political context; (d) ability and willingness to use culturally appropriate management strategies; and (e) commitment to building caring classrooms. Culturally responsive teachers involve all students in the construction of knowledge, building on students' personal and cultural strengths, help students examine the curriculum from multiple perspectives, and use varied assessment practices that promote learning. They have a high degree of sociocultural consciousness, hold affirming views of students of diverse backgrounds, see themselves as agents of change, understand and embrace constructivist views of learning and teaching, and know the students in their classes. Key practices such as same language groupings, spending time outside of class with

students, and introducing diverse discourses into the curriculum, aim to engage all students in dialogue (Beynon & Dossa, 2003). Culturally responsive teachers also promote candid discussions about topics that, although relevant to the lives of the students, are regularly excluded from classroom conversations. They use pertinent examples and analogies from learners' lives to introduce or clarify new concepts, help students build bridges between school learning and their lives outside school (Banks, 2003; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Successful teachers go beyond preparing students for standardized tests, restructure the curriculum to make it more academically meaningful for students, and create learning environments that actively engage students. Moreover, they foster academic excellence in their students while maintaining students' personal and cultural identities (Ladson-Billings, 1990).

"There are several recurrent trends in how formal school curricula deal with ethnic diversity that culturally responsive teachers need to correct. […] avoiding controversial issues such as racism, historical atrocities, and hegemony; focusing on the accomplishments of the same few high-profile individuals repeatedly and ignoring the actions of groups; decontextualizing women, their issues, and their actions from their race and ethnicity; ignoring poverty; and emphasizing factual information while minimizing other kinds of knowledge (such as values, attitudes, feelings, experiences, and ethics)" (Gay, 2002, p.108) Teachers face (at least) seven curriculum dilemmas while making choices regarding diversity needs:

1. Information about prejudice versus attitudinal change;
2. Cultural information versus the danger of creating or confirming stereotypes;
3. A focus on racism versus the danger of ignoring its intersection with other kinds of oppression;
4. The need to focus on systemic issues versus the need to hear individual, experiential accounts;
5. Highlighting oppression versus the danger of perpetuating stories of victimization;
6. The need to create links through critical discourse versus the danger of factual, generalizing language;
7. The need for reasoned argumentation versus the danger of hardening espoused positions and of creating fear of political incorrectness and silence (Conle et al., 2000).

Powell (1996) explored the instructional strategies of four successful teachers in culturally diverse classrooms. Three themes about culturally sensitive teaching emerged: reshaping traditional school curriculum, rethinking the role of the teacher, and acquiring and using cultural sensitivity. In order to meet the cultural needs of their students, the teachers negotiated the classroom curriculum with the students.

These teachers viewed themselves as facilitators rather than content authorities because classroom decision-making was based on students' cultural backgrounds rather than the dominant cultural value system. They demonstrated cultural sensitivity by getting involved in instructional and extracurricular activities in school that were related to their students' cultural backgrounds, and by not applying curricula that they felt were culturally insensitive and irrelevant. Knowing the cultural backgrounds of their students, all teachers felt that their school districts' prescribed curricula were not culturally relevant to students' lives. Teachers also demonstrated cultural sensitivity by extending their classroom learning environment to the home and family cultures of students. But before getting to know their students, the literature strongly suggests that teachers need to reflect critically on themselves, as I explain below.

Recognition of one's own ethnocentrism and biases

Multicultural competence is directly related to an understanding of one's own motives, beliefs, biases, values, and assumptions about human behavior. To understand their future students, prospective teachers must first examine their own sociocultural identities (Banks, 1991; Zeichner & Hoeft, 1996). Although some prospective teachers enter their teacher preparation programs with a strong sense of who they are socially and culturally, most need to engage in autobiographical exploration, reflection, and critical self-analysis to develop that sense. They need to explore the various social and cultural groups to which they belong, including those identified with race, ethnicity, social class, language, and gender (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Beginning with teachers' autobiographies, and reflecting on how personal biographical experiences may foster communication with diverse students is especially pertinent for teachers who have spent part or all of their lives in ethnically encapsulated societies or communities (Banks, 1991). Tapping into teachers' own lives and their own personal theories requires moving from theory-oriented, objective-based teacher education frameworks to constructivist oriented subjective-based frameworks. (Powell, 1996).

Having experienced what Banks (1994) called "cultural encapsulation," most white preservice teachers consider their own cultural norms to be neutral/universal and accept the European, middleclass structures, programs, and discourse of schools as normal/right. Teacher preparation programs need to help students explore the concept of whiteness, their own white ethnic histories and privileges. They need to articulate and examine taken-for-granted assumptions of a western, white, middle-class worldview, such as

an emphasis on individual achievement, independence, and efficiency. By bringing our implicit, unexamined cultural biases to a conscious level, we are less likely to misinterpret the behaviors of our culturally different students. Tatum (1999) suggests four models of whiteness, going from racist towards antiracist. The first is the actively racist white supremacist. The second consists of those who do not acknowledge Whiteness and choose to ignore the fact that whiteness affirms privilege. The third model is that of the "guilty white." A person in this category is aware of racism and feels shame and embarrassment because of their whiteness. The last model is that of the "White ally," the actively antiracist White (Tatum, 1999).

Several case studies have examined predominantly white teacher education programs that do "business as usual" (Cannella & Reiff, 1994; Davis, 1995). The programs themselves provided disjointed multicultural content, shaped by the interests of individual professors. By the time they student taught, the preservice students were concerned mainly about surviving in the classroom, and left addressing multicultural issues to demands of their cooperating teachers. For preservice students of color in predominantly white programs, the overwhelming presence of Whiteness can be silencing. For example, Burant (1999) examined the process through which one Latina became silenced in a course organized around dialogue and collaborative constructivist work. Initially, she spoke up in class, but she "lost her voice" after white classmates expressed a lack of interest in multicultural and language issues.

Knowing students' cultural backgrounds and communication styles

To be able to teach "to" and "through" cultural diversity (Gay, 2013), Sheets and Gay (1996) underscore the importance of knowing students' various cultural heritages, their cultural rules and standards of decorum, deference, etiquette, celebrations, achievements, social taboos, relational patterns, motivational systems, communication/learning styles, and what orientations they value so that teachers can teach more appropriately and manage their learning better. "The ability to link principles of learning with deep understanding of (and appreciation for) culture" is given as the secret behind culturally relevant pedagogy by Ladson-Billings (2014). The academic achievement of ethnically diverse students improves when they are taught through their own cultural and experiential filters (Au & Kawakami, 1994; Gay, 2000, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 1995a, 2009, 2014). Teachers need to know ethnic groups' cultural values, traditions, communication, learning styles, contributions, and relational patterns, such as "(a) which ethnic groups give

priority to communal living and cooperative problem solving and how these preferences affect educational motivation, aspiration, and task performance; (b) how different ethnic groups' protocols of appropriate ways for children to interact with adults are exhibited in instructional settings; and (c) the implications of gender role socialization in different ethnic groups for implementing equity initiatives in classroom instruction. This information constitutes the first essential component of the knowledge base of culturally responsive teaching" (Gay, 2002, p.107).

Expectations of appropriate behavior are culturally influenced, and conflicts are likely to occur when teachers and students come from different cultural backgrounds. Culturally responsive teacher preparation programs teach how to modify classroom interactions to better accommodate the communication styles of different ethnic groups. They include knowledge about the linguistic structures of various ethnic communication styles, contextual factors, cultural nuances, discourse features, logic and rhythm, delivery, vocabulary usage, role relationships of speakers and listeners, intonation, gestures, and body movements. Since Asian and Hispanic societies tend to be relatively collectivist while Western are individualistic, there are clear bases for misunderstandings. Latino students who engage in acceptable group behavior at home—talking, helping, and playing—may be negatively rewarded by culturally insensitive, mainstream teachers. As a result, Latino youngsters might perceive their teachers as unnecessarily strict or critical (den Brok et al., 2003).

Discourse features of cultural communications are more problematic in teaching ethnically different students than structural linguistic elements (Kochman, 1981; Smitherman, 1994). The cultural markers and nuances embedded in the communicative behaviors of Latino, Native, Asian, and African Americans are difficult to recognize, understand, accept, and respond to without corresponding cultural knowledge of these ethnic groups. European American teachers, for example, are generally accustomed to a "passive-receptive" discourse pattern; they expect students to listen quietly while the teacher is speaking and then respond individually to teacher-initiated questions (Gay, 2000). When some African American students, accustomed to a more active, participatory "call-response" pattern demonstrate their engagement by providing comments and reactions, teachers may interpret such behavior as rude and disruptive. Similarly, teachers who do not realize how strongly Pacific Islanders value interpersonal harmony may conclude that these students are lazy when they are reluctant to participate in competitive activities (Sileo & Prater, 1998). The communicative

styles of most ethnic groups of color in the United States are more active, participatory, dialectic, and multimodal. Speakers expect listeners to engage with them as they speak by providing prompts, feedback, and commentary. The roles of speaker and listener are fluid and interchangeable. For Native Hawaiians, this interactive communicative style is called "talk-story" (Au, 1993; Au & Kawakami, 1994). Uninformed teachers may consider these communication styles rude, distractive, and inappropriate. Students who are told not to use them may be, in effect, intellectually silenced. Many African, Asian, Latino, and Native Americans use a different approach to organizing and transmitting ideas: one called *topic-chaining* communication. It is highly contextual, and much time is spent on setting a social stage prior to the performance of an academic task. Speakers provide a lot of background information; get passionately involved with the content of the discourse; use much indirectness (such as innuendo, symbolism, metaphor) to convey ideas; weave many different issues into a single story; and embed talk with feelings of intensity, advocacy, evaluation, and aesthetics (Au, 1993; Fox, 1994; Kochman, 1981; Smitherman, 1994).

Ethnic learning styles include at least eight key components: preferred content; ways of working through learning tasks; techniques for organizing and conveying ideas and thoughts; physical and social settings for task performance; structural arrangements of work, study, and performance space; perceptual stimulation for receiving, processing, and demonstrating comprehension and competence; motivations, incentives, and rewards for learning; and interpersonal interactional styles. To respond most effectively to these dimensions, teachers need to know how they vary and are configured for different ethnic groups (Gay, 2002). To provide such an effective response, Karaman and Tochon (2007) propose a "mesosystem" in cross-cultural communication, applying the Critical Systems Theory, studying the power-society-human microsystemic interactions. Following Habermasian thought, and strongly opposing "monologicality," they urge teachers to "break-off" argumentation boundaries by having soft standards and an open mind towards the "other."

den Brok et al.(2003) found that student and teacher ethnic background had a small but significant impact on students' perceptions of their teachers. Even though most of the students were born in the U.S. and had many mainstream American tendencies, strong sub-cultural identification was still evident. For example, Hispanic students placed great importance on closeness and immediacy. Student perceptions of proximity-related scales were lowest for the white students. The white students' low ratings of teachers'

friendly and understanding behaviors indicated less valuation of these group-oriented behaviors, while the higher proximity ratings of the Hispanic and Asian students indicate the greater importance attached to helping and sharing in these cultures. Hispanic teachers were perceived as being more helpful and friendly than their Asian colleagues were, due to the importance Hispanic teachers place on closeness/personal attention. Since my study is related to language teaching, linguistically diverse learners is of particular concern to me. One large group of diverse learners in the US is composed by non-native English speakers, or those speaking a vernacular of English, and how to teach and assess them best is the next issue I analyze below.

Addressing linguistically diverse learner needs

More than 500.000 people from over 100 countries immigrate to the US every year. Most of these immigrants' children have little or no English, so they are put in various language programs, such as Maintenance Bilingual Education (MBE) or additive/late-exit, Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) or early-exit, or English as a Second Language (ESL). Obviously these learners have to cope with the new culture and language and they have different needs than the mainstream students. However, in teaching them, instead of viewing them through a deficit lens, teachers need to be aware of not only their struggles but also the strengths that they bring into the classroom (Minami & Ovando, 2004). Pointing out to such linguistic deficit approaches, Minami and Ovando (2004) present an example from the African American children's situation:

> "African-American children who are accustomed to disambiguating pronouns in oral narrative discourse by means of prosody are assumed to produce ambiguous, poorly written narratives…In US society, unfortunately, such ambiguity tends to be confounded with preliteracy skills and further connected with social class, with little consideration of cultural differences…coupled with biases against minorities, there seems to be a general assumption in mainstream US society that an oral style is ambiguous and should be valued negatively, whereas a literate style is explicit and should be characterized positively" (p.576).

(Ball, Skerrett and Martinez's (2011) review of research on diverse students in culturally and linguistically complex language classrooms demonstrate that linguistic diversity among African American, Latina/o, and other students can be an asset to benefit from. For example, using the African American Vernacular (AAVE) in instructional talk, incorporating materials written in AAVE, and teaching African American students to code-switch were all found to help learning. Teachers' positive attitudes toward AAVE

also supported school achievement. Making explicit connections between community language and school, incorporating community literacy practices into classroom learning, facilitating code-switching, and implementing critical language pedagogy to help students examine language ideologies that stigmatize their home languages were some of the useful strategies used by critical educators to educate their students about the linguistic resources they had. Besides, alternative multidimensional assessments and culturally reflective assignments such as tribute speeches were recommended for successful pedagogy. Studies also found that the more training white teachers had about AAVE, the more positive they became toward AAVE use, and less likely they were to correct dialect-based student errors. Although relevant research shows substantial benefits in using Spanglish and code-switching with Latina/o learners, many teachers express a lack of preparedness for capitalizing on such linguistic resources. In order to meet linguistically diverse learner needs, Ball (2009) recommends teacher "generativity." This term refers to teachers' relating their own knowledge with their students' knowledge to create new knowledge and thus solving pedagogical problems and ensuring generative change.

For proper assessment of linguistically diverse ELL students, Afflerbach and Clark (2011) draw attention to the crucial need to accommodate such students by regular literacy assessment routines, linguistic adjustments to make test instructions clearer, repeating instructions when necessary and varying the wait time for answers. At a more holistic level, Turner and Hoeltzel (2011) propose assessment *of* learning (through portfolios, performance-based assessments, dramatizations, and self-assessments), assessment *for* learning (dynamic assessments, checklists and rating scales), assessment *of* learners (affective assessments), and assessment *of* the learners' social worlds (family assessments-parent stories, parent journals, home community assessments- community literacy walks/photo journals) to build upon familial and community resources. Teaching and grading ELL students fairly and in the most culturally-responsive way requires institutional/ social support (Walker et al., 2004) and culture-specific teacher training (Mackenzie, 2012).

Obviously, this process of critical self-reflection and gaining in-depth knowledge about students can only occur within a certain socio-cultural, socio-economic, and socio-political context, which is where I turn to next as the last dimension of addressing diversity in this section.

Awareness of the broader social, economic, and political context

Understanding diversity and equity issues requires knowledge of structural inequities that persist in larger societal contexts in which schools are situated. This includes understanding ways issues of race, ethnicity, language, and class impact teaching, learning, and schooling. Working toward equity requires developing cultural competence. This includes teachers' knowledge of their own, students', and school cultures; how to teach content to diverse learners; and how to affirm diversity in their classrooms (Ladson-Billings, 2001; Sleeter & Grant, 1999). Culturally responsive teachers are "aware that institutional structures and practices do not exist in a vacuum but that people build and sustain them, whether consciously or unconsciously. A host of factors work against teachers' becoming agents of change, including the hierarchical and bureaucratic nature of the educational system, time pressure, insufficient opportunities for collaboration with others, resistance by those in positions of power to equity-oriented change, lack of personal understanding of oppression and empathy for those who are oppressed, and despair that change is possible." (Villegas & Lucas, 2002, p. 24) Integration of social justice into multicultural education across teacher education programs work better than add-on approaches to diversity (McDonald, 2005). Kailin's (1994) approach to antiracist staff development for teachers addresses two perspectives on racism: individual and institutional. Kailin employed strategies for developing collective autobiography, understanding teachers' social backgrounds, participating in multicultural and race awareness exercises, examining teacher expectations of student competency, and exploring the manifestation of individual racism in teacher student interactions and in school culture. At the institutional level, Kailin's approach prompts teachers to examine the historical roots of institutional racism in the U.S. as well as the ways that texts and curricula and schools as institutions support racism. "[Teachers should learn how] the educational enterprise reflects and often perpetuates discriminatory practices of the larger society. …individual prejudices based on the norms of dominant groups become institutionalized…We need to recognize that the structure and practices of schools (e.g., rigid tracking, unevenly distributed resources, standardized testing) can privilege select groups of students while marginalizing or segregating others" (Weinstein et al., 2004, p.31). As Cochran-Smith (2000) noted, the use of autobiographical narratives in the teacher education classroom can be negative if they create a sense of sameness and personal empathy that is unconnected to historical and institutional racism. Multiculturalism without a transformative political agenda can just be another form of accommodation to the

larger social order validating middle- and upper-middle-class Anglo-American norms and values (McLaren & Estrada, 1993). In her AERA presidential address Ladson-Billings (2006) drew attention to the severity of the race and ethnicity based injustices in education, and how just looking at the short-term achievement statistics could be misleading, letting educators to explain the problem away as an "achievement gap", rather than an "education debt." Just like the US national debt, the accumulated effects of this education debt have historical, economic, sociopolitical and moral dimensions that teachers need to keep in mind in trying to address the diversity issues in their classrooms. However, being realistic about this problem and putting it in perspective it deserves should not be discouraging for teachers, making them feel helpless considering its complexity and size. In any given context, a teacher has to deal with what is available and tries to make positive changes in student lives as much as he or she can, always hoping that he or she is making a difference towards justice. Addressing diversity in the classroom is not just an option for a language teacher, but it is a requirement to be certified as a teacher, generally stipulated both by states and schools of education. Regarding cultural diversity, the ACTFL Standards for Foreign Languages are:

Standard #2: Gain Knowledge and Understanding of Other Cultures (Students demonstrate an understanding of the relationship between the practices/products and perspectives of the culture studied).

Standard #4: Develop Insight into the Nature of Language and Culture (Students demonstrate understanding of the concepts of culture through comparisons of the cultures studied and their own).

In addition to the (PI 34.15)-*(4) (c) Minority Group Relations* standard, all standards in the teacher certification system (especially 5Cs: Connections, Culture, Comparisons, Communities, Communication) aim to ensure that all language teachers will meet their students' diversity needs. In the next section, I will recap the highlights from my review of the literature.

SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter above, I first dwelled on how teacher knowledge construction works, essentially stating that based on apprenticeship of observation, prior assumptions, metaphoric case images, lived experiences and positive examples, teachers internalize and appropriate certain models of teaching by symbolically interacting through Vygotskian intra-and inter-psychological (social) processes on a shared social ground (hexis/habitus), which is itself predicated on a "Vorhabe" (shared

symbol system). Such construction of professional knowledge requires the "Dasein" (being-in-the-world), with constant reinterpretation of the particular situation within specific contexts. Such reinterpretation occurs along two Saussurian axes of knowledge: diachronic (where prior knowledge and new knowledge co-occur), and synchronic (where present circumstances and all their ramifications are considered). Teachers' pedagogical knowledge development is dialectically and deeply intertwined with context and intention, which calls for their enculturation through professional language to personalize forms of reasoning particular to their own discourse communities, enabling them to "enmind" classroom action with the historic mind of the discipline.

Secondly, since they are just as important as knowledge in explaining teacher actions, I reviewed the literature about teacher beliefs, because for increased multicultural knowledge to be converted into actions, the educator needs to have a corresponding set of affirming beliefs about diversity. Teachers' educational beliefs act as a dynamic filter by forming conceptual representations derived from their own experiences as language learners, experience of what works best, established practice, personality factors, and research-based educational principles. Green (1971) suggests that beliefs are formed in relatively isolated clusters, which explains the difficulty of changing existing beliefs. To understand the behavior of teachers, considering beliefs on diversity in both personal and professional contexts is also strongly recommended (Kahn et al, 2014; Pohan & Aguilar, 2001). Just like teacher knowledge, teacher beliefs are not only influenced by the immediate teaching context, but also by the larger context of the national policies, cultural norms and values. As teachers assimilate into new subcultures, they may experience collateral learning in which they experience cognitive conflict with their existing belief system. At one end of the spectrum, they may experience parallel collateral learning by compartmentalizing conflicting schemata without resolution. At the other end, they may experience secured parallel learning in which conflicting schemata interact resulting in resolution and a new worldview or belief system (Aikenhead & Jegede, 1999). For such a new belief to occur, Tochon and Black (2006) assert that preservice teachers need to go through a reflective "disequilibrium" to break out of their "cozy equilibrium," eventually attaining a unity of consciousness. This "unity of consciousness" is similar to the ultimate stage of "globalism" in Banks' (1988) Typology of Ethnic Identity, where the individual has internalized universalistic ethical values

and principles of humankind and has the competencies and skills needed to take action within the world to actualize commitments.

Thirdly, I moved on to analyze the diversity problems in preservice teacher education, since contributing to their solutions is the starting point for my own research. While the need for better preparation of the preservice teachers to teach diverse learners is clear, teacher education research identified some problematic approaches to diversity by preservice teachers: cultural blindedness, color blindedness, deficit thinking, optimistic individualism and naïve egalitarianism. Preservice teachers tend to be exposed to the hegemonic view that student diversity is a problem to be remedied through assimilation to the dominant cultural group. Teacher candidates may resist diversity training due to the stereotypes and other preconceived notions they hold about diverse students, or the ethnocentric color-blindness consistent with their ideology of individualism and meritocracy. White students may also resist by assuming three emotional positions: arguing for tolerance; denying difference as significant; and naturalizing difference by biology or geography (Boler & Zembylas, 2003). Helms' (1990) white racial identity model helps us understand why such resistance occurs. He describes six stages of development: Contact Stage, Disintegration Stage, Reintegration Stage, Pseudo-Independent Stage, Immersion Stage, and the Autonomy Stage. McFalls and Cobb-Roberts (2001) applied the cognitive dissonance theory (CDT) to reduce preservice teacher resistance to diversity issues. By increasing teachers' awareness of internal discomfort resulting from conflicting information, they allowed for deeper processing of the new information and lowered resistance. Karaman and Tochon (2007) suggest that such deeper processing will only occur if teachers' own cultural microsystems clash with others' by forcing teachers to reflect on their "foreignness" within a cross-cultural "mesosystem," necessitating a "wordview reframing."

Finally, after describing the problems above, I directed closer attention to what solutions are offered in the literature for these problems and what teachers themselves need to do to address diversity in their own classes. In addition to some structural strategies such as screening teachers, and increasing the racial diversity of students and faculty, the literature on this issue recommends helping teacher candidates develop clearer ethnic/cultural self-identity through coursework, requiring teachers to do ethnography-like research in the communities in they work in, immersing teacher candidates in

community field experiences (instead of simply studying about cultures), using autobiographical narrative, employing an infusion strategy whereby issues of diversity are addressed not only in specialized courses but throughout the entire teacher education curriculum. The sociopolitical context of schooling plays a vital role, so mentors also need to know how the local contexts affect prospective teachers' work and knowledge of themselves related to diversity. Johnson's (2002) study revealed that White teachers' high racial awareness was influenced by perceived identity as "outsiders"; multicultural relationships that exposed them to "insider" perspectives on race/racism; and personal beliefs that emphasized social justice. Regarding how teachers themselves can teach in the best culturally-relevant way, in a nutshell, the literature suggests that teachers must break out of their "cultural encapsulation," as a "While ally" (for white teachers), by engaging in autobiographical exploration, reflection, and critical self-analysis to become a multicultural person before they can become multicultural teachers. They need to recognize their own ethnocentrism and biases, and know their students' cultural backgrounds and communication styles to nurture student achievement and cultural identities. Addressing linguistically diverse learner needs is given here as an example. The last but not the least, awareness of the broader social, economic, and political context is crucial for such culturally-relevant teaching. Banks' (2003) fourth and last level of multicultural education, "social action" approach, calls for a transformative political agenda aiming social justice, which is perfectly congruent with the DA perspective I am using in my study.

HOW DOES THIS LITERATURE RELATE TO MY STUDY?

Within the DSI conceptual framework, focusing on how language teachers symbolically interact with their own communities, I have tried to present the relevant literature on diachronically/ snychronically situated teacher knowledge/belief formation, ethnic/racial identity development, and beliefs regarding ethnicity/race/diversity with their various dimensions, and how they may or may not change. Next, reviewing the current diversity problems in teacher education and teachers' problematic approaches or resistance to diversity, I have discussed the primary ways through which these problems can be addressed, to which I am hoping to contribute with the results of my own research. In the next chapter, I will explain the methodology I used to collect and analyze my data.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

I want to stay as close to the edge as I can without going over. Out on the edge you see all kinds of things you can't see from the center. -Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.

In this chapter I first present the reason for using the phenomenology as my method, then outline the phenomenological interview as the data collection tool as part of this method. Next, I elaborate on a specific type of phenomenological interview I have used, which is developed and exemplified by Seidman (2013). In the subsequent subsections of this chapter, I go on to describe my data collection, participants, and data analysis.

RATIONALE FOR A PHENOMENOLOGICAL METHOD

As teacher thinking emerges out of complex social interactions with colleagues, students and other people involved in the teaching, with multiple perspectives, phenomenology seems to be the most relevant approach to examine teacher beliefs and knowledge construction of diversity. Since in both Symbolic Interactionism and the Deep Approach *lived* experience is the key element, I have been naturally led to this type of method. The ultimate aim of phenomenology is to grasp the essence of the phenomenon of interest. From the accounts of the lived experience, the researcher moves deeper into the essence of the experience, so the goal is not simply to describe the experience but to achieve a deep level of understanding from the participant's perspective, which includes an understanding of the inner self (Lichtman, 2010, 2011). By closely examining "embodied" experiences of individuals, a phenomenological researcher tries to capture the essential meaning of an experience, created by actions through space and time. Embodied time is the human perceptions of the chronologic time; sometimes an hour feels like a minute, but some other times it feels like a week. The truth of an event can only be known by its embodied subjective perception (Starks & Trinidad, 2007). Phenomenological approach enables the researcher to focus on the specifics of a teacher's situation, without sacrificing the larger context. A complex phenomenon as teacher thinking should be viewed holistically; it cannot be reduced to a few quantifiable variables. In keeping with the hermeneutic tradition, phenomenology helps us to understand what it interactions, actions and objects mean for people. Like SI, phenomenology is based on "verstehen." It calls for taking nothing for granted and questioning notions by assuming the role of the stranger (Wallace & Wolf, 2005), which perfectly fits with my position of being from Turkey and being a stranger to these teachers' experiential

context. Both SI and phenomenology reject "grand theory" and view the individual as an active, knowledgeable and emotional subject. They "have different and complementary contributions to make at the level of microsocial analysis (Wallace & Wolf, 2005)." SI methodology is inductive, microsocial, and socio-psychological, focusing on the Simmelian "atoms of society." According to Blumer, a symbolist interactionist uses the interview for three purposes: to gain a deep grasp of the inner experience of the individual, to understand the individual's subjective perspective on life, and to illuminate how the imaginative processes operate. This perfectly meshes with my use of Seidman's tripartite protocol; comprising the past (background experience), present (subjective perspective), and future (imaginative processes). Blumer (1969) details two modes of naturalistic inquiry: exploration and inspection. The explorative phase allows the researcher to have a close and comprehensive familiarity with a sphere of social life, and to develop, focus and sharpen the research focus, while the following inspection phase involves an intensive examination of the empirical nature of the relations between analytical elements. My research position is interpretivist, so I believe that social reality is contructed through social interactions and thus can be understood from individual perspectives that constantly try to make sense of life by creating meanings. This meaning does not exist outside of human interpretation. My goal is to inductively and reflectively understand the cultural diversity phenomenon by focusing on the lived subjective teacher experiences of it because experience and perspective are important sources of knowledge and belief (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Suggesting a more "embodied" and "personal" methodology, Tochon (2011) underscores deep reflection on potentially discriminatory identity processes: "The search for a grand cultural narrative and its prototypes — somewhat stereotypical — should be replaced by local, small-scale attempts at developing projects fitted to specific experiences and goals." (p.19). Phenomenology allows for flexible approaches to capturing the dialogue between the researcher and the participant teacher. Since researchers are part of the contexts of inquiry into teacher epistemology, "rather than pretending to be objective observers, we must be careful to consider our role in influencing and shaping the phenomena we study (Putnam & Borko, 2000, p.13).

Phenomenological researchers avoid assumptions about the research topic and try to begin the study with an open mind. They are ready for alternative constructions of reality and multiple explanations for observed phenomena. Phenomenology is ideal for studying complex interactive phenomena and it is "best employed in situations that have relatively confined temporal and physical boundaries" (Lancy, 1993, p.9). Teacher thinking

is one such phenomenon. It is bounded by the certain school conditions like class periods, semesters and other elements of pre-set curricula.

In the WLE field, the need to study language teachers' thinking within the larger contexts of their lives, personal values and institutional settings is underscored (Freeman & Richards, 1993; Freeman & Johnson, 1998). Realistic, rich descriptions of language teacher thinking require holistic and longitudinal studies. Past WLE studies focused mostly on the quantification and categorization of 'what teacher needs to know' and not only provided limited understandings, but also marginalized teacher voices (Golombek, 1994). Instead of such prescriptive, mechanical methodology, Golombek calls for phenomenological approaches to illuminate teachers' own perspectives.

One other reason for using phenomenology is that it allows for interpretation of teacher thinking. Social constructivists and poststructuralists convincingly argued that no knowledge is objective; it reflects the conceptualizations of the knower. It is impossible to claim objective access to individuals' minds. Observations of phenomena are always interpreted through our lenses which are socioculturally bounded. Since it is impossible to capture the complexity of human experience through any single method, all we can do is applying interpretive methods, which provide interconnected accounts and understandings of social phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Phenomenological methodology assumes that there are multiple realities, and the researcher and the participant co-create intersubjectivities. The meaning of our experiences constitutes reality. Phenomenological researchers are aware that they produce no absolute truths but particular interpretations of reality (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). Instead of general, abstract, impersonal, and decontextualized *paradigmatic* knowledge, phenomenology offers knowing in specific, local, personal, and contextualized *narrative* terms Bruner (1986). Phenomenological method is grounded in Blumer's (1969) symbolic interactionist theory which postulates that human experience is mediated by interpretation. While acknowledging that there are norms and belief systems in society, this theory suggests that they are significant if people take them into account; it is how they are redefined and applied in particular instances that make the difference. Meaning arises from the particularities of the situation, rather than the totality of a given social group. Also, in studying WLE teacher thinking, Tochon (2000) suggests that both diachronic and synchronic dimensions of its context should be considered. Diachronic refers to the personal histories of teachers, and school genres, and synchronic refers to their present circumstances (eg, school setting, peer relationships, student composition, etc…). The meeting

points of these two dimensions are *focal junction points* (Tochon, 2000), which have the potential to reveal key points of teacher thinking. Phenomenological methodology is the best way to analyze such points and particularities of teaching episodes, in which teacher thinking emerges.

During my search for the methodology that fits best in my theoretical framework, I was also confused by the resemblance of grounded theory and phenomenology because both seemed to work the same way, but Creswell at al. (2007), clarified that confusion:

> "…instead of theorizing from these (participant) views and generating a theoretical model, phenomenologists describe what all participants have in common as they experience a phenomenon (e.g. grief, anger). In this way, phenomenologists work much more from the participants' specific statements and experiences rather than abstracting from their statements to construct a model from the researcher's interpretations as in grounded theory. The basic purpose of phenomenology is to reduce the experiences of persons with a phenomenon to a description of the universal essence" (p.252).

Besides these experiential essences or commonalities, I am also deeply interested in the differences among the ways participants make sense of student diversity, such as the potential gaps in their ontological and epistemological constructions. Phenomenologists mainly use in-depth interviewing and written accounts of experiences (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). The primacy given by the DSI to lived experience necessitates in-depth phenomenological interviewing to gain a better grasp of the depth of experience. Since I am also proposing to use the in-depth interview as one of my main source of data collection, now I am turning my focus on the specifics of this technique from the phenomenological perspective.

PHENOMENOLOGICAL INTERVIEW

A basic symbolic interactionist research tool is the interview, which is a conversation between two or more people that involves not only asking questions but listening with a specific purpose in mind. Qualitative interviews aim to gain rich "contextual, linguistic, narrative, and pragmatic" knowledge (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Phenomenological interviews are more in the form of conversations between two trusting collaborators rather than the formal question-answer. The researcher tries to interact with the participant in a natural, non-threatening manner (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). The researcher is aware of the Heisenberg effect (that it is impossible to study a phenomenon without affecting it), so there is no claim to interview in a value-free, objective way.

The phenomenological interviewer assumes that central issues will frequently come up throughout the researcher-participant dialogue. However, the researcher does not have to stick to this type of free-flowing, exploratory interview throughout the research process. After the initial investigatory work, more structured interviews can be used to focus on particular emergent issues. During the interview, Yes/No type questions must be avoided, and questions should often aim to clarify. Silent moments in the interviews are not necessarily problematic, they are usually used by the participants to stop and pull their thoughts together (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998).

Interviews may be categorized as (1) structured, (2) semi-structured/ focused, and (3) unstructured (Herman-Kinney & Verschaeve, 2003). Semi-structured interviews might be more productive than structured ones because the interviewees may come up with unexpected but invaluable information if they are not limited by the preset questions.

Through this type of interview I am basically trying to find connections or gaps between ontological and epistemological constructions, and whether there are any systemic patterns of thought that can be made visible, whether their knowledge of the world dictates their practice. The interview process strives to answer questions such as: How does construction of the"self" limit their construction of the "other" or what can and should be known about the "other"? How are their actions conditioned by how they perceive the world? How does the way we understand the world dictate the way we act? Now I shift my focus on how this type of questions are answered through a specific interviewing model: Seidman's phenomenological interviewing model.

Seidman's model for in-depth, phenomenological interviewing

Seidman (2013) recommends interviewing as the best method of inquiry towards understanding subjective behavior and suggests a phenomenological approach to interviewing. In-depth interviewing aims to understand what meaning other people make of their experience. Other individuals' stories are important because they provide insights to knowledge and meaning, and the meaning people make of their experience affects the way they carry out that experience. Interview is necessary because observational understanding may not be consistent with how somebody views his/her own behavior. It also helps to make thematic connections among experiences and put behaviors into context. The experience of the participants should be

presented in such compelling enough detail and depth that the readers can trace its development over time, gain a deeper understanding of the issues it reflects, and "connect to that experience." (Seidman, 2013, p.55)

Phenomenological interviewing combines life-history interviewing and focused, in-depth interviewing drawn from phenomenology. In this approach interviewers' major task is to build upon and explore their participants' responses to open-ended questions, aiming to have the participant reconstruct his or her experience within the research topic.

Seidman's (2013) interviewing model requires a series of three separate interviews with each participant. The first interview (focused life history) contextualizes the participants' experience by asking them to tell as much as possible about themselves in light of the topic up to the present time. The second (details of experience) allows participants to reconstruct the details of their experience within the present context in which it occurs. And the third (reflection on the meaning) encourages the participants to reflect on the meaning their experience hold for them. Each interview lays a foundation of detail to illuminate the next. Meaning-making requires looking at how the factors in their biography have interacted to bring them to their present situation, and contextualizing that situation in the present. "The combination of exploring the past to clarify the events that led participants to where they are now, and describing the concrete details of their present experience establishes conditions for reflecting upon what they are doing in their lives" (p.22).

Seidman cautions that a delicate balance between providing enough openness for the participants to tell their stories and enough focus to allow the interview structure to work should be sustained. He suggests a 90-minute format for each interview, with each interview spaced from 3 days to a week apart. In this way, the participant will have enough time to reflect on the previous interview but not enough to lose the connection between the two. Next, I will elaborate on how I have collected the data for my study.

DATA COLLECTION

Previous Data

After passing his first preliminary doctoral exam, I designed a dissertation study to analyze preservice language teachers' construction of diversity knowledge and beliefs. To that end, after the IRB approval was granted, I interviewed five volunteers from a World Language Education (WLE) Cohort over the Spring 2006 semester. Each participant from the cohort contributed about 4,5 hours of interview time, yielding a total of

22,5 hours of interview recording. Using the same procedure, these five volunteers were re-interviewed in August 2008. A total of about 41,5 hours of data was collected from 2006 and 2008 interviews. Of the five teacher volunteers, two are no longer in the teaching profession, so their data sets are excluded.

Recent Data

In addition to this older set of data mentioned above, three previous student volunteers from the earlier data collection period and current volunteers were reinterviewed either face-to-face or via Skype during the Summer semester of 2013, following the approval of the proposal committee. This data set (19,5 hrs) was added to the previous data that was collected in 2006 and 2008, yielding a total of 61 hours of interview data. Thus, for 3 of the participants (in service teachers) the data is longitudinal, yielding a broader scope of analysis. The participants were interviewed in three 90-minute audiorecorded Skype sessions. This research was granted IRB approval (IRB Protocol Number: SE-2012-0607). In addition to the 3 participants from the initial phase of the study (Becky, Deb, Gina), 5 more (Emily, Gillian, Keisha, Sarah, and Wendy) participated in the second phase, with a total of 8 participants. In the original research proposal, their portfolio artifacts were also to be analyzed to elicit an extra set of data, but securing permission from the participants to access their portfolios proved to be a problem.

Following Seidman's model, the interviews are in three successive parts: 1st inquires into the past experiences regarding the topic up to the present time; 2nd seeks information about current experiences; and the 3rd looks for conceptualizations and future projections of the topic (See section above detailing the interview procedure. The interview protocol is in the Appendix). Since this is a qualitative study, the sample size is sufficient to secure meaningful results. Signed consent forms were collected by email as pdf files. The PI was not involved in the interviews to avoid any status relationship with the participants, and only the co-investigator (me) carried out the interviews. I did not have any status or academic assessment relationship with the participants. In the following section, I describe the participants in my study.

PARTICIPANTS

The research participants are previous and current students of a Midwest university World Language Education (WLE) Program. Aged 22-30; five preservice and three in-service teachers participated. Seven

participants are White females, one is an African-American female. Emily is from Southeastern US, Keisha is from Northeastern US, Sarah is from a major Midwest city, and the remaining five are from small Midwestern towns. Wendy and Keisha teach Chinese, Becky teaches French, Gina teaches German and the rest (Gillian, Emily, Sarah, Deb) teach Spanish. The African-American teacher, Keisha, dropped out of the study so only the 1st part of the interview (the past experience) was conducted with her. To protect the participants' anonymity, "pseudonyms" are used throughout the study. Below, I describe the phenomenological basis and process of my data analysis.

Table 2: Overview of the Participants

PSEUDONYM	BECKY	DEB	EMILY	GILLIAN	GINA	KEISHA	SARAH	WENDY
AGE	29	30	22	23	30	23	23	27
RACE	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian	Caucasian
LANGUAGE TAUGHT	French	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	German	Chinese	Spanish	Chinese
STUDY ABROAD COUNTRY	Senegal	Costa Rica	Spain	Spain	Germany	China	Peru	China
METAPHORICAL LOCATION AND SES	Grew up in a small Midwest town, middle class	Grew up in a small Midwest town, middle class	Grew up in a major Southwest town, lower middle class	Grew up in a small Midwest town, middle class	Grew up in a small Midwest town, middle class	Grew up in a big East Coast city, middle class	Grew up in a major Midwest town, upper middle class	Grew up in a small Midwest town, middle class
RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE PROFILE	Her best friend since 7th grade has been an Indian girl; her dad sometimes makes racist jokes, her grandma is biased against Black people; has always been actively involved in ensuring fairness for other cultures	Has open-minded and liberal parents; was a "tomboy" when she was young; was not exposed to much diversity during her childhood; her contact with other cultures was through work	Spent her childhood in a predominantly Cuban neighborhood then moved to small Midwest town; has a racist stepfather, exposed to a great degree of diversity, as the only girl in the family she had to take care of her brothers at a young age	Inspired by her Spanish teacher to teach Spanish; Has a very supportive family, with a biased grandma; Had very little exposure to diverse cultural groups in childhood	Her parents are teachers; Attended predominantly white schools; was not exposed to much diversity during her childhood	Educated extensively by her parents about Black history; her family took a lot of pride in being African-American; attended predominantly African-American schools throughout K-12; felt the mainstream curriculum did not represent her identity	She grew up in a "wealthy but liberal" neighborhood; had a lot of Latino/a friends, she began empathizing with them from very early on, she thought they were systematically discriminated and sincerely wanted to help them	Has a very "world-focused" family that hosted 14 foreign exchange students; however, was not exposed to much diversity during her childhood; her family had no discussion of race, ethnicity issues

DATA ANALYSIS

According to Lichtman (2010), phenomenological researchers usually begin with 25 themes and after the reductive analysis, end up only with 3. The coding was conducted through a careful deep reading of the interview transcripts. Collingridge and Gantt (2008, p.393) describe a well-constructed phenomenological data collection and analysis as:

1. Interpersonal interviews with up to 10 people, who are willing to share their experiences,
2. Transcribing the interview data,
3. Locating relevant statements in the transcripts that express self-contained units of meaning,
4. Identifying the meanings contained in each statement,
5. Synthesizing the meaning units into common themes, and
6. Synthesizing the themes across interviews to create a general description of what it is like to experience the phenomenon of interest.

In addition, Lichtman (2010, p.198) suggests these 6 steps in the analysis of data:

1. Initial coding,
2. Revisiting initial coding,
3. Developing an initial list of categories or central ideas,
4. Modifying the initial list based on additional reading,
5. Revisiting categories and subcategories,
6. Moving from categories to concepts.

I transcribed and then personally revised the interview data for accuracy. A total of 61 hours of data was analyzed to identify the meaning units (separated by the shifts in the meaning). The meaning units were later clustered into common emerging themes. To exemplify the themes, participants' statements were selected from their reflections, representing their descriptions of their experiences with the phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994). During the analysis, codes were generated by moving from more literal to more abstract, data was analyzed and reanalyzed, memo notes were taken throughout the process, meta-codes were created by refining the codes, and the essential categories were reinterpreted, revised and refined. Upon the completion of all the interviews, the elicited data was more intensively analyzed in the light of the related literature to find out any patterns in the participants' diversity knowledge formation and representation narratives. This analysis attempted to reveal how the participants' mental constructions of diversity and beliefs about culturally-responsive pedagogy could be explained by DSI.

Although generalizability is not a primary concern for this study, Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) assert that depending on the discovery of "underlying social forms," *analytic generalizability* is possible for qualitative research as well. While the father of phenomenology, Husserl (1970) urges researchers to set aside their own beliefs by employing *epoche* (bracketing) in the analytical process, I concur with Lichtman (2010) that this is not a realistic expectation and that the researcher should instead make personal beliefs regarding the topic explicit at the outset and track their progress throughout the research process. Understanding how experience is transcendentally constructed requires a deep reading of discourse, so next I will explain Deep Discourse Analysis (DDA), as suggested by Tochon (2015, personal communication).

Deep Discourse Analysis (DDA)

Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) describes discourse as "a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)", and lists four premises of discourse analysis:

• Language is not a reflection of a pre-existing reality,

• Language is structured in patterns or discourses – there is not just one general system of meaning as in Saussurian structuralism but a series of systems or discourses, whereby meanings change from discourse to discourse,

• These discursive patterns are maintained and transformed in discursive practices,

• The maintenance and transformation of the patterns should therefore be explored through analysis of the specific contexts in which language is in action. (p.12). Regarding my own study, analyzing participants' language deeply means to figure out how they situate themselves in their personal discourses across times, places, and multicultural contexts based on their specific knowledges and beliefs formed through symbolic interaction. This DDA focuses on how they interact with their social networks (family, friends, classmates), on the critical symbolic points of contact, including:

a. How participants resist or assume the racial/ethnic role predetermined by the society, and identifying self with others/choosing among the generalized others to identify with
b. how participants assign value attachments and stereotypes to various cultural markers
c. how the the lived experience (eg. experience with Mexicans) is connected to the broader context (such as immigration) this point is where SI and DA intersects
d. the degree of depth and empathy in intercultural interactions

e. the degree of distancing self from the mainstream culture (art is the milieu of the elite class)
f. the degree of criticism/questioning of the mainstream injustice (art is the milieu of the elite class) and the meta-awareness of systemic racism/discrimination, and the degree of personal investment in social transformation
g. the degree of awareness of/interest in social justice
h. the degree and ways the person chooses to interact with the others or avoids them (to what degree the person is able to progress from the second-hand symbolic "mental space of interaction" using superficial symbols such as foods and clothing to the first-hand "interpersonal space of interaction," personally experiencing other cultures
i. the degree of self and institutional segregation by the social mechanisms in place

The DDA also focuses on the critical points of symbolic contact with the target language cultures,

a. how they view themselves from the other culture's lens, degree of distancing themselves from the role cut for them by this other culture such as "easy American girl" (foregrounding or downscaling cultural markers depending on the context, floating the markers, as in this case downplaying being female or being rich or the importance or relevance of these factors)
b. The degree of relevancy, stability or permanency assigned to the markers, situations, people, and contexts
c. The degree of sincerity in trying to learn about the other, determining the range and depth of intercultural experience (like Becky's wearing veil or fasting like Muslims)
d. The concern about being authentic, degree of making an effort to have an authentic experience of the other culture, determining the range and depth of intercultural experience
e. The degree this study-abroad experience re-shaped their lives regarding diversity (for example, Becky finally understood what it means to be a minority)

The DDA analysis further attempts to reach a deep analysis of how the participants symbolically interact with their students in the present time, specifically focusing on

a. How they define their students and what methods they use or suggest to teach them to be able to address their diversity in the best way
b. What strategies they report to use to address their diverse students

c. How language teachers bring the Other into the classroom
d. How these teachers conceptualize and respond to racism in their lived school experiences
e. How the specifics of the local context (e.g. urban vs rural) and the demographics of the educational setting affect the way they address diversity in their teaching
f. How their constructions of diversity are influenced by the media
g. How they try to improve professionally regarding diversity
h. How they define the root cause of discrimination

Finally, by focusing on the future, DDA How participants' imagined future self and experiences affect their present self and actions regarding diversity. Strengthening the elements of symbolic interactionist analysis just mentioned in bulletpoints above, the deep aspect of DDA enables magnifying the analytical focus on the larger conceptualizations and frameworks expressed by the participants, such as their life ambitions, worldviews, and wisdom transcending their previous and imagined experiences.

In the chapter above, I have focused on the methodological aspects of my study. In the next chapter, I will focus on the results that I have obtained by employing this methodology.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This chapter presents a description of the major themes and their associated sub-themes. Following the chronological pattern of my interview questions, I focus first on the participants' past experiences regarding family, school and peers in the home country (the US) and secondly their experiences regarding the host country (where they studied abroad). I then analyze their present diversity experiences and finally their future expectations. To conclude, trying to tie all the loose ends up, I wrap up my analysis with summarizing comments.

THE RETROSPECTIVE SELF: THE PAST

Experiences in the home country

I wanted to know how they came to be interested in the certain language they teach, because this could yield some clues to their current approach to diversity. For Sarah the reason for being interested in Spanish was her wish to help with social justice, because she was always disturbed by the unfair treatment of Latinos in school and she wanted to help by learning their language. Gillian was inspired to learn Spanish by her Spanish teacher in high school and also there was no other choice. Wendy has an inquisitive mind, and she wanted to go back to the roots of civilization, to understand China better she learned Chinese because she "felt China was the cradle of civilization." Keisha's incentive for learning Chinese was purely financial: She just needed to buy a cell-phone, and she would be paid to learn Chinese.

Interactions with the social network

Racist Figures in the Family

While their families surely play a major part in their past experience, they don't seem to root their beliefs or actions in them.

Out of the seven White teachers, five have a racist figure in the family. For the most part, these are not openly racist figures, for example, Sarah, who lived in an upper-class White suburb, when she became friends with a Mexican classmate, her brothers teased her about it by saying "Oh, Sarah is hanging out with the Mexicans!" And her parents would tell her how terrible slavery was but then if there was a proposal to ship

kids from Chicago to the suburb (their neighborhood), she is not sure if that would be greeted with much welcoming attitude. So her family was very liberal, but very "separate" from the other ethnic/racial groups. Their attitude was "Oh, let's try to help them, but… but from afar." Similarly, everybody in the neighborhood seemed to be interested in helping out the underprivileged groups but Sarah is not sure whether that sentiment would actually translate into getting out of their comfort zone to help them out.

By the same token, another White teacher, Gillian talks about how open and accepting her immediate family is towards everybody, but her grandma is the only person that would make some kind of racial comment. "She loves watching golf, she didn't like the black people in golf." While Gillian has always wanted her "to see that she didn't have to think about people that way but it's not necessarily my job to correct my grandma who is sixty years older than me." Here, respect and resistance seem to be misplaced on her mind. Challenging her grandma would be disrespectful and futile. Confronting her seems uncomfortable.

For Emily having her stepfather as a racist figure was "obviously influencial" on her life, and deciphering out the conflicting messages and experiences was really difficult, because her stepdad would say things like "Oh, those Cubans, they never work hard for anything, they just expect to come to the US and expect us to take care of them… and those who are on welfare, and blah blah blah…" But yet, she was on welfare when she was little, so she felt her dad didn't make sense. Thus the discrepancy between her lived experience and what her dad told her was deeply frustrating her in her struggle to contruct the other on her mind: "So, I felt like there was a constant battle between what my stepdad was trying to enforce and what my actual experience was." Fighting this battle in the third space of trialectics, she was often confused and had to ask her teachers for their opinions. Here it can be seen that, in her symbolic interaction process, her father was not the primary authority to determine her beliefs. Growing up in South Florida in a Cuban neighborhood, Emily had to assume the mother role at a very young age and took care of her brothers until she went to high school. She is not a person to easily accept eveything she is told, but she seems to rigorously filter everything thrown at her through her personal experience first before they can become her beliefs. Her symbolic representation of others played a much more crucial role: "…like I had a Cuban friend and her family who worked really hard for what they had, so I had a visual representation, where I was like 'That doesn't match up with what my stepdad said at all, so that doesn't make any sense.'"

Like Emily, Deb thinks that the way she was raised was important. The way her parents raised her was her reason for being not close-minded. "Even though he is Catholic and Republican" her father is just as "open-minded, liberal, accepting and welcoming" of everybody as her mother, and they wanted her to take Japanese and sign language classes when she was young. She is very grateful for it because "it made me want to see what else was out there, so that's why I am like this and I wanted to travel everywhere and I did, so… that's me." However, like other White teachers she was exposed to very little diversity while growing up.

Growing up in a purely White community, Gina had a racist figure in her close family: her father. Her father always said racist things especially about African-Americans: "…if you were walking down the street, there would be like a Black woman and a White man, or vice versa, he would be like 'Oh, there is a Black one with a White one.' And he would be like 'Oh, That's disgusting!' and that really always bothered me." When Gina confronted him and pointed that these type of remarks were racist, he would dismiss it and say: "I'm not racist. I know black people. I have black friends. I work with black people." Her father moved to the US from Germany at the age of 25, and he is "of an older generation,"so she cites these as possible factors for his racist behavior. He wouldn't encourage her to be friends with African-Americans and say "You know, they are OK to be by themselves, but we shouldn't mix with them." In this respect, his attitude was similar to Sarah's parents, as long as they were separated, there would be no problems. Another interesting point in Gina's family is the negative shift that seems to have come about in her mother's attitude over time: "I heard her talking more about minority students and it seems like over the past few years she has become less politically correct and she, kind of, like, you know, clumps together the students that come from Chicago and she'll be like "Oh, you know they live in other park, they're from Chicago."

Another inservice white teacher, Becky says that her mother is a pretty sensitive person: "She's just really sensitive to the things people say about her, so I think she just kind of like the golden rule – like "do unto others". So she would never want to criticize another culture, another race, because she wouldn't want anyone else to criticize her." Her father is from a family of nine and he's the youngest. He and his brothers sometimes made racist jokes. "…And I remember even when I was a kid I would get really mad about it because we always learned in school, you know, 'love everybody' (laughter) and things like that, so it was really frustrating for me to hear things like that, but I'm a little kid so why would they listen to me, you know." Becky's grandmother on her mother's side also made some racist remarks: "my grandmother had told

me ever since I was a little kid that if I ever married a black person that she probably wouldn't want to talk to me anymore. But her comment is always, 'Well, I'm not racist. You know, when your grandfather died, there was a black pallbearer but God put people on different continents for a reason.' (Laughter) …So that just always stuck out in my memory, and I just really, really frustrates me. And I've told her several times to not say that kind of stuff to me."

Becky also remembers some racist comments from her aunt:

> "... my aunt, a different aunt that lives in Belleville, on Monday night, and she was talking about how she won't let her daughter come to (my city) because they were at Best Buy and they were sitting in their van and like 4 like teenage black boys were around the van and they were like, 'Hey there mama,' and they were saying stuff to her. ...in my opinion, they didn't do anything wrong; they were just talking to them. But my aunt's like, 'They were carrying around bats and they were hitting rocks.' And I'm like 'They were probably going to be professional baseball players someday,' and you're going to be like, 'Why didn't I let my daughter date those boys 'cause they're millionaires. But I mean – she was just intimidated because they were teenagers, and they were black, and they – I don't know… She grew up in Freeport in a bad part of town. And she said there's just a lot of bad things that happened via black people because of the neighborhood she was in so... now as a result she's like 'I'm not letting my daughter go around that kind of thing, so…"

So is Becky justifying her aunt's behavior by citing her aunt's negative past experiences with African-Americans? Or is she just trying to make sense of her racist attitude? She is symbolically interacting with her aunt in an effort to understand her (at least episodic) racism, but this is not extending to openly criticizing her. To counter her aunt's stereotyping these teenagers as "Black criminals," she is using another stereotype: that of "successful Black athlete." Ironically, "bat" here may symbolize both a potential tool of crime and a tool to get rich.

Keisha, the only African-American among the participants, represents the opposite semiosphere: She had to to learn about the majority (white) culture, and in addition, her parents educated her on Black history and world history. She seems to have strong sense of belonging with the African-American community and also D.C.: "…my people is being poor, is being disadvantaged, yes I grew up in a single-parent household, but

my family made do with what they had. …I would say that my family and teachers who took the initiative to enforce the multicultural curriculum really influenced how I saw myself. My family took a lot of pride in being African-American, D.C. takes a lot of pride in that." Thus her family and teachers were the most influential figures in the formation of her "looking glass" Self. In addition to family, another major factor shaping their perspective on diversity was school.

Friends

Gina's elementary school was not very diverse. She had one Black friend in elementary school that she was good friends with and she still remembers her excitement about visiting her house the first time. She found some things different, mostly because her friend's family was poor. She calls it as "a really good experience." After her friend moved away, she did not have any more contact with diverse people. In the middle school, almost all the minority students lived in low-income housing and their parents "separated" them and they mostly stayed within their own groups without interacting much with students from other groups. In high school she had only one black friend, but Gina says that other students would tell him that he was acting as if he were White. So, it is not clear whether that was the reason for her to become friends with him or that was his preference. So, even when there was interaction among groups, it was very limited. Students seem to be separated mostly along their socioeconomic status and Gina's multicultural school experience remained only superficial. Like Gina, Sarah mostly had White friends at school, but she says she always admired the minority kids at school because, while she only knew about the US, they knew both the US and their own culture: "I remember once my Puerto Rican friend, Jimmy, showed the Puerto Rican flag, in probably the second grade, and I learned to draw the Puerto Rican flag, and I will never forget that." Growing up, as a very sociable person, Deb had many friends but it was not until college that she had non-White friends because "there wasn't really any other option" for her. She is quick to put forward a disclaimer by saying that most of her friends are "pretty open-minded", and if somebody made a racist comment she would argue with them and stop talking to them. Just like Deb, Gillian did not have any minority friends at school because there were only a few of them at school and none were in her age group. It was not until college that she "spent substantial amount of time with them." Through her part-time work at a dining hall she got to meet some Asian-American friends and some African-American friends, but none of them became close friends for her to

spend her whole time with. Becky's best friend has been an Indian girl named Dee since 7th grade. They went through high school, and became closer and closer friends. They were also roommates for two years at the university as well. Amusedly, Becky says she calls her "the token Indian girl." Dee is 2nd generation Indian; her parents were born and grew up in India and they speak Hindi at home. Besides Dee, there was nobody else that Becky was close friends with. She had not become friends with diverse people on campus or had gotten to know anybody in-depth. She is still in touch with a lot of her Senegalese friends as well. She also narrates an interesting experience she had (See Appendix B) where she was shocked to witness her high school friends' racist attitude towards an African-American woman and also felt subject to "reverse racism." When she was younger, Emily had mostly Cuban and White friends, and did not further "decipher" within the white population like Euro-American or on the basis of how many generations ago they had come to the US. Having Cuban friends deeply shaped her ideas of wanting to see other cultures and especially the Latin culture. But this formative process seems to have worked bi-directionally, both from inside out (personality) and outside in (community) because her character (naturally loud, love to talk, love to sing and dance) resonated more with the Cuban culture than her own culture. She felt more comfortable "running around the house and singing all the time, or playing music very loud" or 'cutting people off in midsentence and still (having) a conversation" than she did with her own (White) culture. Keisha is firm about not "letting race dictate" her relationships, so she has racially and socioeconomically a very diverse group of friends. One of her closest friends is White. Since she speaks Chinese she has a lot of Chinese friends. Moreover, her scholarship program has also helped her to meet different students from different backgrounds. Thus, as the only African-American participant in the study, she has the greatest friend diversity among all the teachers.

Overall, most of the White teachers had a superficial experience with friends from diverse backgrounds mainly due to the demographic structure and segregation. Only Emily seems to have cultivated a somewhat deeper friendship with non-White people both because of the Cuban community around her and her own personality. Keisha has had the richest experience and the most diverse friendship network among the participants.

Neighborhood (And Community)

Deb situates her diversity experience within her community mostly in the context of her work experience. She grew up in a mostly White small town in X-state, with few diverse residents. Her hometown was a tourist town, so there were many international workers during summer time, but Mexican workers stayed and worked for the whole year. As a teenager, she used to work at her father's restaurant, and that's when she met a lot of dish washers from Mexico, that was the first time she heard racist comments about them. In response to such racial slurs, she quit a job once: "because my two bosses were making fun of the dish washers and calling them names because they were Mexicans and I ended up quitting the job over it because I thought it was really inappropriate and I wasn't going to work a company that treated its employees like that." She thinks that such racial slurs about Mexicans are very common in small towns because she believes that "they are filled with really close-minded people" and she wouldn't be comfortable going to a bar in B-town, because it would be "filled with rednecks." She thinks that those kind of people see themselves as the best just because they are White, and they think anybody who is different is bad, and since she has a tattoo on the back of her neck and that will lead those people to think negatively about her as well. Yet, she also says that she doesn't go in those kind of places, so she is not really sure, she might be "just assuming that all those people are like that." In the light of her work experience, she vehemently rejects the common misconceptions about Mexicans: "Some of the people that I know that work at the hotel, that's their third job. They work from the time they wake up, till the time they go to bed and they send money back to Mexico. They work really hard. When I hear other people cutting them down and say 'I can't believe they are in this country and taking our jobs' or 'They are here but they are not learning English, blah blah blah' all this stuff…Well, we are the ones that don't give them the time. and they do all the jobs that other people don't want to do, people who complain about them, do they want to wash the dishes? No. So they're not taking the jobs away from anybody else here, because nobody else wants them."

Becky's hometown was a small, mostly White (Swiss) town, with European diversity like Polish and German. As she got into high school, there were more and more Mexican people who had come in to work in her town, and "there wasn't too much confrontation with them" because they lived

along one main street and it was not a place near any store or restaurant so they were segregated and they did not have any "big run-ins" with others. Only negative thing she remembers about them is that sometimes they would yell unwelcome sexist comments to her girlfriends. It was more just like a bunch of teenage girls go rollerblading by a group of younger men (and) they would just be like, 'Hey, baby, you la la la – whaddya doin?'" So she would just ignore them and carry on. Gillian is from a really small town. She had Philippine neighbors, so she got to learn a little bit about their culture not too much" because as kids, they didn't really talk about it too much." She remembers how "cool" it was to be invited over by them to have a piece of the pig they roasted out in their backyard as part of their big parties. She also remembers spending a lot of time playing basketball with a Philippine boy three years older than her. She never considered her neighbors as being different from her. Growing up in Chicago, Sarah had little exposure to African-Americans and they have remained as "a mystery" to her because in the actual city there are many African-Americans, but in the Northern suburbs, where she grew up, there are "White people, Asians, Indians, and then Latinos who are usually working for the White people there, either as landscaper or in food service". She describes her neighborhood as "very liberal," and she comes from an upper-middle class town, but she always had "some sort of admiration" for Latinos, because she thought they were so smart to be able to speak two languages at such a young age. Yet, she also noticed that the teachers had very low expectations from them, would treat them as "very bad kids", and discriminate against them. She relates an experience that illuminates her family's perception of Latinos in the neighborhood: "I would never categorize (Latinos) as being poor, but…when I went on a date with a Latino guy once, and he was from my own town, there was like a trailer park, and it is known as where all the Latinos live, and they call it the T.P., so I went on a date with a guy, my brother was like "Is he from the T.P.?" and I was like "No." "Maybe." So he was like "Oh, you have got to be kidding me, he is from the T.P.!"

Growing up in a Southeastern state with a huge Cuban population and moving around the state at least 15 times, Emily thinks that she gained a lot of perspectives regarding diversity. In her neighborhood there were "very concrete socioeconomic class systems" made up of the rich, White, upper middle class versus the Cubans with a lower socioeconomic class. She believes that SES is the most important determinant factor (more important than race) between the cultures and she learned a

lot about culture through the lens of her white culture with lower socioeconomic status: "…so for the upper middle class, they did a lot of art galleries, and they took a lot of interest in, like the arts, whereas I tried to get involved in that, but it was harder for me, because I couldn't appreciate that as part of my culture it cost money to do it. and so like I couldn't be in as involved in that kind of capital system as that upper class but then I also had an interesting mix of cultures because (my town) is full of different types of cultures, and so I grew up with a lot of Cuban friends and their culture is very different than middle class white culture, where they just interrupt you all the time, like they don't wait to raise their hand in class, and that's the way they exchange ideas, whereas *WE*, if I had that in a class, I have been taught, like, 'Oh you be quiet, you raise your hand until you are called upon,' and so on... so that part of their culture is very different, like, they are a lot more close to each other when they talk more to one another, whereas we keep our personal space. … I can remember me meeting my Cuban friends' family, and like the dad would come up and give me kisses on the cheek and like then all the brothers would come and hug and give me kisses on the cheek, and I was like: 'What's happening?', like, 'I don't understand' because we never greet each other like that in my family, and so within that white family culture, that's not something we do, we shake hands and we keep physical distance from each other." She also mentions something interesting regarding body image: "When I lived in (the Southeast), I was a very different skin tone than I am now, I was like probably six shades darker than I am now because I was in the sun all the time. So, to them, I looked like I belong to a Mexican or Cuban descent, but I wasn't. So people would treat me differently based upon that assumption." Further, she compares the small towns and big cities in the North. She has found that while in urban cities like Chicago people tend to categorize themselves based on the country their ancestors came from, instead of an overarching category like Euro-American White, and take much more pride in their differences, in small towns "there's a lot more clumping together" of people based on their skin color or how they look. Keisha grew up in a predominantly African-American neighborhood, in a major city in the Northeast, where the majority of residents were African-American. It was neither one of the most affluent neighborhoods but nor was an impoverished area of the city, her family owned a house and she attended a public school. All her neighbors and classmates were African-American, but she never had any trouble becoming friends with the few White or Latino

students in the neighborhood. When she started learning French and Latin at the 7th grade, it opened her eyes to European culture and history, and later picking up Chinese and traveling to China exposed her to much more and helped her realize the actual ethnic diversity in China, contrary to its misperceived homogeneity. Thus, she became exposed to a lot of different national and global cultural groups by traveling, branching out from her own community.

Overall, except for Emily, these teachers were all greatly segregated from other cultural groups by residential area, and their way of meaningful contact with them was mostly through work (Deb) or travel (Keisha).

SCHOOL EXPERIENCE AS A STUDENT

School is another major social interaction sphere that these language teachers spent a substantial amount of time interacting with others, both as a student and as a teacher. What emerges from their student experiences are their lack of interaction, segregation by either self or tracking, and the importance of language and local dynamics. All the white teachers report having very limited exposure to diversity from elementary to high school. Becky's experience of diversity is typical:

> "I'm kind of from a small town so there's not very many different ethnicities. There's basically just a bunch of white people. In my kindergarten class there was one black kid, and he was half black/half white, but as a kid, you don't really know what the difference is. And I think he basically just fit in with everyone else at the time. And there were a few Hispanic kids throughout the school, but not any in any of my classes that I remember."

Whereas Becky saw more diversity in the older grades, Gina was able to interact with minority students more in elementary school than later, due to tracking at school. She remembers observing that a lot of the minority students were in lower tracks. She also associates being poor and underachiever with being minority, implying a stereotyping belief:

"I did a lot of sports, and I would have had an opportunity to be able to interact with more minorities if they would have been allowed to,…because they had a hard life growing up, and maybe were from

poor families, didn't have good grades, and therefore, couldn't do sports.…you can't do school sports if you don't have certain grades, you have to have good grades, and if you get into any trouble you get kicked out of sports too."

Calling it "self-segregation," Sarah provides insight into the social dynamics of this segregation in her own high school: "We had a hallway called The Mexican Hallway where Mexicans would go, we were very segregated as a high school,…so there was like an Asian lunch table, and actually I had a friend who really used to hanging out with the Asians, so he would go and hang out with them, and they would be like 'Why are you here? You are not Asian.'…Basically I feel like in any high school, they really self-segregate a lot. You have like Goths, you have like the preppy kids, the smart kids, the kids who do drugs,..." She says that although there wasn't fighting among the groups, students were all just "stuck" in their own groups. She thinks that her school was discriminatory because while the school had about 20% Latino students, she never had any Latinos in her classes: "And I *WANTED* Latino friends. I was like "Look, I am learning Spanish, I want to practice my Spanish with them,…" However, like Gina, she complains about not having Latino classmates because of tracking: "I was always in honors and AP classes, and I always noticed that looking around in my classes, I would see some Asians and some White people and some Indians. I would be like in my classes and I would look around and I would see "OK, this class is probably 80% White, like, 5% Indian, and like 15% Asian or something. And then I would go out in the hallway and I would see a bunch of Latinos walking around there." Although she was amazed by the Latinos' talents, she never pulled up enough courage to approach them due to her linguistic and cultural barrier: "Even as someone who is interested in Latino culture, *I* never went there, I would walk by, I would never be like 'Holla!' because I always felt like my Spanish was not good enough then. I was scared to. So I never did and I never saw any White people doing it (approach them). …Because I didn't have…the background, I didn't know, like now I feel like I would totally go there, because I speak Spanish fluently, I know who, like, the latest singers are in Spanish…I can culturally relate to them. But back then, I didn't know, I just had more of an interest, and so I would never go there." In addition to such self or structural segregation, stereotyping seems to play a significant role at school. First thing that pops up on Gina's mind regarding diversity at her school is how a classmate was stereotyped:

"There was this girl, and she had bigger lips and everyone would call her n****r lips. But she was a white girl." Sarah lumps the Mexican students together as: "(Mexican students) tended to dress more…I guess like ghetto kind, and you know, they would just stick together, and so, you know, if you see a group of people that are all the same color and dress a certain way and all look the same…." And Becky stereotypes the African-Americans as: "The only thing (I remember from high school) is when we competed against other bigger schools for sports, there was more diversity and a lot more of the teams were dominated by Black people. …and (I thought) they were better athletes than I was."

For Emily, the turning point in becoming aware of other cultures came at the fourth grade:

"(Two Cuban kids) were talking really fast to each other, kind of cutting each other off and all of us white students were just like 'What's happening? They are yelling at each other' (whispering). …We all felt like 'We don't know what to do' all of us white students were like clasping our hands, and like looking on nervously, and finally the teacher…stopped the conversation, he was like: 'I just want you guys to know that we are not yelling right now, despite the fact that it sounds really loud and we are cutting each other off, we are not mad at each other at all, this is just how we speak in our community.' …but the teacher was like: 'You wait your turn and you raise your hand and that's fine, you don't have to do it that way though, like other people do it differently'. And I remember that blowing my mind, being like 'Why? Why don't we have to wait, raise our hand and everything?'"

Regarding the curriculum at school, Sarah summarizes the philosophy behind it as: "I was never ever taught that racism is OK or anything, like I was always taught almost kind of an apologetic view of history, kind of like 'Well, we did some really bad stuff as, like, a people' and so you should feel bad about it and you should try and reverse this,… correct what has gone wrong and stuff like that." On the other hand, high school is where Emily thought more about race and how it actually leads to either advantages or disadvantages in people's lives. Becky thinks the social studies classes were especially helpful, where she was taught about the different parts of the world, and exposed to other cultures and other races, but they could never get into them in-depth because there wasn't enough time: "I feel like a lot of time it's with the best of intentions it's good to talk about South America for one week, but considering how many countries are in South America you can't do each country justice, and you really can't recognize each country has its own culture, and so obviously you

think that everybody in South America from Brazil to Chile eats tacos, when tacos are basically a very Mexican type of food. So just one way of exposure is through social studies, and we spent plenty of time on Africa and Europe and Asia and stuff, but I mean, considering each continent in itself is so diverse there is really no way you can discuss everything. And then foreign language classes are obviously a big way of being exposed to other cultures, and via Spanish, French, or German or Japanese, the 4 languages offered in my high school, you were able to learn about the country in which that language is spoken and also learn about other countries that speak that language too. And there is always cultural days, or projects and stuff." Language classes were actually helpful in deepening her understanding of other cultures:

"Well, (in French classes) a lot of it was just the old school drill and kill, like vocabulary and grammar. But there were units on culture and usually each student in the class would have to choose a French-speaking country besides France and do some sort of poster or project, and then do some sort of research and do like a presentation in French, which was usually awful because you couldn't understand anyone anyway, but (laughter), do some sort of presentation in French – showing pictures or whatever – sometimes making foods from those countries and stuff. … I think it was a good attempt at expanding people's horizons and making people realize that French is not spoken only in France …'cause as a kid, you don't know anything outside of your neighborhood, let alone other countries. …you take so many things for granted and so you don't necessarily realize how spread out a certain language can be. …you think English is the only language just because that's all you know."

As the only African American among the participants, Keisha reports a very different school experience. She attended predominantly African-American schools throughout her K-12 experience. Being very involved in her studies and having the full support of her family, she was always on the honor roll. She is proud of her academic high school with a 100% graduation rate and college acceptance out of all the graduating classes. Her high school was a public school, with the International Baccalaureate program, with 75-80% African-American and some Asian students. She thinks that it allowed her a lot of space to maneuver and understand race for herself, and she doesn't know how it would have played out if she had gone to school without the academic support she got. She had teachers who were white, but a lot of her teachers were African-American. She was

interacting with people of other races, so she had some sense of cultural awareness, racial diversity and even a sense of global awareness because so many people come in to visit her town from all around the world. However her world outside the school did not match the official curriculum she was taught at school:

> "When I went to school, all the textbooks, all the pictures reflected people that were not like me. … I would say, even on standardized tests, they would talk about questions about experiences that all students may not have had. All students may not have gone to a ballet, so reading this piece about ballet or something that is common in white culture was, is challenging for a lot of students. …When I was in the classroom, it wasn't reflective of what I was experiencing. It was the white culture. It was stories, like I can open a book and it is a blond hair blue-eyed girl who lives on a farm, which wasn't my experience. …I think some teachers, especially my African-American teachers took censorship and took ownership of that, and would edit the curriculum and bring in books that they found that applied to our situation because what the state was requiring us to learn and what we had to study to meet state standards wasn't really reflective of what we were experiencing and it was harder for us students to connect to that. …So I can remember teachers would take free time, like a Friday, we would read these books by African-American authors and read stories where girls looked like us or ate foods that were similar to ours and did activities that we did, jumped rope or …" …I can remember a teacher sitting us down and we watched *Roots*, somewhere between my K-12 experience. And that was the first time I was like "Wow!" I would say my schooling I guess made me aware of my otherness. ….but once I got to high school, I guess the curriculum took more like a global shift, so I started to learn about, you know, you learn about the wars, and you learn about other cultures and that's how I got interested in the Chinese language."

Regarding her experience during her university certification courses, Becky thinks that the issue of diversity was not covered well because the faculty kept giving mixed messages and she didn't feel that there

was a set answer or a special treatment of the diversity issue: "It just felt like the university was like 'Oh well, minorities need special treatment because they don't maybe have the language skills or because they are racially segregated, but then 'No they shouldn't be treated specially because they don't want to be singled out as a token part of this university, they don't want to be singled out, they just want to be like everyone else.'" Further, she believes that rather than basing the treatment of a person on their race, nationality or ethnic background, each individual person has their own individual needs and should be treated accordingly.

EXPERIENCES IN THE HOST COUNTRY

This section analyzes eight female language teachers' study abroad experiences and struggles within the confines of their culture, race, gender and ideology. It focuses on how these teachers tackle exclusion and sense of "foreignness" and create their own symbolic third spaces/bubbles in the host country to achieve a sense of connection, while regularly re-constructing a new sense of self. Their "femaleness" and "Americanness" are highlighted and they are usually forced to play along these roles pushed on them, often called on to act as authorities on the US culture and politics. They are constantly coerced to critique, revise and reformulate their identities. Being a language teacher dictates having bicultural and sometimes conflicting identities evident in their struggle to fit back in the home culture upon their return to the US. Their study abroad experiences make them question both the host country and the home country practices of exclusion, oppression and injustice.

Interactions with the Target Culture (TC)

Criticism of TC Practices and Beliefs

People from the TC are criticized mostly for their medical beliefs, for not being self-sufficient and for being misogynistic. For example, Sarah mockingly observes some Peruvian beliefs about health, like walking around barefoot makes people catch a cold or drinking chilled beverages makes people sicker. She thinks that such medicinal beliefs "was the weirdest thing." Similar to Sarah's experience, like not being allowed to walk around barefoot, Emily criticizes the "weird things" about Spain, and complains about the lack of personal space and privacy. She thinks people are physically too close and when she met new people they would try to kiss her. Her host mom was "really nosy" as well, she would keep coming in her bedroom and what she was

doing. Similar to such lack of giving space mentioned by Emily, Sarah thinks the Peruvians are too direct and they focus too much on differences, because they would come up to her and directly ask where she was from, without greeting her or asking her name first. They would tell her that she couldn't possibly be from Peru, because she is White. Sarah also found the parental supervision of individuals in their 20s strange. She thinks that they are too dependent and they "live off their parents." So while she views herself as self-sufficient, they were not: "It was like 'Do you want to go to the club?' 'Oh, let me ask my mom, if she will give me 20 *soles* to pay for my drinks.' She also thinks that they were "very lazy," because they could not even feed themselves if it weren't for their parents: "like 'Oh, my mom was sick and didn't make me lunch today, what am I going to do?" When in Seville, Gillian was shocked to learn that a 26 year-old was living with his family, dependent on his parents.

Conflict between Imagined and Lived Experience

Wendy almost seems to accuse the Chinese for being disloyal to their own culture and roots, for not living up to her own imagined ideal China, for being "apathetic." The idealized, traditional China she had imagined and interacted in her mind did not match the China she found. She puts forth an explanation for this from the TC: "They joke about themselves, they compare themselves to frogs, like there's some frogs in some holes or something and some frogs come out of the hole the other frogs come out and say 'Why did you guys come out?' and they say, 'Because they came out.'…So that was interesting coming from an individualistic American society to a society where people follow, where there is like a mass mind in a lot of ways….I just hated the lack of critical thinking. At the same time I understand where it comes from." Sometimes these teachers had little shocks or eye-opening experiences even in the target language, which was supposed to be the least of their problems, because they are fluent speakers. However, as in Emily's case, there were surprises to be discovered:

"I remember getting to Seville, and getting in the taxi, being so nervous, because my señora came and picked me up, and we started speaking Spanish, it was like "Oh, hablas que vie", like "Pi cas hablas Español!", I am like 'Yeah, yeah, I do' and then we started actually conversing at that point, and then I was like "Que, I don't understand what you're saying," like 'What? What?' and then she was like 'I thought you knew Spanish' and I am like 'I thought I did too! What are you talking about?' and so that was a totally different experience for me as the way she communicated with me and the Spanish she used with me was very different than

anything that I had learned before….Seville has a very different accent, they cut out d's and t's in the middle of words and cut out the "s" and so...it was a different accent than I had learned before, because I had learned 'proper' Spanish, whatever that means, so that was really weird."

Racism in the Host Country

Deb heard a lot of local people accusing Americans for being racist but she had never experienced such "strong racism" before she went abroad. Gina attributes racism in Germany mainly to poverty and thinks that a lot of Turkish second generation people in Germany are exposed to discrimination. However, she thinks that except for a small minority like neo-Nazis, Germans try to be politically correct because of their history and because of the legal consequences. She actually encountered neo-Nazis herself during a camping trip (See Appendix C for the full account of that encounter). Gina witnessed hostility from minorities toward Germans as well: "One summer when I was in Germany, I was walking the dog and I met a bunch of hoodlums [*laughter*]…they were kind of punk kids…And they were like, 'Oh! You're American! That's so cool!' And they all went to the Hauptshule, which is the lowest school in Germany. And they were all living in low-income housing, and most of them were foreigners from Eastern European countries. And they were really hostile and angry about the students that went to Gymnasium, the highest track, and they were like, 'Those stuck-up Germans, they think they're so great.' She thinks that the minorities are underrepresented in those gymnasiums and this is similar to American issues. She believes that in the US racist people tend to be less educated and poor, and "they want to blame it on someone." She explains how this type of discrimination against minorities operates in Germany: "It is really hard for them to really know how to work up in the school system and therefore, their children have a hard time getting up in society and getting a good education because their parents don't know how to communicate that."

Complaining about Being Stereotyped as an American/ American woman

Becky, Sarah and Wendy complain about being misperceived by the local people as very rich, just because she is a US citizen. So in the host country Sarah felt weird being "on the top of the hierarchy." Deb was assumed by the locals as "pro-Bush" and as supporting all the US policies, which could not be further from the truth, and was very annoying and "stupid" for her: "...if I were pro-Bush, or pro-US, why would I be there? Why would I be in this town in the middle of nowhere in Brazil, teaching English? I wouldn't. So they shouldn't be making fun of the travelers because the travelers are people that are open-minded and liberal."

Being green eyed, white and tall, she would also "stick out" everywhere she went and was easily identifiable as a foreigner. Like Deb, Gina was perceived as pro-Bush and her political opinions were always sought by Germans. She thinks that such stereotyping stems from people's lack of personal experiences: "It's easy to watch American movies and watch CNN, but to live somewhere else is really different. So people that I knew that actually lived in America…had some negative things to say, but didn't generalize about Americans."

Deb, Becky and Emily further complain about having been stereotyped not only as an American, but a "promiscuous" (Deb says "slutty") American girl by the TC people. Becky talks about how she was expected to dress "inappropriately" and act like "Britney Spears." But Becky also tries to bring in some objectivity by saying that this was not unlike how she thought "Africa was like with safari and huts, and ritual dancing every day and stuff like that." Emily was asked by men in local clubs why she wasn't dancing on the table and was expected to fulfill a certain role, which disturbed her by bringing too much unwelcome attention on her. However, not all girls were like her: "I also saw many girls...take advantage of the fact that the guys would buy them free drinks because they are American girls and they would get free entrance to certain places and they would dance on tables, and that stereotype is alive and well…So then, it is a disadvantage to me when people are badgering me because I am not being like that girl on the table." She thinks that this is because they have this reductionist idea the US and they fail to realize the diversity within it. Becky also mentions that people were surprised to hear that she is actually religious because they see Americans as being non-religious. Based on such stereotyping, these teachers also suffered a lot of sexual harassment as well.

Misogyny and Sexual Harassment

Being male, one of the surprising aspects for me as the researcher was how often the female participants had experienced sexual harassment abroad, and how extensive its affect had been on their lives. Emily complains about the way she was treated "like a piece of meat" and being "hollered at" by men in Spain, which she attributes to the culture being "old school" and "a very 1950s American way of treating men and women" where women are basically expected to stay at home, do house chores and "cater to a man" without arguing with it. Contrary to her upbringing, it was very difficult for her to be exposed to such an attitude. Gillian says this was mainly because of the "macho" culture and being conspicuously different there: "My roommate (has) very blonde hair and that was very attractive to them and she would get called out just for having blonde hair like 'You're blonde, you're blonde, you're so sexy.'" Deb's strategy to cope with such

harassment was ignoring the catcallers, because she was afraid to give them attention by saying something to them. So, Emily, Gillian and Deb were forced by men to become aware of their gender by interacting with the gender-related symbols, while Wendy had a serious problem by failing to accurately interpret the cultural symbols assigned to gender. Wendy had the hardest time struggling with being an American woman in China, culminating with her getting sexually assaulted, which according to her Chinese husband was because of her failure to realize that women do not talk, smile at or make eye contact with strangers on the street: "And my husband's reaction was very different from what I expected to what happened with the guy outside my dorm. I was still shaken up when he got back from work and I was expecting comfort or something, but he got angry at me for letting it (assault) happen…like it was my fault. That response from my now husband. That was a shock to me. That was something very cultural for sure." Interestingly, Deb also mentions her bias against Latin American women; she thinks that all of the Latinas she has ever met hated her because they were jealous of her:

"I have a stereotype in my mind of Latin American woman hating American woman, and everywhere that I have ever gone, it's been that way…When I was in Costa Rica, the girls would NEVER talk to me, they'd make fun of me all the time…I go out and I go dancing, and I drink, I have fun, and I have lots of guy friends…Latina girls don't do that. I don't get my nails done. I don't wear make-up, I don't do any of those 'girly' things, so really we probably just didn't have anything in common. And then here I am, going and hanging out with their men, even though I am not sleeping with any of them or having a relationship with them. They take that as an insult and hate it." This way, Deb seems to both assert her independent identity as an American woman and lump all the Latin American together as feminine, implying her own superiority over them.

Stereotyping Cultural Differences

For Gillian, the biggest cultural differences that she never got used to were the different daily routines like siesta and the very late lunch and dinner times. Some of the sharpest and richest details of the TC practices come from Becky's observations in Senegal. For example, the local humor was different, because instead of being sarcastic, it was "very slapstick" so they would not laugh at her "clever" jokes at all. Religion is another cultural difference detailed only by Becky: "They tried to convert me because if they can convert

somebody, that's like 50% of their way to heaven. ...They have all these point values, like what makes you go to heaven and stuff, which I found kind of weird, because I just feel like doing good things in general is probably the best way to achieve some sort of positive afterlife should that really exist." She also found that the education system in Senegal was just dictation-type and really unorganized. The Senegalese teachers were seen as authorities, and would either just not show up or be late for their classes. She also found interesting that compared to the variety of food available in the US, Senegal had a total of only seven types of meals rotated throughout the year. Hygienic practices were very different as well. They had "a hole in the ground versus a toilet," and ate with hands or a spoon (no knife or fork)." Although this might sound like a criticism, she was very neutral about them, unlike Wendy. Becky uses the word "re-learn" when she talks about bathroom habits of the Senegalese, which positions her as the learner, not a judge. There seems to be a constant comparison of the cultures on her mind, in an effort to gain deeper understanding: "In Senegal, some people are homeless, but they're more cared for. Since it's a Muslim country, and since alms is such a big deal, even if somebody's homeless that doesn't mean you can't speak to them, you're more likely to invite them to your home, you're more likely to give leftovers from your meals, you're more likely to give them a couple of coins if you have it than you are in America. In America, people stereotypically have so much more to give, but they don't give." It should be noted that while Becky points out these differences, she is not judgmental or condescending, but rather, her tone suggests a person who is striving to understand. She maintains this attitude throughout the interviews. Sometimes the cultural differences resulted in a heightened sense of self-awareness and highlighted the discrepancy between the cultures, as in Gillian's experience of school in the TC. She felt underdressed attending school there, especially one day when she wore sweatpants to class and "got the worst looks" from people. Differences could also be grounds for hostility towards the TC and distancing Self from the Other, as exemplified by Wendy: "I didn't want to live there even without the family issues, I mean the air was terrible in the area I was in, I didn't like the food, I missed cheese. I wasn't meant to live in China. The bathrooms were weird."

Whiteness as Capital

During her visit Wendy observed how much whiteness was cherished in China, which seemed to be the only reason for many otherwise untalented "random, off-the-street" non-Chinese people undeservedly becoming celebrities there. She also noticed skin care products and "women taxi drivers wearing long gloves,"

or others walking with umbrellas to shield themselves from the sun. Likewise, Sarah witnessed the same attitude towards whiteness in Peru. Because she was white some really beautiful Peruvian girls just come up to her and told her that she was "so gorgeous" and how they wished to have hair like her. She also observed that people would discriminate towards darker-skinned people, if they had lighter skin tone unless it was compensated somehow by being rich. She also felt like there was more overt racism in Peru than the US: "for example, if you see billboards, any advertisements on TV, it's all going to be White people. And I am not talking about White people per our standards, I am talking about, like, go to Norway, and find the whitest person [laughter] and that is going to be like the person they use for the advertisements, it is ridiculous. And Peru is only about 10% White. I remember one time I saw a billboard that had an indigenous person I was like "Wow! They actually put an indigenous person there" well I looked at the billboard and it was for gonorrhea testing."

Blackness as Capital

One surprising result was how "Blackness" can be appreciated and valued when it was transferred into another culture. Unlike whiteness, which is like a gold standard that people aspire to achieve, Blackness is something intriguing and exotic, as it turned out for Keisha in China:

"If you travel internationally, the stereotypical American tourist is white. So I feel like going places like being with white people, they were overlooked...but me coming in as an African-American, a lot of people were confused as to my nationality. So there is always the question 'OK, where are you from? Are you from Africa?' and it is like 'No, I am from America.' But then the international perception of Americans isn't what they are seeing ME as, they see a white person, they see that the American dream, they don't see ME. So to say that I am American, it is always like 'What? That wasn't my first guess.' …Like a lot of Chinese people had quite a few questions about it, because they didn't really interact with people like me on a day-to-day basis, they were really intrigued. …I felt like a celebrity there, people always wanted to take pictures. …I walked into a bank and people would go crazy like 'Oh here is a gift. We have never had a person like you here before. Can we put you in this space in this article?'

Stereotyping the Home Culture

Stereotyping is not limited to the Other, but it is also applied to the Self, as is clearly the case with Wendy: "Especially in M-town what do people do on the weekends? They go to bars, right? They go to bars, get drunk whenever they can. They come to class drunk. They bring bottles of stuff, like Nalgene bottles filled alcohol right? …And so when they (the students from here) go to China they are still going to the bars. They go to the bars because they don't know what to do with themselves. Which is interesting because in China only sketchy people go to bars. Average people don't usually go to bars. …I mean sketchy people who might, like, date-rape people. We are talking about people from the underbelly of society. And of course, they see the Americans going there and they don't think they are classy either." So here Wendy is criticizing Americans for trying to transfer their subculture into the TC, by stereotyping both Americans and the Chinese.

Making a Disclaimer

Overall, despite all the stereotyping presented above, all these teachers make it clear that they were not just tourists in the TC, they were really invested in it, and they were unique in how they approached the TC, therefore their experience was not to be confused with the regular visitors' shallow experience. For example, Sarah proudly underscores that she has been to all those ghettos and slums in Lima, "where no other 'gringa' had gone before." So her "mission" in Peru was to "get the most authentic experience. Like Sarah, Keisha portrays herself as embracing the TC people with an open mind and without prejudice because she "knew how it felt to have biases put on you. So I walked into it being accepting and being appreciative of being allowed in this culture, I knew that what I learned was biased so I wasn't going to hold that to any face value. I wanted to go in with a blank slate."

Changing perspectives about the host country

Language and Reflection as a Tool to Shatter Stereotypes

Keisha is the only Black participant, so perhaps due to her own experience of being racially stereotyped or profiled, unlike other participants, she was very determined to use language as a tool to "shatter" those stereotypes she and her community had preconceived about the Chinese like they were dog eaters. With this mindset from the very beginning, after her visit to China, Keisha was able to gain deeper insights into the Chinese culture and through her reflective stance, she reached a meta-analytic level of

mindfulness that in essence "we are all people deep down." For Wendy, it took longer and deeper reflection to change her earlier beliefs about the TC and overcome her disappointment with their apparent "apathy" and "brain-washedness." Viewing their behavior within the larger socio-historical context, she eventually managed to overcome her frustration with the TC people, which gradually gave way to empathy. The cultural jigsaw pieces fell into place and she realized the "disposability" of people: the biggest Chinese activists were exiled or killed during the revolution and those who were left were the apathetic ones.

Developing Empathy with the Other and Deeper Appreciation of Self

For Becky, the critical point for changing her perspective of the TC was joining a local volleyball team, which allowed her to develop more meaningful social connections in Senegal: "So when I joined the volleyball team was my first step into a new group of friends. I felt like all the guys in the team were basically like big brothers to me. They all wanted to take care of me…and that was amazing because for the first time I met genuine people who wanted to be my friends, because they cared about me, not because they wanted something from me." She went even further than becoming a member of a sports team, and she explored the issue of "veil-wearing", which made her reflect upon both religion and gender. This surprisingly led to some empathy with the veiled women: "Because everybody who goes to Senegal has to do a research paper for credits, and mine was on veiled women, and how western culture says that veiled women are oppressed, and are forced into doing that, and my argument was that that veil is what *FREES* them. That's what allows them to express themselves through their religion. …most of the time the feminist argument is like 'Oh, veil is awful, take off all your clothes and be free' [laughter]. I'm like 'That's their choice.' Moreover, she didn't see polygyny as a problem, but just thought that it could be very difficult to maintain a loving relationship with four wives and treat them equally. Still she respected it and tried to understand why it exists by putting it into cultural perspective. Becky tried to develop empathy by trying to do things in the local way, by getting involved even in religious rituals, like fasting during the Ramadan. As a result of such attempts, she "walked away understanding" some cultural practices, but some others she walked away saying "Nah, I don't know why they do that."

Instead of interpreting it as dependence on family, Gillian began to appreciate how important family was for the Spanish: "That was huge. I thought it was so great to see how close their family was. …The kids, even when their parents weren't there, would talk about how much they respect their parents, and how much

they love their parents and, two of the sisters spent all of their time together like they were always together and they had lots of friends too but family was so important to everyone." Emily also appreciated the work-social life balance and having more family time there, while she feels like she has to "choose college over my family a lot here, whereas that wasn't an issue in Spain". These teachers had their moments of enlightenment arising from the cognitive conflict between the imagined versus lived, which results in a better grasp of the intra- and inter-cultural varieties. Emily had one such a-ha moment:

"I had understood in my mind cognitively that there's a difference between Latin-based cultures and Spanish cultures, but I didn't understand that truly until I went to Spain, like, it's 'Oh!' like I remember talking to my seňora being like 'Oh, yeah, let's have some tacos, yo no se quien taco,' and I'm like 'You don't know what a taco is?' and she's like 'No, how would I know what a taco is?' so then I'm like 'Oh, my Gosh, this is so weird.' Or, like they have a type of food called tortilla, which is like an omelet with potatoes in it, but I was talking about like a tortilla as in like a taco shell, and trying to explain that to her, and she didn't get it... and then I was like 'Oh, no, it's kind of like, you know, it is made of some types of corn, some types of wheat.' and she was like 'I don't know what you are saying.' So, for me, that was like a mismatch, assuming that different cultures that speak Spanish could understand all the different types of food, or like the different types of celebrations and understanding that that's not true." While developing empathy and appreciation for the Other, such comparisons often led to the discovery of some previously unnoticed personal privileges as well. For example, Emily came to appreciate how, even some basic daily utilities could not be taken for granted: "As an American, you are used to, like, your own space, your own room, your own bathroom, there is so much that is privilege. And everything is kind of shared in Spain. And there were no houses in Seville, it is all very small apartments. And learning that I don't need tons of space to live, and like learning how privileged I have been happened during study abroad and learning that I have a privilege to have a shower and take as long as I want to with my shower, whereas in Seville, they have droughts all the time, so I would only have like 5 minutes. ...Coming back to the US, I appreciated that I can walk down a street and not be cat-called."

For Emily, with this deeper appreciation also came the deeper level of criticism and seeing nuances within and across cultures:

"I learned to be more critical of the culture I come from, while also appreciating some things more than I ever have before. But also being critical of the Spanish culture, and it's changing, I don't want to say all

Spanish culture is the same, because it is not. There is so many different types of Spanish culture, and like Seville and Madrid, there is a huge difference between the two." She also gained an increased awareness of Self through symbolic interaction with the Other by "learning that being an American is not a great thing for certain people. And learning that I can be discriminated just because I am an American. But yet also knowing that also it's privileged, just depending on where I am at and what issues are going on in that location at the time." As can be noticed, there is gradual gravitation towards reaching a more refined sense of criticism, appreciation and analysis of both the Self and the Other.

RECONSTRUCTING THE HOME CULTURE IN THE LIGHT OF TC

Appreciation of the Home Culture

Coming back home, what Gillian immediately noticed was that the staff at the airport welcomed her and was very polite to her compared to the "not very kind" staff at the Madrid airport. Later, she had to go through some reverse culture shock and readjustment to daily social interactions like handshaking instead of kissing on the cheeks for greeting. Another thing she noticed was in the US passing by someone on the sidewalk, people smile at them but in Spain if she smiled at someone, they would think she was "crazy." She was also happy with the good customer service in the US, especially at restaurants because In Spain they wait staff do not get tips. She expects good service because she has "grown up here and (is) used to being treated nicely." Food is also strongly associated with the home culture: "I was definitely glad for the food here, their food all tasted the same because they cooked everything with olive oil and salt, and pepper; and that was it." Similarly, as a vegetarian, Wendy had a very hard time in China "because everything had meat in it. ...I am a very picky eater...I lost so much weight because I only ate one small American style meal I would prepare every day." Like Becky, Wendy uses "cheese" as the reductive symbol of the home food: "Cheese is expensive there and being from X-state, I need my cheese and they don't eat a lot of cheese there. I couldn't handle it, so when I got back I was eating everything I saw." She also appreciated being with people who understood her "individualized idea" and she was more comfortable being an individual: "Here we are growing up with an individualistic society, whereas there they are growing up with the opposite." She is also appreciative of the "malleable" system in the US, because "people can affect it more than people there. They have to have a full-on physical revolution to get the government to listen to them. I get it that if you are being

brainwashed every day and you don't really see that you are being limited to that." While she thinks that the US system is "far from perfect," she still prefers it to an "authoritarian government" and feels "thankful."

Appreciation of the TC

Coming back to the US, Gillian was less stressed about small things and she tried to keep her relaxed mindset she had adopted in Spain: "In Spain everybody was much more laidback than people in the US. ...if a class started at nine o'clock, the teacher would show up at nine-fifteen, like it was not an issue. They've always said 'No passe nada,' like it doesn't matter, like this wouldn't change anything. So when I came back, I was kind of just more relaxed." Nostalgia for such slower life is also reflected in Emily's wistful words: "I have learned to appreciate it more about the resources that I have. But at the same time I don't appreciate how much more work, how much I am expected to be accessible to people, I have to answer my phone and keep it on 24/7." Becky had the same feelings: "I missed Senegal so much, I missed my friends there, I missed my relaxed way of life…It made me really appreciate Senegal too, because I could study there, but I could relax too. But here everything piles up, plus work." Becky's study abroad experience in Senegal also made her critical of the excess consumption in the US: "...it's how much excess there is in the US about everything. In Senegal, you think in the morning what you will cook for the day and you go to the market and buy exactly what you need to use for the day. In America, you go to the supermarket once a week, and you buy as much as your cart will fit, and you shove them all into your fridge and freezer and half of it goes bad and…you always have a cupboardful of snacks, you can just go and eat whenever you want…In Senegal you make three meals a day, and you show up for meals and eat them and if you are hungry in between, there's probably leftovers from the meal,…they just don't keep them all in hand."

Sarah talks about her frustration with and disinterest in the mainstream US culture, longing for different shades of diversity: "(Coming back to M-town) was really rough for me because you just go to a bar and you just see ALL White people, like into hunting and like into drinking beer, ice-fishing (laughs), fraternities, drinking,…the most interesting (thing) they do is drinking, you won't find any interesting views on society or politics and things like that. It is more just like 'I got really drunk the other night.' I tried to find interesting people; that is why I hang out with mostly Latinos in M-town. …talking to Peruvians was always something interesting, they always had a different stories, different ideas. ...In Peru, people just in general

were more different than me, even if they were like the more wealthy Peruvians or whatever, they still had different perspectives than me, and I could still learn from them...and if they were poor and things like that, if they had been from Sierra or something, even better. So that was really cool. Whereas in M-town it is just that 'I am White' …it is always the same story. I get so frustrated by that. When I was in Peru I missed diversity, but now in M-town, I miss diversity as well." This is an interesting point because in a sense, language teachers have to live bicultural lives by the nature of their profession. In a way, being language teachers, they will always lead liminal lives, destined to live in the limbo of the bicultural semiosphere. For example, Becky talks about how she would miss cheese when in Senegal, but now being back home she pines for the Senegalese food "just because it was so satisfying."

Her time in Senegal has also led Becky to change some of her beliefs: "I wasn't that close to my family, I wasn't that interested in having kids, but after I went there I really realized how much a family can be to a person and why a family is so important. ...Now I think I'll have children, now I think that it's a big deal that I go and visit my grandparents as often as I can, and that I go and spend time with my sisters..." She thinks that this TC experience also helped her become "a stronger person" and develop more empathy with the minorities in the US: "because I finally understood what it was like for somebody to be a minority. I understood what it was like to be around people who didn't believe the same things as I do. I understood what it was like to be a different color than others, or not to speak the same language as others."

Table 3. Experiences in the host country

Criticizing TC	Stereotyping TC	Understanding TC
Strange Beliefs *"My host mom would freak out when I would walk around barefoot, because they had this belief that you would get sick, ONLY if your feet were exposed."* *"They have this belief that if you drink cold things and you are sick, you will get even more sick." (Sarah)* ***Strange Practices*** *"They kiss you on the cheek, and they have close proximity to each other, and there is no such thing as personal space." (Emily)* ***Disappointment*** "*When I got there I was frustrated by the general apathy of people there…they have this great cultural foundation and stuff, and the people had taken a lot of things from American culture and they had basically abandoned their own cultural things."* (Wendy) ***Racism*** *"Costa Ricans are typically light-skinned compared to other Spanish-speakers, so I found out that my host mother was extremely racist, talking to her, anybody was just not worth it, she hated all black people. But that's very typical there." (Deb)* ***Being stereotyped*** *"I had really hard time being an American there. Everybody wanted to talk with me about politics and that really sucked. ...People would really really get on my case and everybody assumed that because I was from the US I was pro-Bush and I support everything he did." (Deb)* *"People would stereotype me as the typical American. 'Did you vote for George Bush?' and like, 'Is everybody fat in America?' [laughter]" "(Gina)* *"People were like 'Oh, you're rich' or 'You probably have four cars, you probably live in a mansion' …they were just so over the top." (Becky)* ***Being harassed*** *"I got harassed a lot, it was crazy. I wore head phones to everywhere I went so I couldn't hear people screaming at me all the time, 'Tsk, tsk, tsk macha, machita'. That crap the whole entire time everywhere I went, all the time, every day, that was really annoying and people were trying to touch me too, I didn't like that." (Deb)*	***Cultural differences*** *"The siesta. That was huge for me. The fact that they would just close everything down for like three hours in the afternoon and everyone would go home from work…" (Gillian)* *"It was unacceptable to wear sweat-pants in public." (Gillian)* *"Sarcasm doesn't really exist there, as much as it does here. …The humor is very physical, very slapstick…" (Becky)* *"their school system was really unorganized and teachers would just not show up, or if they did show up, they'd come late." (Becky)* *"In America, you can eat a different meal for the whole year,365 days, but in Senegal there is basically like seven different meals that they rotate through." (Becky)* *"You have to entirely re-learn how to go to the bathroom there, because you have, like, a hole in the ground versus a toilet." (Becky)* ***Skin color as capital*** *"(In China) they market skin whitening creams...they really do not want to get any sun like tint on their skin. You see that women taxi drivers wear long gloves to protect their hands and people walk around with umbrellas to shield themselves from the sun." (Wendy)* *"In general, just whiteness was considered good. All the TV stars were White, the darker people in TV were seen as someone to laugh at" (Sarah)*	***Using Language*** *"I was positive,like: Me as an African-American speaking this language, this is different. I can use this as a tool to shatter those stereotypes. I can have these conversations with Chinese. And in turn, I can shatter stereotypes that I have about them.'" (Keisha)* ***Reflection on Experience*** *"(Visiting China) really allowed me to break down the stereotypes of all people and see that we all have the same wants and desires,we all want to be loved, we all want to love, we all want to feel safe,...like it really opened my eyes that we are all people, we are all people deep down, and that race is really like a social construct." (Keisha)* *"I was disappointed that there was so much apathy around me and so much brain washed thinking by the party. …Now I definitely understand why they are that way. ... the free thinkers were driven out or killed or so if I wanted to survive I am just going to shut up and this is just the environment they were in." (Wendy)* ***Developing Empathy*** *"I look at (polygamy) now and I respect it now, because I understand how it exists and to a certain extent why it exists, but at first, I was just like: 'I'd never want to share my husband.'" (Becky)* *"I'm like, if I'd been raised in Senegal, this is what I'd think as right, so why not try it for a while. So, for example, during Ramadan, I fasted, because I wanted to see what it was like to fast." (Becky)* ***Appreciation*** *"It was so great to see how close their family was." (Gillian)* *"They put more of a commitment on family, whereas we put more of a commitment on work...I appreciated the balance between work and social life." (Emily)* *"I miss travelling, which is so much easier, more convenient, more efficient and cheaper in Europe than it is here." (Emily)*

THE INTROSPECTIVE SELF: THE PRESENT

THE TEACHING CONTEXTS

Becky has multiple teaching jobs. She teaches 7-8th grade French at White Falcon Middle School, which is a metropolitan school and she also has 2 classes of 7th grade and 1 class of 8th grade. Her students get 70% free or reduced lunch. Her French classes are about 50% minority and 50% white, of whom 80% of do not read and do math at grade level. She has 10 African students mostly from Mali and Gambia. Her school in general is slightly more minority, with 60% minority and 40% white. Besides, she teaches a class of adult ESL through literacy network, and is involved in a Community literacy program through literacy network. She also teaches ESL online to students in Brazil. One of Her ESL classes is entirely made up of Mexican students and the other class is all Mexican with one person from Brazil.

Deb teaches at a small (185 students), private non-profit school for gifted and talented students where the parents are very much involved; for example, one of the parents has just donated three smartboards to the school. Working as teacher aides, the parents make binded books, watch the lunchroom, organize fundraisers or do maintenance outside. According to Deb her students are very smart and motivated but some of them have ADD and some are really "hyper". Her class size is about 16 students, and therefore "the students get really good attention". So in my school there's a lot of multicultural students. …Some of my students are adopted and have American families, I have Chinese students, Japanese students. I cannot remember exactly where they are from but I have a lot of students from over in Asia besides that I have at least one Indian student from India, I tutored her all summer and her parents are from India and they live here I've got an Irish student so she came over from Ireland to here…most of my students have a lot of money, it is a private school so it is very expensive, …So a lot of my students' parents are pilots, doctors,…I think there's one student whose parent is a professor,…a lot of our students have parents that are gay or lesbian parents…so there is a lot of diversity going on in that regard." Also a lot of her students, especially her Asian students are bilingual or multilingual. She describes the ethnic composition of her classes as: "I don't know the exact breakdown, but at least 60% of the students are white. …in every one of my classes there are at least two Asian students. So that's two of sixteen. Not all of my classes are 16, but at least two of them in each class. …No African American students in my class.… (The students are) White and Asian. …I'm teaching 1st through 8th grade, so …7 different levels of Spanish. …all of our kids do take IQ tests and

if they aren't achieving highly it is suggested that they leave or they are asked to leave." Deb says that her school has been trying to make both the teachers and students more diverse but "it is hard because it is a private school and you know we are in W-state. There is not a lot of diversity in W-state." She is still very proud that her school is welcoming of all cultures and they don't ridicule others for being different.

In Emily's 1st grade class, of the 14 students, 50% are white, and the other 50% are minorities. She says her classroom is "So diverse. It is amazing, I am truly excited about it." She has one Middle Eastern student, one from China, two kids from southern Asia and the rest are African-American or black. She says "seeing that the Latin population is increasing year by year soon *I* (stressed) will be the minority. …so my classroom is a true representation of what United States is going to be in 20-30 years from now."

Gillian says diversity is not that big of an issue in her own teaching context: "I really think that locally it (diversity) doesn't seem to be as much of an issue at least in that elementary school. I haven't had experience (of discrimination). …And so, I guess I would say that like just observing or doing my readings for class and things it sounds like it's a lot bigger problem than what I've observed." Gillian's kindergarteners are three Hispanic and a couple African-American students, and the rest are white, and her first grade students consist of five Hispanic, four African-American and five white students. Her second grade is mostly made up of Hispanic students.

> "There are two of the African-American boys that don't want to work with other kids, they just want to work with each other. And then we have a little boy who is just everybody's best friend. …I noticed a little bit of them like grouping by race but …they all interact with each other." …in my second grade class there are fifteen kids and eleven of them are Hispanic and other four are white. …they're all very good friends with each other. Gina's classes are almost 100% White students. Sarah's 4th graders are all African-American, except 2 girls and 3 boys, there is one Hispanic girl and one white girl. "So, *definitely there are a lot of management problems with that class*, they are very high-energy…"

The preservice teachers all student teach at the Newpond school. By diversity, 37% of the students at the Newpond Elementary are Hispanic, and 30% are Black (much higher than the state average) and 23% of them are White (much lower than the state average of 73%), 6% are Multiracial, and 3% are Asian. By group, English learners make up 40% of the total (compared to the 6% state

average) and those participating in a free or reduced-price lunch program make up 73% (compared to the state average of 41%). 73% of the teachers have more than 5 years of experience, and 33% hold a Master's degree or higher. On its website the school states its strength as its "diverse community and engaged families" and boasts "a committed and involved staff that works to involve families in their child's education." As progress, it also states that "student subgroups by ethnicity met or exceeded their growth targets." As areas for growth the school targets "instructional purpose and integration of disciplinary literacy (through) grade-level aligned Speaking and Listening Standards."

THEME 1 INTEGRATION OF DIVERSITY INTO TEACHING

Teachers' general approach to diversity integration into curriculum: Every student is unique

Deb's general approach to integration is by giving examples for why the differences in their community is good, and why they should "embrace them". Emily thinks that diversity is something that is ignored by some teachers who pretend that it does not exist, although it is already part of the curriculum and classroom context, whether teachers choose to recognize and it or not. Perhaps after such recognition comes the next step of how to conceptualize and address it. Becky thinks that instead of "categorizing" students on their ethnicity or backgrounds, it is more important to get to know the students individually and then "try to bring out the best qualities in them". She thinks that this can be done by "creating a safe learning environment" and making them feel comfortable for students, where all students feel that they can share their own experiences and opinions, where everybody "has a voice." With a participatory attitude, she also thinks that students should also be given "a certain amount of control" over what they are studying. Allowing students to have choice in what they are reading or who they are working with will make them "more equitable." She also thinks that being sincere, authentic, fair and non-judgemental towards them is an essential precondition for such an approach**.** Becky really cares about being authentic because if the teacher does not have the baseline connection with students and just fakes it, it will not work with students: "I think that maybe in the past, I might have been drawn more to students of color, just because I felt an obligation to try to connect with them more, but…I have realized that that's really unnatural and you cannot force things and kids will naturally come to you if they are interested and you

will naturally connect with kids if you are interested in them and there is no sense in enforcing something, you know." She also recognizes that although she is the authority figure in the classroom, her own opinions are relative and not the ultimate truth and having kids arrive their own conclusions is really important: "I would have to be very CAREFUL because when I think I am talking about diversity with the kids now, we kind of always set the stage and say "OK, we going to be talking about other cultures right now" you know, it is OK to share thoughts you have or ask questions but make sure you are acknowledging that this is what YOU think and it is coming from YOU, but it is not necessarily the TRUTH." Becky summarizes her perspective on how to handle diversity best: "I want to be a fair teacher, to do that, basically I have to, all races aside, treat each student as an individual. The students who want or need help need to get it, students who don't want or don't need help don't get it and I feel like I just need to be very fair and very straightforward and be a positive role model. I try to teach my students the value of a language and how that can make you so much more of a globally-thinking person and how…language can really break barriers down and bring people together, and that if they have hopes for success in life, like working hard they can do that and despite the socioeconomic status of their family or despite racial tension or anything, they can do it if they put their minds to it." Gillian says that such an attitude needs to be "instilled in" the students: "I think that all students are able to succeed if they are given the right education, have the right attitude but there also has to be and instilled in them that they *CAN* do it." (Her own emphasis). Gillian also says that she is not an activist but she has her "beliefs", which is something interesting to show that she thinks beliefs can substitute for activism. Like Becky, Gillian downplays the importance of learners' cultural backgrounds and thinks that individual traits and learning styles are more important: **"**I think that everyone learns differently and depending on the students in your class, you have to adjust to that." Taking this one step further, Sarah thinks that these individual differences are actually potential advantages to be "harvested": "So basically learning as much as possible from my students and then using what I learn, in order to help them. …I don't want to be like 'Oh, my kids are Black, so they must love rap music, so I am going to play them this' I don't want to be stereotyping my kids and basing my pedagogy off of stereotypes. I would rather base my pedagogy off of actual things that they have told me and things that I observe in class." Lack of diversity was what motivated her to go into teaching Spanish in the first place. Noticing the visibly high education gap and

self-segregation at her school "has made (her) want to teach Spanish" and help close this gap. Overall, these teachers seem to focus on students as individuals rather than groups and look for ways to capitalize on their strengths to address diversity. After she began teaching, some stereotypes on Gina's mind changed when she had some Black students: "I feel like sometimes people tend to call minorities together as like being poor or something… I'm thinking my first grade classrooms for example there is two students that look very poor and they have bad clothes and they have bad attitudes in school so they probably have a hard home life and then there is like another three African-American students and they're always participating, they have *normal* clothes on you can tell they are not like,… I don't know, they just seem to be taken better care at home so that kind of stereotype of,… minorities is kind of changed for me I guess, like I don't think that just,… like interacting more minorities this semester especially little kids, I can tell just because you're Black doesn't mean you are really poor or something, you know. I guess I knew that before but it's like *in actual experience* (emphases added) for me now." Taking this a little further, Becky believes that rather than basing the treatment of a person on their race or on their ethnic background, each person has their own individual needs, and rather than evaluating a group of people based on their ethnic background, each individual needs a certain special attention and everybody should be given a choice:

"Rather than saying all the international students should be treated this way, or all the Black students should be treated this way, I think each individual person has what they need. … So I think that each individual needs to be looked at, and say: 'OK, you're coming from another country, you need help with languages, do you want special attention, or do you just want to go to a regular class', so it's kind of sink or swim. Or, 'you're a poor person from a typically Hispanic neighborhood, do you want reduced-priced lunches, or do you want to just pay regular prices so you don't feel weird in front of other kids?' I just think that it should be the choice of the individual or the family rather than overgeneralizing each specific group of people. Because some students want remedial help, some students want to be in an English as a second language class, till they feel more comfortable, but other kids, probably they want to go right into regular math, science, English classes because they'll learn maybe faster than environment

or maybe they want to *challenge themselves to*…you know, *be the same as other kids,*… (Emphasis added)"

Specific techniques to address student diversity/Culturally relevant teaching

Becky seems to address diversity in her classroom through trying to use inclusive language and discussing diversity issues with her students by following "that path of interest for them because THAT conversation at that moment might BE the thing that connects them with what I am teaching in the future." Another technique she uses is trying to focus on individual students by structuring small group activities. Becky thinks that a top-down approach to diversity would not work with students because it would sound "preachy" so discussing diversity should be based on what naturally and organically comes up in class instead of just asking "what they think about Black people". Contrary to Sarah, who believes that addressing diversity and teaching language are separate strands in the curriculum, Becky believes that diversity should be a natural part of the curriculum: "There are some kids who are like 'Oh, gosh, now we are going to talk about this again'….I think that they get it, they GET the human rights talk, or they get the Black history month talk in their other classes, just like 'It's Black history month!', so for one month of the year, they talk about this, like "Ewww" (too much). But I think that when you have it come up naturally in your conversations throughout the class the kids don't necessarily… notice it. They don't necessarily realize what they are learning about is diversity." Emily thinks accessing the diversity existing in the class helps: "OK, what does Cinco de Mayo day mean to the Mexican population, in comparison to the American population, because the way WE look at Cinco de Mayo (is) not as culturally rich as it is in Mexico, so having those (Hispanic) kids come up if I teach school that day would be like 'Oh my gosh, today is such a fun day! Like, can anyone tell me what Cinco de Mayo is about?' having those kids explain it to the class, instead of me." Like Sarah and Emily, Becky uses students' cultural funds to let them bring forth their own perspectives: "Like, we were recently studying…French-speaking countries in West Africa, I have always read a lot about West Africa, because I lived there, but I wanted the kids to tell me what *THEY* know. And a lot of times it is just something that was incorrect, but that was an opportunity for me to share with them other perspectives… like there were actually plenty of West African kids in my classes, so being like 'OK, what do *YOU* know about your family that still lives there? Or, 'What traditions does your family have that are different than what people in this class might have?'"

On the other hand, Deb wants to raise her students'awareness of local diversity issues and for that she uses the TL as the springboard for discussing diversity and the minorities are perceived in the community: "So it is important for me to be teaching (Spanish) and different aspects of culture to my students, because there is constantly things on the news with immigration and making my students aware of these different issues and not saying that everybody that speaks Spanish is here illegally. There are lots of people here that speak Spanish that are here legally. And what do you do with illegal immigrants and not just painting a bad picture that everybody is evil and everybody is here stealing jobs..." But she also points out that her students have well-educated and liberal parents, so they are used to having such discussions at home, further supported by their high SES. Besides SES, another major factor mentioned by Deb is age. She can debate these social issues in Spanish with her high school classes but she has to adjust her teaching to the age level: "5 year olds don't understand that in English, you think they would understand that in Spanish? Hell, no. …All I can do is try to teach them that Spanish IS fun, it IS useful, there are a lot of interesting people, and it's fun to make friends with speakers of other languages. THAT'S HOW I do it in kindergarten, without getting into complicated things." Besides age, students' TL proficiency level is limits what can be done as reported by Sarah: "Right now I am mostly teaching the basics of Spanish so it is hard for me to teach about culture and things like that in my class." While both Sarah and Gillian thinks that African-American students are very "outspoken", Sarah looks for ways to exploit this especially with the girls by trying to "get them involved" and help her teach, while Gillian sees this as a problem "because the other kids can't hear me over what their classmates are saying", she tries to overcome this "problem" by creating activities where all of them can talk like getting them to repeat what she says. She also uses songs with the kindergarteners because she believes that the kids all feel involved and learn well through music. Like Gillian, Sarah also uses music: "I also incorporate a lot of songs and dances… which gets them to be able to be the center, express themselves. And I ask for volunteers to help me lead the song, just trying to put them into leadership roles. … (which) works really well for them." To learn about student interests, Sarah uses a survey in the beginning of the semester: "I did a survey at the beginning of the year to see what my kids wanted to learn about…so a lot of them wrote that they like to play "mancala"…(which) is like a game that originated in Africa, it is like a counting game, so I really want to incorporate that in my class and a lot of them said they really like

hiphop, so I am planning a lesson to teach them about hiphop in Spanish, and things like that." She also employs a caring approach toward students while trying to build a relationship with them: "like my cooperating teacher is very into, like, 'Be quiet! Don't talk! Do what I say!', very traditional, but to me if my kids raise their hand, start talking about how the other day they did this, or what they did over the weekend and stuff, I listen to them, when I come into class before we start Spanish, I ask like 'Hey, how is it going, what did you do this weekend?'." However, Sarah also points out that she tries not to take too much out of their time. I don't want to be like 'Oh, screw this math. I want to hear about stuff about you.' Her teaching style also depends on the actual classroom demographics: "So if I was in a predominantly White class, I would go harvest the fact that we do come from a common culture, in order to try and increase their interest in other cultures. And if I was teaching a more diverse class …I would try and harvest the fact that we are more diverse and we learn from each other and things like that." Becky and Sarah also talk about clarifying the rules from day one, having more structured activities and giving students more leadership roles as some of the disciplinary solutions. Like Becky, Sarah is not much concerned that discipline will come across as racism, not because she is adamant about her position like Becky but simply because she does not discipline or punish a lot unless her students are really trying to hurt each other. If they do not want to participate she lets them just sit and watch because "they could have been having a really bad day or something". She also tries to channel their behaviors into other things or re-direct their behaviors: "If my kids are acting up we will say a "Cheer!" We have a classroom cheer, like "Que nes somos, que nes somos?" like "Who are we?" And then they repeat "Who are we?" and then they say 'uno dos tres' which is our classroom number, so it is like classroom pride type of thing. So they would respond really well to that. If that doesn't work too, I would just be like "Touch your heads!" "Touch your feet!" I swear it works so well for some reason that I just start doing it. I don't even know where it came from, but it works. I would say "¡Toque sus cabezas!" "¡Toque sus pies!" …Obviously if they are hitting each other and stuff and if they have to touch their head and pay attention to what I am about to say, what body part I am about to say next."

Gina seems to have become more mindful of being inclusive of all students after her completion of the diversity class: "So this semester…I am trying to make an effort to make sure I am not excluding girls or excluding minority students. I think I make more of a conscious effort about it,…maybe I am just

thinking about it too much, I don't know, but it is better than just being ignorant to it I guess. …And I think it's (taking multicultural courses) definitely helped me to see a different point of view, …I think those classes are important for me to have to know that the statistics or like discrimination against minority students and. …I like to make a mental note of who I call in class for example, I will make sure that I am not just calling on certain students."

Still, she is not sure how to teach language and address diversity at the same time: "I remember when I was teaching in S. (town), there were one or two black students. …I kept them in mind and like, used pictures when I was introducing something in using pictures of people like are they good or are they bad and I had used pictures of different races, because I remember consciously trying to use these pictures of more than just white people, so I used Oprah, and like, Chris Rock and different black celebrities too. So, it kind of incorporated more races I guess. But other than those kinds of things like visual aids and stuff, I really don't know how much you can do with foreign language if you are like teaching about the home, or different vocabulary like that. ...It's kind of complicated." These kinds of teaching strategies seem a bit too superficial to address diversity and she is not sure how to implement specific techniques in language teaching either. She still picks out a black boy as a problematic example, and she is trying to empathize with him by saying that the institutional treatments might be acting to perpetuate the negative behavior: "…but he seems to be always getting in trouble and... I don't know if that really has to do with race, if he were white, I wonder how different his experience would be, if he would get scolded as much."

Gina believes that having a teacher of the same race is helpful by being a good role model for students and presents some stereotypical qualities of the Latin people and how having a teacher from another culture could be a problem for them:

"Like with Latin people, I know that one of the cultural things is that they are closer… They get more in your space …from the perspective of an American. So, maybe like Mexican students may be more clingy, huggy, more touchy than you are, just because that is cultural. But I really don't know how, like… if a teacher is really cold to them, and is like "No, we can't hug, we can't touch", they might take that in the wrong way or something. I can see something like that being an issue. They might, like, dislike school more because they think their teachers are mean."

But Gina also underscores her resolution about not being too positively discriminating and concerned about overthinking diversity and wants to make sure she balances out culturally relevant teaching with classroom discipline: "I don't want to always let off minority students, just because they might have a hard time or something because they also need to be disciplined, not just, you know so if there is like disagreement between the white kids and African American I don't think I would like really discriminating and like, you know, purposely let the African American off easy, just because of that you know just because they're having, you know what I mean? Like I don't want to just let them off because that will hurt them in the end if they don't have to follow the rules too, so I think for discipline-wise, I think everybody should be treated equally and to have to follow the rules because it is just how it is."

Gina gives an example for a behavior problem that she had with a black girl and how she tried to resolve it:

"… I can give you as an example (for how I treat minority kids). I wanted to go just help one of J.'s classes and we split these students up into two groups, and all my students in my group were black. And, …we were passing around a piece of recycling thing and we had to hold the piece or the object, that was like, you know, a cardboard and then they had to say the word in Spanish like "carton" and then pass it on each one to say it. And so we went around once, and then she was like throwing it and like being really bad. I was like "OK, next time you do that you have to go out." I mean she probably had a really bad day. "You can't be this way, you are disrupting whole class like I'm giving you a warning and next time you are going have to be out of the circle." And she kept doing it and then so I gave her one more chance, it probably wasn't good but I was like you got one more chance and then I switched the direction like how you are passing on, you know, the objects. So, it went to my left and then she was like 'I don't want to be the next.' And she threw a huge fit, started yelling, it was like 'This is stupid!', like, got up, stomping her feet, …And, she started crying, I think she was just really angry. And I tried to talk to her. I guess …if students are really upset and turning the attention, sometimes you just need to ignore it. But maybe this girl was having a really hard time at home, I felt like she needed to talk to somebody so I took her aside and I was like, 'What's the matter?' like "We want you be in Spanish class. You should sit next to us. We don't want you to miss out. If you sit down and listen, we can have a good time and play a game afterwards" and she was like 'I hate school. I hate it here. I just want to go home' and I was like 'Not

everyone always wants to be in school but we want you here.' And I tried to make her feel like we wanted her there….I was like 'you don't always want to be here but we want you here' because maybe she doesn't feel like she is wanted there, she is always disciplined and yelled at and everything. So like in those kinds of situations the students get really upset and I try to talk to them about how they feel. But a lot of times, pretty much mostly discipline problems I have had has been with minority students. …"

Deb believes that correcting racist student behavior on the spot is important:

"Kids make fun of everything, you know, kids make fun of everything these are young kids, so sometimes they'll make fun of Chinese accent or squinty eyes or you know all these stereotypes that these people put forth for Asian students and sometimes they make fun of each other so my job is to help them realize that everybody's different and that making fun of people isn't good I don't even know how I'm saying this I sound like an idiot. But I mean all of those multicultural lessons and cultural sensitivity blah blah blah blah blah, uhm is always something you have to think about."

Sarah's inability to cope with a negative experience in her teaching made her frustrated and decide to give up working with younger learners:

"I was volunteering at the after-school program, and most of the students there are African-American, actually all but one. At the school I know it is about like 30% or like 40% or so, but at the after-school program, all but one student. So there was one white student and the rest were African-American, and it was really rough for me. I actually was accused of like being racist at one point. …Because there was a student there whose mom had given him a cell-phone, and the kids were really out of control, they would be like hitting each other,…I would be in charge of reading with two students and I couldn't even keep the two students from hitting each other, and we were not allowed, like, to touch the students, so we couldn't physically separate them. So I would be like "No, don't hit!" well, they wouldn't listen to me, and so then they would just hit each other, and the student would call his mom and be like 'This student hit me' and stuff,… Well, there was a student that had a cellphone and the cell-phone became like a big distraction, so I was like 'You can't have a cell-phone, you are in 1st grade' so I was like 'Put your cell-phone over here, if you need it…at the end of the day you can come and get it.' … that (the rule about having cellphones) was what I asked to the teacher 'Should he have a cell-phone?' and she was like 'No, put it in the corner'. So I just did what the supervisor said, put it in the corner and then the student

somehow got it back or something, and called his mom and was like 'The teacher wouldn't let me have my cell-phone' and stuff. … and she was just like, I mean, not like explicitly saying 'Oh you are racist', but just kind of saying like 'Why are you doing this to my son?' and the student too was like 'Oh, it is because I am black' and stuff like that. And then the mom was like 'Why are you taking it out on my kid?' I'm like 'well it is not because you are black, I mean all you guys are black' (laughs). I am not being mean to *ALL* of you. … And I just think it was like a bad mix of kids. But I just felt really, I felt really culturally inept because like I said, growing up I didn't have a lot of experience with African-American kids, so I couldn't really culturally relate to them,…it made me really upset,…because before I was kind of thinking of working with little kids, after that experience I was like 'Nah, definitely not. I'm teaching high school.'"

For Becky, good teaching requires respectful treatment with age-appropriate approach rather than focusing on (or blaming) race or culture:

"…in my French classroom every student in the class was Black and the teacher was White. She always seemed very stressed out and very frazzled and talked about all the behavioral problems she had with these kids, and I don't know if it was just that she was not a very well-organized and well-structured teacher or kids indeed had problems. …I was thinking, these are five year olds, they are just learning how to function in a classroom anyway. Because for a lot of the kids, kindergarten is the first time they have other kids to play with besides their brothers and sisters if they even have brothers and sisters. So I'd think that some of the behavioral problems would be just because of that, because they are not used to sharing, they are not used to sitting quietly, they are not used to raising their hands, they are not used to asking to go to the bathroom or to go for a drink,…because if you're home you don't have to ask for those things. … Like I said, the teacher always seemed kind of frazzled, so maybe it was just her lack of…structure added to the kids' misbehavior. And she was always yelling at them, she never approached the situation as like 'I'm going to treat you with respect, so you're going to treat me with respect.' She'd just yell at them all the time. So I just think that that was a big miss because the kids see her yelling at them and they were like why would they behave for somebody that's treating them badly."

Showing interest and remembering as the best motivators

Emily has learned about how to motivate students by constantly showing interest in their success and making it clear that she wants them to succeed. She shows her interest by asking questions like "OK, so how did you do on the test last week? 'So, have you been studying a lot?' or like 'Oh, man, you look tired today, what's going on?', and 'How did you do in your soccer game?' things like that…" But most important strategy for motivation is remembering. She doesn't think it comes across as fake as long as you sound genuine, be yourself and just try to "build a relationship from where you are".

One technique not mentioned by the other teachers is discouraging discrimination from happening in class, rather than only supporting or welcoming diversity. As Sarah points out: "Like I have some students that are of Mexican heritage but don't speak Spanish for example and other students will make fun of them, "Just like, you know, 'Oh, dude, you are Mexican, your last name is Hernandez. Why do you not speak Spanish?' and things like that, so I explain to my students how that is not OK, like why you should be understanding and accepting of everyone's experiences." However, instead of focusing on the diversity of their learners, these teachers mostly focus on the diversity within the Target Language (TL) culture, thus perhaps diverting attention from their immediate teaching context.

Asking about their views on "diversity," my original intention was to elicit these teachers' opinions about the diversity of students in their own classes and school, but unexpectedly for me, they focused very strongly on the diversity of the TL and TC that they were teaching, so this has become another important subtheme for analysis for me, which I will now present.

Addressing the diversity within the Target Language (TL) and Culture (TC)

All the participating teachers stress the importance of making sure students understand the diversity within the TL. Gillian says that when learning about the TC and how Spanish is spoken in all different cultures is extremely important, which is supported by what Emily elaborates: "I really want my students to understand 'this is the type of Spanish I am going to teach you' because no one told me like 'Oh, some people may use different vocab terms than you use' or 'some people may say this differently than you.' …So I want my students to understand that just because I am teaching them this way it is not the only way to learn Spanish, it is not the only Spanish out there, that is not the only common culture." Sarah gives an example of how she teaches language diversity in the Spanish language**:** "I did an activity with my class where I taught them how do say 'What's up?' but from different countries, so like in

Mexico they say like '¿Qué onda?' and in other countries they say like '¿Qué u bo?' and stuff. So I put the country down, and then we talked about how different countries have different ways of speaking. …and we also talked about formal versus informal speech…the good thing about the word "formal" in Spanish is "formal" and the word "informal" is "enformal" so I just wrote the words on the board and then, I said this in Spanish, if I go to someone and I say 'What's up?' is it formal or informal? And then I gave them some examples and I had them comment on them. So talking about how, just one person's way of speaking is not correct, it is just informal versus formal. I don't like to teach people that anyone's way of speaking is wrong, for example, if someone uses slang, if someone has an accent, you know, it is just a different way of speaking and it is informal. So we just made a chart showing formal and informal and stuff like that."

Deb says her priority is first and foremost to teach Spanish, so she focuses on the diversity of the TL cultures but it is difficult "because there are 22 Spanish-speaking countries, so that's a lot of different cultures to address, but I do the best I can with what I know in teaching the kids the different things about the different countries and the different ways to speak Spanish." Just like Deb, Becky talks about the variety of French-speaking cultures and how she tries to introduce her students to different Francophone countries via music: "I do music every Friday from around different French-speaking countries. And then kids learn about the artist, about the lyrics, what the lyrics mean, they learn about the condition of what's going on in that person's country or whatever. … But for this Friday, the day of silence, I did a French musician, she is actually from 1920s and 1930s, so she is from a long time ago, but she identified, even then, as an openly gay woman, and so, her song is called "my secret," so I had the kids listen to the song and kind of decided what they thought the secret might be, …and then we read a lot of literature about different French figures, who are either gay or have worked for gay rights throughout the centuries. And then we learned a little bit about the current state of politics in France and how they were really close to legalizing gay marriage…" As can be seen, she discusses diversity issues indirectly by using TL figures as perhaps another way of addressing the diversity of her students. She expects them to relate this TL diversity to their own diversity. In a shallower sense of diversity, Gina uses images of a variety of international people "rather than just German or American", while Deb uses visual aids to show the

variety within the TL: “I have huge posters showing the pictures of how these particular people in the community live and then I compare it to some other people that is in the same country that live differently, and I tell them not everybody in El Salvador lives with no doors and no floor with chickens running in and out…” Since Deb’s students have a higher SES, their international experiences are mostly touristic, and thus Deb goes out of her way to make sure they have a realistic view of the TL cultures: “Most of my students have passports and…have wealthy parents that take them on vacations all over the world so it is hard for them to have a realistic view of what it is like to live somewhere else because they are going to all-inclusive resorts, they are going on cruises. They might get a chance to use Spanish, but they might not know what it is like to walk through a market where everybody else buys their groceries every day, because they are in an all-inclusive resort. They don’t really get to see firsthand how people live, except for, for example, when they go with me.” So, as another technique to introduce them to such diversity, Deb takes them to South American countries every year as well. She is taking initiative to actively involve students in international diversity projects: “I was taking students to El Salvador for three years, so that was for two weeks at a time. And the kids stayed in host families in a small mountain community in El Salvador. They were actually staying with the farmers these peasants that were the leaders of the civil war. ... So I mean I have taken students there to live with the people that in the community, to see what it is like. They are extremely poor. Most houses don’t have indoor plumbing, so using the bathroom was going to an outhouse, taking showers was with a bucket and water, which many people in the world live like, but that’s the first time that my rich students got exposed to that. So when I explained to them what it is like to live in this other country, not having clean drinking water, they have no frame of reference. …But other than that, I think the kids were shocked, they were sad. But they really put things into perspective of how privileged they are and how they have clean,… they can drink water out of a faucet, whereas these people, and these children in this community they were drinking water that is pumped up from the local stream, which is where also some people throw their garbage. It just really opened their eyes to how differently people live in the world.” Similar to such authentic or “deep” insights into the TCs, Becky stresses the importance of using authentic materials to represent them: “Like, watching a movie that is produced in a West African country, not a movie ABOUT West Africa, but a movie that is MADE in there, you know.” For Becky watching a movie made in another country

makes "you see things from a different perspective, like through the eyes of that person from that country" So her students can symbolically interact with the TC putting themselves in the shoes of those other people. At this point, she also describes what she means by authentic: "for example, with France, there is like "Tintin" but those movies are so old and it is fun to show from a historical perspective, but I don't trust them as good resources for culture because it is so different than what is existing now." But, like Gillian and Sarah, using music stands out as a technique to handle diversity:

"…the biggest thing I do I guess is the music. Music is a lot easier to stay current because you can just go online and find it. But with the movies, they only come out every so often and to watch them would take me a couple of hours, you know, for me to find a song to share with my kids maybe takes me 15 minutes because I listen to three or four songs, make sure that they don't have swearwords or inappropriate content, and oh well I am done." Like Sarah, who mentions bringing some "cool" items from abroad to use in her teaching, Wendy mentions using real cultural articles (realia) in her classes as well: "We bring some music like traditional music and you can bring them some pop to show them that not everyone listens to that traditional stuff over there. Just like with Becky's concern about authenticity, Wendy wants to make sure her students get a holistic view of the TC: "To give them an accurate picture of show culture now and traditional culture a little bit and showing any kind of Chinese art, stuff like that." But Wendy believes the best way to do this is bringing native speakers into the class, and thus using the community funds of culture and knowledge: "I think the best thing to do is to bring people from the Chinese community in to talk about their specialties maybe there is somebody who does music stuff or something like that. Just so they get a lot of face-to-face contact with actual Chinese people because I am not Chinese myself." Bringing in such native perspectives is also supported by Becky, on the grounds that no matter how valuable her experience or opinions might be, her students still see them as the teacher teaching them, so someone in neutral status may have stronger impact and may make a deeper impression: "Two years ago I invited a girl who was studying in Senegal…and she taught them some dancing from Senegal, she brought a friend who taught them some Wolof, she brought another friend who taught them how to eat out of a bowl with their hands, and it was really interesting, and the kids had a great day. ... (The kids asked) SO MANY questions. And questions they would never ask me. Even though they know that if they ask me, they can totally get the answer, but they never ask me these

questions because they see me as this teacher, this stuffy older person and when they have these people who are in college, they are like 'Wow! They are only a few years ahead of me.'" This is a good example for how learners can be selective in whose symbols they are interacting with. Such process of symbolic interaction seems to be based also on the status of the speaker or presenter of the symbols. Becky also uses student questions to discuss cross-cultural differences:

"…Or sometimes kids will just ask a question, and suddenly you have a whole class discussion going about this one question that one kid asked. (For example) a student was asking me about bidets. And I was like 'OK, bidets are common across Europe…' and they were like 'What is that for?', and then we started talking about, like, toilets in Senegal, how they are like, squatter toilets and then we started talking about the toilets that I experienced in Japan, and pretty soon the entire chalkboard was full of drawings and toilets that I used around the world, but then they were like 'So, there was no toilet paper in Senegal?' I am like 'No, when you go to the bathroom, you use like these little water can like you wash yourself off.' They were like 'Oh, my Gosh! With your hands?' I am like 'Yes. You use your left hand because you only eat with your right hand because it is a Muslim country and it is inappropriate to eat with your left hand.' And soon we were having this whole topic of what hand you eat with, and why. You eat with that hand, and how it is not just specific to Senegal, but it is specific to a lot of Islamic followers and culture, and how we take it for granted, that you have a toilet that you sit on and there is toilet paper and wash your hands and not every country has the same kind of toilet, not every country provides toilet paper, not every country expects that you use soap and all that was just from one little question. And that probably took about half of my class period to talk about, but I was happy to talk about that because it was really fascinating for them, and… some of them were like 'Oh, that sounds really cool. I want to try that kind of toilet too. I want to try to use a bidet.' Or like 'Well, if I was traveling in that country, I would bring Kleenex with me so that I could still have what I need to do normally' and kind of thinking about what it would mean for them, if they were in that environment or situation." Just like watching movies, these type of comparisons seem to work for learners to interact with *the Other* symbolically via such examples. Although they look too superficial at first glance, these steretypical symbols are used to spark students' interest in the Other, and hopefully make them dig deeper and gain better understanding of it.

Becky drew attention to the difficulty experienced by students in symbolically interacting with people from other cultures because especially for young learners to imagine themselves in another culture is difficult. To solve this problem, Becky has students do a lot of acting: "(For example) kids create their own skits and stuff. And I have different clothes from around the world, whatever they want to wear, and obviously they think it is cheesy and they are like 'Oh, look at me, I am wearing a boubou.' So that's one step towards feeling like you can see yourself in a culture where people wear boubous normally…suddenly because they were touching this fabric and putting it on their body, they were like 'Wow!' like 'Maybe I will go to Senegal some day.'" Another strategy she uses is using emblematic symbols and try to get her students to view their selves through the eyes of others to open paths for them toward discovery: "I think for kids it is important to realize how other people view us and some kids are like 'Oh, French people hate us!' and I am like 'Why do you think that?', and talking a little bit about what kids think what other people see in us, or what kids think about us. And a lot of Japanese people assume that all Americans own guns, or we all have a ranch and have horses, And so just talking to kids and be like 'OK, so people in Japan assume that I had a gun.' And they were like 'Why would they think that?' and I am like "Well, OK let's think about news coverage and what people would see who lived in another country as news by America." And they were like 'Oh, yeah, it is all about the military.' And I am like 'Uh, uh. That's a big part of it.' …I think it is important for kids to realize that when we are looking at their culture we objectify them and turn it into a zoo or like a museum, people do the same thing to us and how it is important to get passed that by asking questions. Well, why do I assume that everybody in West Africa lives in a hut? And what can I do to find the reality? Like, how do I research it? Do I ask a teacher; do I go online, do I read a book, what do I do to learn about that?"

Like Becky, Sarah draws from her study abroad experience to discuss international diversity with her students: "I have a lot of stories (from my study abroad) that I can tell my students, like, in one of my classes I did a lesson about the public transportation in Peru and it ended up being really cool, interesting lesson (because)…like there is the fact that you don't pull a string, you just shout, like, you want to get off, there's someone that collects money, and just the fact that on the sides of the buses they are all painted colorfully, things like that." Such vignettes from classrooms helped me better understand how

these teachers present the diversity in the TL and TC and how they use them as a stepping stones for deeper discussions.

Connecting the study abroad experience to teaching

Regarding how these teachers relate their TC experiences to their current teaching practice, Becky says her approach is "behind-the-scenes," she does not try to relate them all to her lessons unless they come up naturally: "It's not really like I have "Japan Day" or like "Senegal Day" at school, but if appropriate teaching moment comes up where I can talk about it, I will. …my experience may direct the way that I approach teaching, but I don't necessarily teach ABOUT my experiences." Thus, it provides more of a conceptual framework for her, rather than the actual lesson content. However sometimes a connection to her experience just "bubbles up": "(students) were saying that 'Oh, French grammar is so complicated.' Like, you have to put the adjective AFTER the noun and so it is like 'a shirt large' versus 'a large shirt' and I was like 'Yeah, well, most languages are different than English in that respect.' And I was giving them an example of how Japanese is so different because the verb is always the last word of the sentence, and at the end the kids were like 'Wow! That's really cool!' and they were really excited about having learned that little bit about Japan and excited about knowing that I had those experiences." Similarly, rather than specific issues, Sarah talks about how her study abroad experience helped to increase her overall sensitivity toward other people's conditions and not to take things for granted: "I had a lot of experiences (abroad) where, for example, when I was enrolling kids in my class, a lot of the moms came to enrol their kids, and I just handed them a sheet of paper and would be like 'What's up?' and they would just look at me (in surprise) and (I would realize) 'OK this woman cannot read.' And so I was like 'I will help you fill it out.' …and so I learned to be a lot more sensitive about things like…not making assumptions about people's literacy or…not making any assumptions about…if a kid had breakfast in the morning. A lot of the kids come to school without breakfast,…empathizing with things that they might be going though, learning how to talk about it, not be scared about those issues, not be scared to be like 'Oh, so did you eat breakfast today?' or 'Were your parents fighting?' talk about it, but in a sensitive way, which I would not have felt comfortable with before I had that experience in Peru." While spending a year in Spain helped Emily to understand the diversity within Spanish-speaking culture the same

experience led Gillian to meet people of different backgrounds and prepared her to be more open-minded, so teaching at a school with so much diversity now doesn't "faze" her. Gina, on the other hand connects her study abroad experiences to "everything", because she cherishes them as life-changing and believes that she has "a different view of schools and the world than teachers, administrators, school counselors, and staff who have not had such an experience," which echoes the self-praise reflected in Becky's description of her own professional/ personal uniqueness: "I think most American teachers aren't aware of the diversity. I mean everybody knows about the achievement gap, everybody knows about overt racism, but I don't think most people know about institutional racism, I don't think most people know about white privilege, I don't think most people know how their own biases can get in the way of teaching children from different backgrounds than they are. …so I think that having lived abroad two different times, and having really focused, in my Masters and these conferences that I go to, on diversity issues, that I am just more aware…I have had a lot of students this year who get in trouble in EVERY SINGLE class. And then, they are like "this is the one single class that we don't get in trouble in." But I think it is because… I take them as they are, and if they are having a really bad day, I will be like "wow, you are having a really bad day, what's going on?" and they tell me what's going on, versus, just being like "You are in trouble, this, this, this" you know. So just like having them kind of examine themselves and figure out why their behaviors are… I have had several kids come up to me this year too, like "Ms. (Becky), guess what? I am gay!" I am like "OK." (Laughs).

Gina also uses her experiences abroad in the classroom in "a practical way", like initiating exchange programs to give her students an opportunity to meet peers from another country." These teachers can be considered as "gateopeners", who bring the Other into the classroom by creating a third cultural space, with multiple mental interactions and perspective-taking occurring simultaneously.

Intersection between language teaching and diversity

One major focus of this study is how language instruction and diversity meet in particular. Sarah uses the TL in class both to learn from her students and learn about them: "There is a little girl who is doing…kind of a game where you put your feet in the middle and you sing a song and if it lands on your foot, you have to take your foot out.…She was doing that in Spanish, so I had her teach me that game, and I had her teach me some hand games in Spanish, and stuff like that.…But every once in a *when I feel like a little bit*

of a learning time can be sacrificed, I will definitely...talk about how their weekend was, what they did, or if they did certain things. And also with my 4th graders, I use it as part of the lesson, like learning about them, we did a lesson about likes and dislikes, so they learned how to say 'Me gusta…and No me gusta…' and…I had some ideas like, you know, 'Do you like singing? Do you like dancing? Do you like reading?'…So, I guess trying to use the language in the lesson in order to learn more." (Emphasis added). According to Sarah, learning about the students to meet their needs is a separate process than teaching them per se. For Becky, language and diversity naturally intersect in the field of language teaching and this intersection is reading: "I do a lot of reading about diversity, we do a lot of reading about social justice, so for me, that's how I make language learning intersect with diversity issues. But I think you can do it in different ways." Gina thinks language learning helps students appreciate global diversity: "The other day a 9th grade student in German I said, 'Why doesn't everyone just learn English? It would be so much easier for everyone!' We had a short discussion about this in class, and I thought to myself that it was very good he was in a world language class." Thus, asking questions in the TL to learn more about the students and reading TL texts on diversity are two of the strategies mentioned as intersecting language and diversity, while language learning itself, at least for Gina, is at the cusp of diversity, a door opening to understanding another culture.

These teachers seem to be more comfortable talking about the diversity of the target language and culture they teach, rather than the diversity of their own immediate teaching contexts. In a similar vein, I teach English as a foreign language in my own country and I feel comfortable talking about Americans as the native speakers of English, but I wouldn't feel as comfortable talking about the Kurds in my own country. Especially Emily and Becky support descriptive pedagogy instead of a normative pne, by stressing the relativity of personal opinions and culture and the need to respect plurality of voices and perspectives. They even relativize the language they are teaching in terms of its degree of formality and the Hispanic culture speaking it, trying to make their students understand that there is no single "good" Spanish.

Discussing diversity issues and raising student awareness through diversity discussions are often used by these teachers but as pointed out by Deb, such discussions are limited in their scope by student background, age and language proficiency, to name a few.

Becky also stresses the relativity of her own opinions and tries to be impartial instead of coming across like "This is how it is for everybody around the world." She particularly cares about being authentic in her actions.Becky says she makes them symbolically interact with the Target Culture but it is ironical that language teachers do this for the target culture but not to address diversity within their own classrooms maybe. Due to the nature of their teaching subject, they focus on a geographically more removed and distant concept of diversity than the diversity in their immediate context, so in the case of WLE, it seems to be the reverse process. To meet diversity, these teachers use their own funds of cultural knowledge that they brought from their study abroad experiences, the cultural funds from the minority speakers in their own classes, the information they get from their colleagues about their students, from the paperwork about their students, their parents, the native speakers in the community, their own life experiences, and sometimes as in Emily's case, their boyfriends. They also benefit from the samples of cultural diversity represented by songs, movies, and cultural artifacts. However, especially in Deb's case, the examples they draw from are negative, teaching how not to address diversity. Despite so much focus on the diversity within TL/TCs, this focus does not seem to usually carry over to a focus on the diversity of the students in their own classrooms, which is justified by these teachers by beign language teachers so their need to focus on teaching the respective language first.

Table 4: Diversity Integration Beliefs

GINA	• People are ignorant and they need to be educated • Low SES correlates with being minority • Minority students' problems originate from home • Having a teacher from the same race/culture is helpful for students • Teachers should not be too positively discriminating • Learning foreign languages can help • School principals have a key role to lead institutional changes • The more understanding you reach about ANY culture, you won't be so fast to jump to conclusions
DEB	• Sometimes minority students pretend no to know answers (1 example) • School culture prevails over home culture • Some teachers are racist, inappropriate, unprofessional and offensive (with 3 examples) • Some minority parents are too aggressive (1 example)
BECKY	• everybody is special and should not be categorized by race or ethnicity • some classroom problems rise from age-related issues or mistreatment by teacher • there is self-segregation on the playground despite some crossover kids • the teacher should set out the guidelines and rules in the first class • if students are misbehaving it is for a reason
SARAH	• More structured teacher-centered activities are better to ensure discipline

Table 5: General Approaches and Specific Techniques

	GENERAL APPROACH TO DIVERSITY	SPECIFIC TECHNIQUES TO ADDRESS DIVERSITY	Specific Techniques to Teach Target Language/Culture Diversity
BECKY	*"…ultimately, you just have to evaluate each kid and rather than categorizing kids based on what they look like or based on their history, you need to get in there and figure out what they truly need. …So I feel like you have to try to get to know each student and then try to bring out the best qualities in them, and try to help them overcome the worst qualities…"*	*"…I don't necessarily OVERTLY infuse that (diversity) into my teaching, but I try to take certain ideas or certain thoughts and then bring them forth and have the kids talk about them, because I feel like I can get pretty preachy like "Do you guys know what white privilege is?" so they don't get it."* *"Not referring to mom and dad all the time, but families or not referring to…things that exclude certain groups of people."* *"Working with just a few kids at a time and see how they are interacting."*	*"Like, watching a movie that is produced in a West African country, not a movie ABOUT West Africa, but a movie that is MADE in there…"* *"Every Friday I do French music, which is another way to incorporate diversity because we find music from all over French-speaking countries…"*
GILLIAN	*"Every student learns differently…I feel it has to do with age more so than culture. But, I think that everyone learns differently and depending on the students in your class, you have to like adjust to that."* *"Not everyone who speaks Spanish come from the same background and I want to make that known. And when teaching culture lessons in class, I don't want to just teach about the festivals that happen, I want to teach about what life is like there too."*	*"I like to try to do things where everyone can be talking, everyone can be like either repeating me or answering my questions. …I really like to use songs with the kindergarteners because the kids all feel like involved then. A lot of kids especially at the young age learn well through music, I've discovered."*	
SARAH	*"I guess that is part of my philosophy that is trying to seeing the students vary in personalities and things like that as advantages and finding ways to harvest those personalities and use them."* *"basically learning as much as possible from my students and then using what I learn, in order to help them"* *"I don't want to be stereotyping my kids and basing my pedagogy off of stereotypes. I would rather base my pedagogy off of actual things that they have told me and things that I observe in class."* *"…channeling that energy to something productive is what I try to do."*	*"(I try to incorporate diversity) By talking about cultures, talking about different cultures, talking about history, talking about differences in language,… incorporating a lot of culture, a lot of music,…so definitely trying to incorporate a lot of songs and movements…which gets them to be able to be the center, express themselves. And I… ask for volunteers to help me lead the song, so…trying to put them into leadership roles." … "build a relationship with the kids as much as I can, so that I can learn more about them."* *"Trying to discourage students from making any comments that might offend the other students or trying to, kind of, open their knowledge to any understanding of each other. …I explain to my students how (discrimination) is not OK, like why you should be understanding and accepting of everyone's experiences."*	*"I feel like there is a lot of cultural knowledge that I would like to pass and… I brought back some cool items (from abroad) that I can use."*

DEB	*"I try not to make any kids feel bad, but I try to teach kids to embrace the differences in our society and that it is a good thing that everybody is different, and give them examples of why. So I try to bounce it to the best that I can."*	*"So it is important for me to be teaching (Spanish) and different aspects of culture to my students, because there is constantly things on the news with immigration and making my students aware of these different issues and not saying that everybody that speaks Spanish is here illegally. ... And what do you do with illegal immigrants and not just painting a bad picture that everybody is evil and everybody is here stealing jobs or you know just making my students more aware of what is going on in our society is important to me obviously"*	*"I do the best I can with what I know in teaching the kids, uhm, the different things about the different countries and the different ways to speak Spanish..." I talk to (my students), I show them pictures, I share stories, my experiences, I have huge posters showing the pictures of how these particular people in the community that we went to, live and then I compare it to some other people that is in the same country that live differently,*
EMILY	*"I think diversity is in our classroom, in our curriculum, whether we choose to acknowledge that or not so I feel like, it's a choice of perceiving it, and understanding it"* *"Every person is diverse, ...even within themselves, like I have a lot of diversity that a lot of people would be able to see that I have, by the way that I dress, by the way that I act, whatever, so I think, for me, where I stand on it is that everyone and everything is so much more complex than I like to think it is and the moment I try to simplify it, and try to make excuses for simplifying it, is the moment that I become ignorant."*	*"I have some kids from Middle East, some kids from Africa, some kids from South America, I have kids that speak two different languages at home, so there is diversity in there, and whether I choose to access it and use it as a resource, I think is different than saying, like, if I choose to insert diversity, so ways that I like to pick up on it and use it as a resource is by taking those students, for example, I'm a Spanish educator, so I use my heritage speakers in my classroom, and use them as models..."*	*"I had my heritage speakers, and they were like 'How do we say this?' and they would be like 'Lunes' and then the class was like 'Lunes!' instead of ME always saying it. ...taking up on them and having THEM lead,...if there is like a cultural awareness day for example,... I know they were celebrating some Latin holidays here, and...picking up on that, and recognizing the population within your school, and allowing them to teach the class about diversity days, like, Cinco de Mayo."*
GINA	*"I want students become more aware of the world outside of their community and the United States, and to gain an appreciation for diversity."* *"(Language learning) is the first step to gain an understanding of the world outside of one's own."*		*"In vocabulary flashcards I use pictures from a variety of people and backgrounds." ...* *"I have been trying to use more international images rather than just German or American"*
WENDY			*"Ethnicity is often tied into the studies of "So we try to give honest, like culture-based things...we call it bringing realia into the classroom and stuff like that." "To give them an accurate picture of show culture now and traditional culture a little bit and showing any kind of Chinese art, stuff like that. And bringing people from the local Chinese community in to talk."*

Table 6: Summary of General Approaches

	General Approach to Diversity	
Becky	• *Know students individually and bring out the best in them* • *Create a safe environment and make students fell comfortable* • *Give students voice and choice over classroom content* • *Be sincere, organize, authentic, fair and non-judgmental* • *Let students arrive their own conclusions*	
Gillian	• *Each student learns differently and teachers should adapt accordingly*	
Sarah	• *Learn from students and base pedagogy on their differences and strengths*	
Emily	• *Diversity exists whether we acknowledge or not*	
Techniques to Address Classroom Diversity		**Techniques to Address TL Diversity**
Becky	• *Using inclusive language/grabbing rich opportunities for conversation, following the path of interest/excitement* • *Structuring small group activities / organizing students to get to know them individually, not teaching to slower or faster students* • *Discussing issues that come up naturally and organically*	• *Online international classroom partnerships* • *Postcard exchange in TL* • *Bringing a native speaker into class* • *Cross-cultural comparisons and discussions based on student questions*
Deb	• *Making students more aware of what is going on in the society*	• *"I talk to them (my students), I show them pictures, I share stories, my experiences, I have huge posters showing the pictures of how these particular people in the community that we went to, live and then I compare it to some other people that is in the same country that live differently…"*
Wendy		• *Bringing a native speaker into class* • *Bringing TC artifacts to class*
Emily		• *Having students lead the class* • *Using heritage speakers in the classroom* • *Learning from and tapping to students' experiences*
Sarah		• *Bringing cultural TL artifacts into class*
Gina		• *Initiating student exchange programs*

THEME 2 LAYERS OF RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

Becky's ideological stance on racism

Becky thinks that as a day-to-day experience diversity is really interesting and exciting, because it allows people to constantly learn something new through people who are different. She seems to have a deep understanding of racism because she thinks that racism is "ignoring" the racism around by not standing up against it, not fighting it even if the person may never actively say or do anything racist. That's why in the general meaning of the word racist, she doesn't think that her family is racist, but in her definition of racist, she thinks they are racist. Although she does not consider herself racist and claims to really hate it, she still accepts the difference is real and how she treats people is affected by that: "I definitely notice a person's color if I see it. I definitely notice a person's outfit if they're dressed differently than I do." As a teacher she tries to promote diversity and to reduce discrimination, but at the same time she is aware that some of her own actions, perceptions and assumptions get in the way.

Being called "Racist" and how Becky handled it: Everybody has racist moments

Becky talks about how she handled being called racist by being consistent and clear about her behaviors and expectations: "At the beginning of the year, I was a new teacher at the school, so kids were kind of testing me, but there was a period of time over the course, …when I was called "racist" three or four times and finally I was just like 'All right, we are going to have a conversation about race RIGHT NOW, I think we need to get all this out on the table, because if you don't like what I am doing and if don't like how I am teaching or if you don't agree with the decisions I make, that's OK, but to say that I am doing it because I am racist is not acceptable if you can identify an example of me being racist, I really want to know that because that is never my goal.'" As a result of this clarification, her students has never called her racist again and she feels that they have taken a little more "ownership" for their actions and realize that "they can't just throw that word out there". This also led her students to take her more seriously as an instructor and it helped build trust as well. They realized that she wasn't just going to put deep issues up to the side, for example, some of the students would say 'Oh, that's gay!' and she would just stop class and take a few minutes, acknowledge what was said, and explain why it was inappropriate. So she used that as a teachable moment and she thinks that they respect her for that because she stands up for people. She is also well aware of her actions and ready

to account for them: "kids do take it (calling somebody racist) lightly. But the parents realize that when you take that step and call somebody racist you are really going into this whole new level of conversation that you may have to be ready to justify. If they could give an example or if they can give a concrete reason, then I would entirely WANT TO talk about that…I mean yes, racism does exist even a person who tries hard not to be a racist, I can't help that I have assumptions about certain people, I can't help that there are certain patterns that exist in the educational system I mean I can try to overcome them, but you know, everybody has racist moments, racist tendencies, even people of color."

Minorities' progress from poor to rich and from visible to invisible

Becky adopts a progressive view of being a minority in the US: "I think historically… minorities have always been…in poverty at first until they can get their bearings, before they can get grounded,…there's always been a black minority, but back before blacks were considered even equal to whites there were different emigrational minorities, like when the Irish people first got here, they were horribly poverty-stricken, they were very poor, they worked at the crappiest jobs, they had the worst go of it, and they were,…people in society looked at Irish people as if they were like the scum of all scum. And it was just basically because when they first came here, they stood out, they were different because their language is different, or their expertise was different than everybody else's. But as time's gone on, you don't look at an Irish person any different than you look at a Norwegian person or a Swiss person or German or whatever. And I think part of the reason that it happens so quickly for Irish people or for Polish people or any group that came over at that specific time is because of the color, everyone just being white, they don't stand out anymore. And after intermarriage a few times, you don't notice the difference. But I think with other minorities, like black minority, or Chinese minority, or whatever… it's harder because it's the visible minority, like…even after several generations, you're still going to be black, or you're still going to have black hair, you're still going to, you know, have different shaped mouth or different shaped eyes or something and so I think that in terms of poverty, like…I don't think that minorities should be given special treatment any more than anyone else, because if you're in poverty you're in poverty and if you need welfare you need welfare despite the color of your skin. And I think that the educational plans for the minority students helps and I feel that people who need jobs whether they're white or black or any other color, should get the same help, basically, because there're white people in poverty too. And like, honestly, right now in

the United States, I think the people that are in worst trouble, even worse than black people in poverty ARE the Mexican people in poverty, are the immigrants from Mexico, because at least black people have the English language, and at least, they have…probably been educated in the schools here, whereas Mexican immigrants who are here, don't have necessarily the English language, and they don't have the educational opportunities that everyone else does."

Gillian, on the other hand, categorizes minorities as voluntary and involuntary: "The voluntary minorities are the people who chose to come and live in US because they thought it would be better whereas involuntary are the ones whose past relatives moved here because they were kind of forced to, exile or whatever.. And so those are the kids that a lot of times want to try harder in school than the involuntary ones."

Types of Racism

Intentional and institutional racism

Regarding discrimination by colleagues, Becky believes that there is no teacher would be intentionally racist, but there is clearly an underlying institutional racism, and she underscores its structural nature. For example, having parent-teacher conferences at a certain time of day might prevent minority parents with multiple jobs from attending them.

Direct and indirect racism

Emily thinks that both direct and indirect racism are "prevalent" in the society. Sometimes people directly insult the minorities by making racist comments like "I did terribly in my senior year, so I checked the African-American box on my application, and I got in" but most other times they act indirectly racist by making assumptions about other people, until they seriously reflect on it. While admitting that such simplifications about others brings ignorance, Emily says that she can understand it to a certain extent because "it is hard to ask questions about ethnicity and race and diversity without simplifying it to a certain degree." According to Emily, part of this simplification or reduction involves learning of certain stereotypes such as automatically envisioning a white man when we think about an astronaut or imagining a white woman when we think of a teacher. She believes that this can only be changed by changing who gets those positions, but that would be very "complicated" because "there is a lot of things to change in order for that to happen."

Passive racism

Gina mentions how she cannot tolerate racist jokes, she is irritated and bothered by them and does not find them funny at all, and she usually reacts by commenting on them by saying how "awkward" they are. Like Emily, she associates passive racism with ignorance and stereotyping of the local people: "People are just very ignorant,…they think like if you are Muslim you are bad just because of what they see on TV and what they hear about the war and,…you hear about terrorists on TV and you think that everybody that has that one religion just *SEEM* stereotyped and so I think that that is common in small cities like this and…parents are ignorant and the students are, because…they only watch the CBS, the evening news with their parents and then that's it and they don't ever talk about it and they see these images in the media,…because they have never really left (Midwest state), and a lot of them are farmers or they can't afford to go anywhere and so they don't understand it at all, which is why I like being a teacher because I think it is really important to educate people in S-town." Gina and the other participants talk about these figures to show how they empathize with them while exemplifying the racist figures to show how they distance themselves from them, how they are unlike them. From the SI point of view, teachers are symbolically interacting through these real figures in their lives. Gina also talks about confederate flag hats worn by some people as racist symbols in her school, surprised that would really have happened in her town.

Indirect and anonymous racism

Echoing what Emily and Gina voice about indirect or passive racism, from her own lived experience Keisha confirms that a lot of (racism) is anonymous and hidden behind something "like racial slurs" or "yelling the n-word down the street." It is quite shocking for me as the researcher to realize how small the bubble she is forced to live in is and how "emotionally draining" it can be to be an African-American on the deceptively welcoming campus: "We choose not to frequent those places like bars and parties that predominantly white students go to. We choose to have house parties and congregate with our group, because you feel safe in those places. Like I have had friends targeted, I have had friends attacked, so we choose to not frequent those places. ….like I know on a Friday or Saturday night, I am not going to go walk on (the main street), I am not going to walk there, because I have had too many friends harassed and targeted because of their race and had slurs yelled at them. Sometimes when I have avoided it, I have still been called at, or still have had negative interactions." She also complains about being stereotyped: "I am a sociable person, I have conversations with a lot of people, so I WILL find friends to talk to, but like if hip-hop song or something associated with my

culture, people would expect me to be the stereotype, like know the song, know the dance,…I feel like the language in which people use to talk to me shifts, they talk about like 'coding', so sometimes minority populations code-switch to suit the white majority, but I have also experienced it in the reverse, whereas the white majority would talk to me almost like the,…I guess what they call the African-American vernacular, I don't like that word, but they would, like use 'Yo!' or 'Hey girl!' or, you know, be like, really touchy, be really like, you know, they wouldn't respect my space, and… I don't know how to describe it. … Treat me, interact with me as you would anyone else. I mean you don't have to treat me like your professor, but to use different language with me because you assume that I associate with this, like 'I have never even heard that word.'" Overall, Keisha's post-graduate experiences with race have been negative on the predominantly white campus, contrary to her experience in her hometown or even abroad which is "the craziest thing to realize" for her. Although the university does take pride in being very fair, welcoming and caring of multicultural values, she doesn't think that is "reflective in their students, the ideas that many students hold and feel free to express in the school newspapers and classrooms, in discussion groups." She really feels "disheartened" to be discredited for being here through affirmative action or when she walks down the main street and sees a representation of a lynching or a black Spiderman or when other students group up without her.

Institutional segregation

Sarah believes that the root cause of discrimination and the education gap lies with the tracking system at schools, which is more likely to place Latino students into less-advanced classes. She thinks that White and Asian students are overrepresented in Honors and AP classes and the African-American and Latino students are underrepresented. To prove her point, she gives an example from the PEOPLE program where she volunteers at: "All the students (in the program) are either first generation minorities or low-income students, and a lot of them are really successful. For example, that one student that I told you that had a really good relationship with an African-American tutor, she was not doing well but now she is doing a lot better now that she has someone to keep her in check and someone holding her accountable for schoolwork."

Intra-racial discrimination: A better shade of Black

In addition to the intercultural and interracial racism, Becky mentions that there is discrimination amongst minority communities as well. She hears some Black students say things like "Oh my god, she is so black!"

to imply that "they are a better class of black than ghetto." She has also noticed that there is discrimination between African-Americans versus people who have recently emigrated from Africa to the US in the last one or two generations (Africans). She gives an example of a Senegalese woman who thinks that African black culture is superior with its clear rules and accountability to the African-American subculture, which (according to her) lack those values (See Table 4).

Culturally irrelevant teachers and administrators

Deb complains about and the chronic cultural insensitivity in her school and expresses disappointment at her efforts failing to improve it over the years. Contrary to Becky's opinions about the effect of age difference between teaching staff, she thinks that the younger teachers are culturally more sensitive because there is at least 25 years of age difference between older teachers and younger teachers, and the older teachers have been teaching primarily white classrooms for the majority of their lives So they haven't really thought about these diversity issues, and "obviously the face of the US is changing, there is more and more immigrants and more and more people of different religions and different languages and cultures and everything is different now."

Deb seems to represent a positive professional self mostly via distancing herself from negative coworkers she observed at school. In Deb's experience as a teacher, she witnessed two distinct cases of discrimination. While she acted and filed complaints in the latter case, in the first case when she was a preservice teacher, she failed to react to her cooperating teacher's discriminatory attitude due to her pragmatic concerns and lack of knowledge at the time (See Appendix C). As can be seen here, pragmatic concerns or fears sometimes override the decision to act ethically. On the other hand, by saying that she was just a very annoying person, she relates the main problem to a character flaw, thus personalizing and localizing it. In the other instance involving a computer teacher who stereotyped and made fun of Native Americans in an offensive way, she brought it to her bosses' attention and caused "a big stink" about it.

Deb also gives an example of a coworker asking inappropriate questions (like if she was a legal citizen) to a Mexican teacher of Spanish, by citing how he was too direct or offensive toward people from other cultures by singling them out as being different and putting them on the spot (See Appendix C). As another negative figure, Deb goes on to criticize a French teacher in her school. Despite Deb's continuous attempts to explain to her that these students are gifted and need to be challenged, she kept on having very low expectations

from students, which led them to be unmotivated and bored, resulting in low student production. She describes her boss as "the queen of being culturally insensitive, because she makes a lot of insensitive and derisive comments on other cultures like how stinky the Chinese food that one of the teachers brings to school is. So every year Deb ranks her "zero" on the director survey at end of the year, and writes comments on why she thinks she is a horrible administrator but she is frustrated that this has changed nothing (See Appendix C).

Racist Perspectives from Family

Like Deb, Wendy talks about her experience with racism through some negative figures, in her case, her immediate family members. Although she warned her Chinese husband before he left China about the potential racism toward Asian men in the US, he had not believed her. But now after living in the US for three years "he would be the first one to tell you that it does make a difference." Wendy says her husband is being discriminated at his workplace because his white coworkers are taking advantage of him by giving him some of their own tasks to do. On the other hand, her husband and his Chinese coworkers hold a racist view toward African-Americans, claiming that it is the African-Americans that have special orders made, then change their minds at the last minute and refuse to pay for them; it is also African-Americans that steal food or pretend that they have paid for their food. She says that her husband does not want African-Americans as customers in the restaurant he works at. Her husband is also very prejudiced against them in traffic and when someone cuts him off he automatically assumes that that will be an African-American. To describe her reaction to these she says: "I'm always the one who is trying to talk people out of these ideas, you know. Like giving them counter examples. Because I don't feel comfortable labeling a group of people like that. I'm aware that there is always a group of people who are not well behaving in every group of people." The sad thing is that her husband used to like African-Americans because he loved basketball. Wendy's mother has formed a racist view of Asians as well, because long time ago she hosted a rich Chinese exchange student, who was very rude and spoiled who kept expressing dissatisfaction with her home-made dishes. Wendy's husband's cultural adjustment issues and his offensive comments about how Chinese men slapped their wives and got away with it added more fuel to this fire of bias. This indicates that contrary to the mainstream expectations, getting to know people from other cultures may not always result in positive approaches to them, as can be seen both in her Chinese husband and American mother's attitudes.

One additional comment made by Wendy regarding discrimination is the racism in Chinese textbooks. Especially the books from the Orientalist period of China (the early 1900s or late 1800s) are usually written from a Eurocentric perspective and sometimes they use "dehumanizing" language, viewing the Chinese people especially in more rural areas as "primitive" and describing them as "like animals."

Table 7: Types of Racism

	TYPES OF RACISM
BECKY	***Racism as ignoring*** *"I think racism can even be just ignoring – like, I feel like if somebody makes a racist comment and I don't say something to stand up for the person or culture that they commented on – it's almost being a racist myself because if I'm not doing anything to combat it, I'm not doing anything to help it."* *Intentional vs. Institutional racism* *"I don't think there are any teachers that would INTENTIONALLY be racist, but sometimes people's assumptions could be biased, sometimes people's experiences they had with certain students with certain populations have, kind of affected their view overall of groups of students in a negative way. But I don't think any teacher would INTENTIONALLY make a decision to be discriminatory or racist. But there definitely is an underlying institutional racism."* *"There is definitely discrimination amongst minority communities as well. ...kids will even say things like "Oh my god, she is so black!" to insinuate that they are a lower class of black than they are, or they are a better class of black than ghetto."*
GINA	***Passive racism*** *"I don't know why but like racist jokes for example I cannot stand jokes about whatever group of people. ... It is weird because like for example if it is some joke about, you know, like European cultures or something, I don't even know...Scottish, Irish and, something like three people went golfing and you know whatever. Those kinds of jokes are OK with me but I feel like if somebody is going to make a joke about a black person... I don't know why but I don't find them funny at all. I just don't. Like Dave Chappelle, he's funny as hell and I think if you are joking about your own race it is OK. But when I hear someone like especially a white person make a joke about Asians or any culture, like it really irritates me. I don't know why. Like even if it is just joking, and they don't really mean it, I don't know what it is but it really bothers me and so usually I will say something like that's not funny...like, that's kind of awkward."*
KEISHA	***Indirect racism*** *"I think some of it (racism) is indirect more so than direct. I would say that, like writing an article, some public display ...is more indirect, because you can put a name to it, but a lot of it is anonymous like racial slurs, yelling the n-word down the street, like I have been called that a few times... Like if it is in a crowd or if you are walking down the street, you don't know who said it, where it came from; I feel like a lot of it is hidden behind something.*
EMILY	***Indirect racism*** *"I think both direct and indirect racism are prevalent in our society, and I think if you would say otherwise, you are pretty ignorant."* *"For example, when you envision a lawyer, do you envision a white lawyer or do you envision a Black lawyer? That is indirect racism."* *"There is also indirect things (discrimination), for example, looking at someone by their color of skin, and NOT consciously thinking about it, but being like 'Oh I don't understand them because they look different than me, or like I am not going to be able to understand what they are saying because they look like they speak Spanish, and I don't understand their accent', without even speaking to them. So I think there is a lot of things that you are taught from whatever background you are from that you DO almost without realizing until one day something is brought to your attention, and you recognize to be more self-reflective."*
SARAH	***Institutional segregation*** *"There is institutional segregation through the tracking system, ...so I could totally see the person responsible for assigning students to whatever class they are in, is more likely to assign an Asian student to an advanced math class versus a Latino student, So I guess that is still one form of institutionalized segregation because it is not the students themselves that decide what classes to take, it is the teachers that assign them those classes."*

Table 8: Instances of Racism

	INSTANCES OF RACISM
BECKY	***Intra-racial Racism*** *"So, for example, I have tutored a woman from Senegal, and she is an American citizen at this point but she was raised in Senegal and her children have all been raised in America, but she acknowledges, she talks about black people all the time, and like 'Oh, well, you know my son shouldn't be hanging out with black people.' And I am like 'You are black! What are you saying?' you know (laughs), but I think it is because she is perceiving that some Americanized ghetto,....like street kind of culture, you know, and from her standpoint, her blackness her Africanness to her means that she is a very strict parent, and her children have very clear rules, and there is a great deal of accountability there, to her children and from her children to her and I think she perceives that the more Americanized black culture to not really have those same values, to not really have those same pillars of belief and so and I mean it is really interesting when she says something that I fringe ...She and her husband both work but neither of them have a high school or college or education, so technically they would be considered socio-economically disadvantaged, but despite that, they always have clean clothes and they always have a good meal on the table. So I don't think it is socio-economic, I just think it is strictly cultural, and she sees the Black American culture as inferior to the African black culture that she is from."*
GINA	***Emblematic Racism*** *"There are I think a few people who go to work in confederate flags in school, like they have hats with confederate flag on them. But, really it is just a few and they usually, I know there was one student, he said that he got his friends sitting at lunch, and his friend had a confederate flag like a hat on, and he got in trouble for it."*
KEISHA	***Racism Crops up Everywhere, Rearing Its Many Different Ugly Heads*** *"It is really disheartening when you read an article in the school newspaper where someone discredits you for being here. So it happens like every semester. You walk down (the main street) and you see a representation of a lynching. Like you see a black Spiderman, you see those things all the time. Here, students say that they only got there because they checked some box like African-American or whatever. Or you are here because of affirmative action, or when you pick groups to work in, of course you are the last person to...they already group up without you, they have their friend set. So that happens a lot. I have never experienced that throughout my time in DC, even when I studied abroad."*
EMILY	***Direct Racism*** *"For example,...there is something that is called like X University Student Confessions, and so like there is like a Facebook page,...and they confess things...and one of my friends, Keisha, found that this person wrote on there like 'Oh, I did terribly in my senior year, so I checked the African-American box on my application, and I got in'. ...(and) that was really insulting to Alicia and that was really insulting to ME, and I feel like that is a direct discrimination, a direct racist comment"* ***Thinking by Stereotypes*** *"Like, prime example: If you think of an astronaut, do you think of a white astronaut or a Black astronaut? White. Do I think Asian or do I think Caucasian? Caucasian. And it is by those images that I have seen, like why do I think that? Well, because the only astronauts that I have seen are usually white, Caucasian males. So that is why I think that way. So the only way to change that is by changing who gets those positions and that comes...that is really complicated, there is a lot of things to change in order for that to happen. Do I think of females as astronauts? No. I think of males as astronauts. That is not just racist, that is gender-specific. ...I mean just asking random questions like that, being like "OK, when I think of a teacher, do you think of a male or female?" So it is like, elementary school teacher, ESPECIALLY a female. You know what I mean? So it is like do I think science or math teachers, do I think male or female? I think MALE. Because males usually dominate those fields. Why is that? And it is so much more than just because all males are better at math. That is not true. So, it is understanding that, and understanding all the layers that compose that image that you have (which) is hard to get out of."*
DEB	*Figure 1: The School Principal* *Figure 2: The Cooperating Teacher* *Figure 3: The Offensive Computer Teacher* *Figure 4: The Overly-Inquisitive Coworker* *Figure 5: The Non-Challenging French Teacher (See Appendix C for the detailed stories)*
WENDY	*Example 1: Racism Toward Her Asian Husband* *Example 2: Husband's Racist View Toward African-Americans* *Example 3: Her (American) Mother's Racist View Toward Asians (See Appendix C for the detailed stories)*

THEME 3 PERCEIVED BEHAVIORAL DIFFERENCES AMONG CULTURES

The participants, especially Emily, Gillian and Gina avoid jumping to quick categorizations or simplifications and instead warily soften their descriptions of other cultures with "tend to," "some," "I guess" "some teachers think that" or "there is this idea of…" and also stress that it depends. For example, for Emily certain groups' cultural differences depend on how long they have been in the US, whether they are immigrants, and what their family background is: "So, even though they are from China, for example, where conformity is a really big thing, there is so much diversity within that, I have never been to China, I don't want to say that Chinese people are like this, however, there is this idea of...certain things that that country wants to promote. As United States we want to promote individualism and independence. That is what *WE* think is important, but yet in China there is a lot more conformity and there is a lot more emphasis on family, there is a lot more respect to elders than there is here." Emily also thinks that it is very important to consider an ethnic group's self-definition and positioning of itself vis-à-vis the larger cultural context (e.g. the Chinese in America), how they fit in with society and how they behave to others. She also emphasizes that one needs to be very careful about making culture-specific generalizations about a certain group (like Black people are outspoken) because that would be a racist comment. While she does notice "certain things from certain kids," she acknowledges the diversity within the groups themselves and she rejects saying "Oh, Chinese kids are always really subservient and super-nice to me." Thus, Emily seems to be aware of how certain groups are stereotyped, but she does not buy into them because those are too simplistic or superficial.

Supporting Emily's way of thinking, Gina expresses her complete respect for different cultures and thinks that people are the same but they act differently in different social situations (e.g. degree of formality). So, rather than attributing differences to ethnicity or race she foregrounds the power of the context. She thinks that especially teenagers "want to fit into the community of which they are a part." She also believes that due to the extreme ignorance of the local white people in S-town, she might not feel comfortable to act culturally like herself at school if she were a person of color. Thus bringing an inward look, she stresses the specific context as the external determinant of behavior.

While none of the teachers make strong categorizations among students based on their race or ethnicity and underscore their individuality, they still use some labels to express some distinctive characteristics. Becky says that although making some generalizations about them is possible, "it *IS* specific

to the kids." She still observes that her Asian students tend to be "shy and regimented in their schooling" and they are "more apt to follow by the guidelines" or clarify expectations for assignments. However, she finds the African-American students harder to classify because when she mentally labels them as "really outspoken" she meets some that are "really shy". Yet, she goes on to say that probably half of them are outspoken and the other half are actually "reserved."

Comparing them with the Caucasian ones, Deb labels her Asian students as "quieter, more studious and stricter" because they are pushed by their parents to have straight As, which is the most important thing for them. Especially the Chinese parents are "most on top of" their kids' grades, and they expect them to get nothing but the highest grade. While still very involved in their kids's education, the Indian parents are "a little bit less intense than the Chinese parents." Overall, Asian parents are "extremely demanding of their kids." Therefore, Asians at her school perfectly fit into that stereotype of high-achievers although she does not automatically see an Asian student and assume that he or she is going to be a high-achieving student.

Expressing her observation that the African-American kindergarten students are more "outspoken," Gillian puts forward her disclaimer that it does not have anything to do with race but rather it depends on the student because some of her Latino students are very intelligent, and some of them are struggling and another teacher works with a White girl and she is below her reading level." However, she further points out that some teachers buy into the stereotype that Asian-American students are smart and put a lot of pressure on them to be high achievers, they don't expect much from African-American students and it does not come as a surprise if they fail (which fulfills their prophesy).

Sarah seems to be more confident in her knowledge of the Hispanic culture and thus more comfortable about describing them. To her, Hispanic students "typically" follow their teacher's instructions but sometimes they act out "like making comments when the teacher is talking, or using bad words with each other, or getting off task." In addition, Hispanic parents care more about their kids' well behaving than their academic success. However, she has had a lot of discipline problems with her African-American students, and has noticed that "the girls are really loud, and really outgoing, can be a little bit of a drama sometimes, like getting into fights with each other."

Table 9: Behavioral Differences Among Cultures

	BEHAVIORAL DIFFERENCES AMONG CULTURES
BECKY	***African-American Students*** *"It is difficult to generalize African-American students because as soon as I am like 'Oh, yeah, some of them are really outspoken' and there are also some that are really shy and there are some that are very studious and there are some that are NOT studious, so I don't think I can generalize African-American students as easily."* ***Asian Students*** *"The students that I have, who are Hmong and Laotian, tend to have very strict families so as a result, they tend to be kind of shy and regimented in their schooling they know that if they are not doing what they need to and if I call home, their parents will be very hard on them about it, so they are more apt to, really follow by the guidelines or clarify my expectations to make sure that they are meeting them for an assignment."*
DEB	***Asian Students*** *"So as far as the Asian students are compared to Caucasian students, they tend to be quieter, and more studious, I guess. Their parents push them to have straight As, and straight As the most important thing ever. …But the Asian students are a lot more strict. …Their parents are really really involved, and if I don't give their kids A plus, then they will argue. …I would say the Chinese parents are the ones that are most on top of their students' grades….Asian parents are for the most part are extremely demanding of their kids, and they make them do a lot of stuff."* *"Most Hmong students don't come from extremely wealthy parents. Because they came here as refugees and they started with very little."*
GILLIAN	***African-American vs. Asian Students*** *"I noticed in my kindergarten class, the African-American students are more outspoken. ...Not all of them but a lot of (the teachers) think that Asian-American students are smart because that's the stereotype. Whereas they might not expect very much of their African-American students because they are not seen as being smart so that's a lot of pressure on those kids to either do very well or on the other hand if they are like, if as an Asian-American student I imagine that they feel pressure to do well and when they don't, people are like 'what's wrong with you'. But, when they do well, they aren't really acknowledged for it because that's what expected. On the other hand, an African-American student who does well would be like 'Wow, good for you, you're different like you are a stand-out.' And then if they fail, it's kind of to be expected. And that's really sad because it shouldn't be that way."*
SARAH	***Hispanic Students*** *"Obviously the Hispanic culture is the culture that I know the most about and I feel like the Hispanic students tend to be…typically focused on doing what the teacher says but also can tend to act out,…like making comments when the teacher is talking, or using bad words with each other, or getting off task, like that…so, it kind of depends. …the (Hispanic parents) are culturally very interested in their kids' well behaving, not so much in academic success. Like, in my bilingual class last semester, the parents didn't really care how their kids were in doing in math and stuff, they were like 'Is he behaving?' and 'How's his handwriting?' things like that."* *"As far as my African-American students, I have noticed that the girls are really loud, and really outgoing, can be a little bit of a drama sometimes, like getting into fights with each other…"*
GINA	*"I see differences in the way people of these cultures act in social situations--formal and informal, inside of school and out. Overall I think that people are the same, but people act different in a variety of situations. I might guess that students of color in might act differently in the S. school district than in school districts with more diversity, as would white students. I think generally speaking people want to fit into the community of which they are a part, especially teenagers."*
EMILY	*"I think it is important to understand...for your students "OK, they might be Chinese, but are they Chinese-American, or are they Chinese? How do they see themselves, and how do they see THEIR culture along with American culture?" because there is ALSO the idea of Chinese-American, OK well, they are not really AMERICAN, they are not really CHINESE, they an integration of both, and how does that fit in with society and how do they behave to me? So I DO see...certain things from certain kids, HOWEVER, I know that there is so much diversity WITHIN that one minority that I am not going to say like 'Oh, Chinese kids are always really subservient and super-nice to me,' that is not true. …I think it is important to toe the line carefully between that (culture-specific traits) and making some racist comment because they are Black, they are going to be outspoken, I have WHITE students that are outspoken, I have WHITE students who cause a BIG RUCKUS in my class, that I have to take in time off, all the time."*

THEME 4 AWARENESS OF SELF: WHITENESS

Whiteness as an advantage

For Gillian, Whiteness is taken for granted, she is usually not conscious of it and she doesn't get aware of it until she thinks about it. Although they do not have to be constantly reminded of their skin color, all the White female teachers accept that being White has been helpful to them in many ways, either in the form of having opportunities like job security due to being White, or having had no obstacles that other people might have had. For Becky and Emily, not having to worry about their skin color is one of the biggest privileges that come with being White. Deb also adds another advantage of not being feared by others. Pointing out the dominance of white teachers in her school, Becky confirms the advantage of being white in education in particular as well. Emily mentions appearance as an additional, complementary dimension to her skin color: "The way that I look, the way that I act definitely reflects certain things to certain people, like, if I show up looking like this (formal) I look professional, if I show up in sweatpants, they would be like 'What kind of a teacher is that?' So understanding that not only because I am white, but also the fact that I dress professionally…the fact that 'Oh, I am not dressing too loud or too obnoxious' then I think that plays into how people see me." Becky's story illustrates a turning point which opens her eyes to racial profiling and makes her fully aware of her skin color:

"One of the most eye-opening experiences I have ever had was walking into Walgreen's, with a group of students, and I just go walking in, and immediately they all drop their backpacks on the ground and then one them comes with me and the other two keep standing there and I look back and like 'What are you doing?' and they are just like 'Oh well, we are not allowed,…more than one of us here.' And I was like 'What are you talking about?' and like 'Oh, they are afraid of we are going to steal stuff.' I was like "What?" Like never in my life have I ever even had to *THINK* about not walking into store where I wanted to buy something and worry about somebody assuming that I would be stealing something because I am white. I was with three African-American students and I was like 'No!' I am like 'Pick up your backpacks and walk with me, I am not going to let this store bully you guys.' This story also shows how she promptly reacted to

this unfair treatment. Despite this recognition of the advantages of being white, the teachers talk about some drawbacks as well.

Whiteness as a disadvantage

Teachers mention three main types of underprivileges or potential threats associated with being white: difficulties in employment, ensuring financial support and admission to higher education. Emily also mentions about having to be careful about saying certain things because she is white. Growing up Becky did not benefit from being white, because almost everybody around her was white as well (So she initially relativized her Whiteness by making it context-dependent). But talking about how she was denied financial assistance at the university, because she is not a member of the underrepresented groups, she also points out that she is not complaining about this, because she is happy that she had to work for her school and she is able to say that nobody paid for her college, and nobody was giving her "handouts" (still indicating her resentment). But at the same time she clearly voices her frustration about how her freshman roommate was able to get admission to an upper-level university because "she is half-Mexican," despite the fact that her roommate's ACT score was only a 21 compared to her 30. "So, if I had 21 on my ACT, if I'd had all the same academic standing as she had, she would've gotten in X (Top 10) University, and I wouldn't have. Because I'm white and because she's half-Mexican." This indicates a resentment against positive discrimination, almost complaining about being discriminated against for being white. But, on the other hand, she seems to want to balance her negative statements with a supportive rationalization as well: "But I feel like, being one of the ethnicities is not necessarily going to be detrimental, because there *ARE* programs for people who are minorities and there *ARE* programs for people who don't have as much money to help advance, there are programs for people who need special English help to help them advance. And I think that they're good, because I feel like there does need to be more diversity so I don't complain about it like at first it was frustrating but I still got in this school, so why do I worry, like if I was one of those kids that didn't get in the college, maybe I'd be kind of mad about it but I got in the college, so I'm fine with it. …I think that those programs are in a way necessary to improve the overall diversity and to improve the acceptance of minorities in higher education and to improve the acceptance of minorities in high achieving jobs…And if these students weren't motivated and they didn't deserve to get in the college, then they probably wouldn't

have applied anyway?" Emily feels she needs to be careful about her statements because she represents her "whole group of people." In the same way, if she hears a Black person say something and if that feeds into the stereotype that has on her mind about Black people, then she is going to "assume that that person's speaking for their whole race." In this way she seems to follow a reductionist perspective both about herself and others. Feeling a belonging to the white people, she also needs to think and get outside of the white box, and not be so white to be able to be fair. So, compared to Becky, Emily does not take the step of taking the Other's perspective, and just keeps her position by staying in her own comfort zone.

While admitting taking advantage of and benefiting from white privilege, Emily also stresses that she does not want that to continue, which brings up an interesting and serious dilemma: "So how do I work to close the gap, while also still trying to keep my head above water, how does that really work?" While being White is accepted as an "unfair" privilege and a "sad truth" (as labeled by Becky), there is also an undercurrent dilemma of working against self because being culturally responsive may also involve simultaneously working to undermine white interests. These teachers also mentioned Whiteness as disadvantage causing difficulty in teaching diverse students and appropriating the Other. For example Sarah talked about how she felt "awkward" talking to one of her Latino students about how her parents paid her college and rent, because he worked and paid for all his expenses. Gillian talks about how she fits the stereotypical teacher norm by both being female and white, but at the same time she feels disadvantaged because she does not have a common cultural background with many students. Emily highlights the obligation that she feels to be aware of other cultures because she hasn't had a lot of experience, for example, with African-Americans and she believes that having a lot of diversity experience "does affect how you currently view things." Thus, these white teachers see their whiteness as a shortcoming in meeting diverse student needs that needs to be compensated.

Compensating for being White: Closing the education gap

Emily says that she is trying to close the cultural gap between herself and her students by trying to know her students, learn more about their diversity. Becky uses honesty as a strategy of building trust and underscores not making assumptions about students as the most important principle. Another important principle for her is being really honest with yourself and honest with students.

Sarah's strategy to compensate her Whiteness is showing interest in other cultures and dedication of self to closing the education gap. She exemplifies her interest by saying "when I was in Peru I started going to the dangerous neighborhoods, going to the slums, …just there was a culture of poor people in Latin America so I got really involved with that, with the music and things like that. And she illustrates her dedication: "like I was tutoring this student from Honduras 8 hours a week, going to his classes with him and everything…" Talking about how to build relationships with African-American students as a white teacher Emily stresses the importance of being natural: "There was one particularly difficult student that has a lot of attitude and things like that and pretty low motivation too, and this student was African-American and there was another African-American tutor and she works so well with this tutor, and this tutor has been so effective with this student because they kind of have a similar culture and they can use that, they can talk…and this tutor has worked so well with her because she kind of has a sense of humor and they have a similar way of interacting with one another, just the way of talking to each other…This student identifies with her and they would be like 'Girl, why are you doing this?' and stuff that I wouldn't be comfortable talking about, obviously that is not how I talk, that wouldn't be natural. …So, I feel like this one tutor…can communicate with the students in a certain way that I would never feel comfortable doing, for example being like "Why you did not do this?" like, just being loud and things like that…" Giving this example, Emily seems to surrender to her limitation (being White) from the very beginning, apparently accepting it as a given.

Table 10: Pros and Cons of Being White and White Compensation

	WHITENESS AS AN ADVANTAGE	WHITENESS AS A DISADVANTAGE	COMPENSATING FOR BEING A WHITE TEACHER
BECKY	*"I think it is a privilege in a sense like I have never had to worry about getting a job and I have never had to worry about being suspected of dishonesty or anything, as a result of the color of my skin."* *"I feel like in the overall grand scheme of things, being white doesn't hurt me"*	*"Underprivileged because…you look for scholarships, you have to be poor, you have to be a minority,…I am not poor, I'm not a minority, so there's no money for me. And I tried to get financial aid, and I can't get financial aid because my parents make too much money. They don't give me money for college, so I have to work three jobs."* *"I don't remember what the name of the law was called. But if you're a minority, the schools have to have a certain amount of diversity, and so if you're a minority student, even if your grades aren't as good as somebody else's, you can still get in."*	*"in building relationships with students as a white person, number one: I have to be really careful not to make assumptions about their lives, yeah there are certain stereotypes and there are certain data that exist about students of color and we have to look at them and we have to be aware of it; we can't assume that all students of color fit in a certain cookie-cutter mold. We can't assume that they all have reading issues, or they all have lower socioeconomic status and so on…and…you have to be really honest with yourself and honest with students about where you are coming from because they might not feel safer around you, because maybe their experiences with white people have not always been positive, maybe they have felt racism or perceived racism in a way that we are not even aware of."*
GILLIAN	*"I've never really got called 'White'. If someone explains a person to me that I have never met, if they don't say "he was Black and this and that", I don't think that he was Black. …I guess that's just something that I've taken for granted especially because I grew up in such a small town that everyone was white."*	*"But at the same time I feel kind of disadvantaged because I don't share a cultural background with a lot of the students that I might teach if I teach in the big city."*	
SARAH		*"I have had…so many advantages which can make it almost difficult working with my students like I had one student, who was an immigrant from Honduras, his parents had both died. He had come here alone and somehow ended up in M-town and he was working in a full-time job and as well as going to*	*"I'm definitely trying to make up for that by showing my interest in other cultures and showing my interest in popular culture… So I think, just showing interest in culture can make up A LOT for your having a different background."*

		high school. So then he was like 'So who pays for your college?' 'My parents.' 'Who pays for your rent?' 'Uh, my parents.' So I felt like that was kind of an awkward moment." (Laughs).	*"And also…dedicating yourself too, you know I can't change the fact that I was born into privilege but I can dedicate myself to trying to close the education gap, to trying to help people that are not advantaged*
DEB	*""Any Caucasian person who says that they don't feel lucky (for being white) is lying. I can walk down the street in the middle of the night, and nobody is going to cross to the other side of the street from me, nobody is going to fear that I am going to shoot them."*	*"I don't know if (being White) helps me get a job necessarily, especially now with so many schools and employers trying to diversify their staff. Being white, that could hurt me. Somebody else could potentially get the job, who isn't white."*	
EMILY	*"I can go by Band-Aids that are my skin color and that is flesh-tone, then I don't worry about that. Like there is white privilege there all the time, and I understand that and I take advantage of it because I naturally can move throughout things and not worry that my race is going to hinder me and that is a privilege."*	*"I think sometimes if I say certain things I have to be really careful because I am white. So it can come off in a really bad way because it reflects upon my whole group of people."* *"Sometimes I do feel kind of like deficient, as being Caucasian, because I cannot… with my Latino students I CAN, I can be like 'Oh, did you hear this newest song?' you know. But I can't, as far as being culturally…for a White person. Like a White person can appropriate, like the Latino culture, to a certain extent and feel confident with it, but having been born where I was born, in a wealthy neighborhood and things like that, I can probably never appropriate the African-American culture because it has a lot to do with your past, a lot to do with the way you talk, a lot to do with skin color.*	*"Not just accepting the privilege and taking advantage of being White, and disregarding all other people, but also working to close the gap."* *"There is so much diversity within that that you don't just want to leave it to just one thing it is like saying someone is American, OK, what does that even mean? So, knowing your students, and knowing that people you talk to and getting to know them allows you to know more about their diversity."*

THEME 5 IMPORTANCE OF CONTEXT AND LOCATION

The homogeneity versus heterogeneity of the classroom affects how these teachers would address diversity. Becky says that classroom demographics is very important in teaching diversity because if the classroom itself is not very diverse, students' perspectives may not be diverse, but the teacher can still "set the stage" and "initiate" discussions about other cultures, at the same time making sure that they say is not "necessarily the truth." She also points out the importance of having the immediate presence of culturally different students in the classroom because in the absence of such students the teacher may not be as aware of her/his remarks being "hurtful." However, she also believes that culturally relevant conversations must be had with the students regardless of the classroom composition. So Becky focuses on initiating discussions and raising awareness about diversity without imposing her views on students and she wants them to critically approach to what their teachers say. Furthermore, she does not think that most teachers in smaller towns have much "awareness or concern" about diversity, so they may judge her for paying too much attention to it. Being aware of such potential lack of understanding from her small-town colleagues, Becky seems adamant to stand her ground for what she believes to be right. Similarly, Emily firmly believes that a teacher needs to be consistent in her actions and should not change her teaching style across different contexts. While she accepts that every situation is different, she believes that "a positive consistency is good." Just like Becky, she thinks that classroom demographics is important because students are affected by their classmates and who they interact with. So, unlike Becky, she is looking at the issue from students' perspective. She says that she maintains her consistency across different settings by finding her ideology, figuring out her approach to education, "being a reflective practitioner" and eliciting colleagues' feedback on her teaching.

Deb differentiates between teaching settings by comparing the rural versus urban and public versus private schools. She expects less diversity in rural towns than the urban ones and more diversity in public schools than the private ones. Adding another dimension, Sarah mentions that within the same city there may be remarkable demographic differences depending on the specific neighborhood, and she imagines that if she taught "in a predominantly White class" she would address diversity "by talking about different cultures, history and differences in language" on the basis of her experience and books. But she would use "a

lot of songs and movements" if she had predominantly African-American students. Like Becky, she favors discussions of diversity with students and using their cultural funds to be relevant to them, but unlike Becky she does not seem as concerned about acknowledging the subjectivity of her own opinions and equally accepting her students' opinions. Looking at diversity from the student perspective like Emily, Gillian thinks that learners in a more rural town may not have much experience of diversity and "they may not know how to handle it." She thinks that small towns in the South might be very different from her hometown, which is welcoming of culturally different people, but she is cautious not to make any bold statements because she has not had any experience of living in such a place.

Unlike all other teachers, Gina is very positive about imagining herself teaching in a more urban setting because she anticipates that while understanding the cultural dynamics of this new setting would take some time and be "challenging," it would also be "enjoyable" because she "enjoys diversity." So, increased student diversity is not a problem but an opportunity for professional growth for her.

Table 11: Importance of Location and Context

	IMPORTANCE OF LOCATION AND CONTEXT
BECKY	*"You can still initiate students' perspectives on things, but BECAUSE there is not much diversity existing in your classroom, the perspectives are not going to be necessarily as diverse. So I would have to find more ways of infusing diversity into class, because it wouldn't be as natural in the conversation…. And in an environment where it is a lot more homogenous, I think you have to really help kids understand why you have to be careful. Because if there is a kid in our class who is different than you, and you say something you can directly see that you might be offending them. But if you are in a c lass with a bunch of people that look like you and talk like you and come from families that are similar to yours, you may not be as aware that what you are saying could be perceived as hurtful or discriminatory. So just kind of helping kids to be aware. But I think that it is equally important to have the same conversations in different areas."*
DEB	*"If I was in a rural town there would be less diversity... As far as urban schools, if I were to be in the public school in M-town it would still be more diverse as far as having African-American students and Hispanic students. So the racial diversity would be totally different. I would have more Black students and more Hispanic students, but I would have less Asian students because many of the Asian students here go to private schools."*
GILLIAN	*"I think students (in a more rural town) won't have experiences of much diversity probably and so when faced with it, they might not k now how to handle it."*
SARAH	*"If I was on the North side of Chicago, like predominantly White class, I would try to incorporate d iversity into my lessons by talking about different cultures, talking about history, talking about differences in language…based on my experience and also for example we could talk about historical things, just based on books or history, incorporating a lot of culture, a lot of music, a lot of things like that to talk about …And if I was on the South side…I would definitely try to incorporate a lot of songs and movements, and things like that."*
GINA	*"It would certainly be a change from what I am used to if I were in a more urban setting. I feel like it would take time to understand the dynamics of the different student cultures, and I imagine it would be somewhat challenging at first. I can also see the potential for it to be enjoyable, since I enjoy diversity"*
EMILY	*"If I taught in my rural setting there is only one Black student in the school that I am going to work for. So, that will definitely affect my population of students. I mean you have to understand your demographics because you have to understand your students and who they ARE is affected by what they are around and who they interact with, because they change".*

THEME 6 REPRESENTATION OF DIVERSITY IN MEDIA

Sarah and Becky do not watch TV at all. Especially Sarah does not care about media as much as her own personal experiences and relationships, so media is not one of the main sources of information to draw from for her diversity knowledge. None of the teachers believe that diversity is fairly represented in the media. When I asked them for their opinions about media, it immediately triggered them to talk at length about stereotyping. Becky, Deb, Emily, Gillian, and Sarah think that media promotes and reinforces stereotypes, while Gina points to the absence of people of color in the media. Gillian talks about the indirect representation of minorities and her observation that even when they are represented, that is very stereotypical, like "smart Asian kid" or "Black basketball player" or simply as a "token minority." Sarah says that media is trying "not to appear racist" by showing such token minorities. Emily criticizes the superficiality of the presented diversity on TV and draws attention to the ownership of the channels themselves, pointing to the fact that their owners are predominantly White. She also questions the very nature of diversity, saying that "there is a certain look about diversity that we *THINK* is diversity, but really isn't." She gives an example about how the people watching the Spanish telenovelas on the Spanish-speaking channels on TV think that those are from Spain but none of them actually are. She emphasizes that the Spanish language by itself does not represent the whole diversity within Spanish culture, especially when only "certain things" are presented through the media. All of these teachers seem to be very aware and critical of the media content presented to them. In addition to the issues brought up by the other participants, Becky talks about her experience abroad and brings in a TC (Senegalese) perspective to the discussion of the role of media in diversity. She gives the example of how the depiction of African-American rap singers in fancy cars wearing "gold chains" and dancers in "booty shorts" on the Senegalese MTV was taken literally by the local people as the true representation of all US Americans, particularly of African-Americans despite her repeated attempts to counter them by pointing to her own clothing style. Although she tried to convince them that not the music videos but she represented the real mainstream America by saying "this *IS* me, this *IS* America," they did not believe her much. This seems to be an interesting point because it indicates that media images may be more powerful to some people than even real life examples (e.g. Becky) right in front

of them. Furthermore, Becky says that even within the African-American communities in the US the African-American children watching these TV channels look up to these MTV celebrities as role models, for lack of better ones and they see themselves as celebrities or professional athletes instead of saying "Oh, I want to become a neuroscientist." Therefore, besides contributing to the cross-continental misrepresentation of certain subcultures (e.g. African-American), media inflicts further harm by presenting a limited number of inappropriate role models. Becky goes on to criticize the way media exemplifies and normalizes violent behavior for the public, as in the case of the R&B artist Chris Brown, indicating how her teenage female students idolize him and justify his violence toward his wife Rihanna. So, in a way media teaches these children that "violence is totally fine" and they can get away with it themselves just like Chris Brown did. Becky underscores that she is not only talking about physical violence but "violence against race in general, whether it is through racism, or through negative portrayal." She finds it very sad that such violence is perceived as "OK" by her students because of the media. Overall, the participants talk about three detrimental effects of media, especially on young learners: a) Non-presentation or invisibilization of minorities, b) Selective presentation or stereotyping of minorities (Deb mentions how the show 'Jersey Shore' depicts NJ people that always get drunk and put on face-tans; Gillian talks about Latinos being systematically stereotyped as janitors, groundskeepers or restaurant workers; Emily points out the way Puerto Ricans are portrayed as speaking very fast and loving to party and Cubans as really loud and obnoxious), and c) Presentation of token minorities.

To sum up, these teachers think that media presents us the symbols to think through and interact with, which only helps reproduce and perpetuate the stereotypes by (partially) shaping our imagination and perception of others.

Table 12: Diversity in the Media

	DIVERSITY IN MEDIA
BECKY	*"I think as to the question how is diversity represented in mainstream media, I don't think that true diversity is really well represented. I mean in sit-come and reality shows it is all kind of a caricature of diversity you know you have got, if you look at a television show, even if the show is predominantly like black people, like talking about black families something it is going to be stereotypical, you know it is not going to be necessarily the reality. I mean I haven't seen legitimately anything on TV for about 10 years so it is not fair for me to really talk about those TV stations,.... but I think that...kind of perpetuation of stereotypes is really toxic to children and to families that watch it. I mean if you watch it that's one thing, but if that's what you assume is the reality and that's what you think that African-American condition really is, if you accept that without questioning it, then it is really sad."*
DEB	*TV is just promoting cultural stereotypes. I don't watch a lot of those channels, but "Jersey Shore" for example, just shows one group of people who parties and gets drunk and wasted and puts on face tans all the time, but that is not representative of all of New Jersey, for example. Anything that is on TV is just promoting a stereotype"*
GILLIAN	*"I think a lot of times it's very stereotypical. Like the smart Asian kid or the black basketball player. ...which is presented in the US mainstream culture mostly indirectly. I don't think they ever explicitly would say "Oh..." ...But, I also noticed that like a lot of advertisements say always have to have the one token minority. ...Like a lot of times in a commercial there will be a bunch of white kids and the one little Asian boy or something...But I get kind of used to it which is sad...(the Hispanic or Latino people) They are not very represented as far as that I've seen like I hardly ever see Latino people. ...I just think they're NOT (represented).*
SARAH	*"I feel like media in general is trying to, as hard as possible, to not appear racist. So I feel like racism in this country is more underground, subtle, and kind of hidden, so it is hard to point out. ...Definitely, in the media, if someone is of different race, it is like a theme. There is a TV show and there is a Black person, like the idea of being a token Black person, I guess they use a lot of stereotypes. I just don't focus a lot of my time and energy on the media. I don't really pay a lot of attention to it and I don't really think a lot about it. I think more about my own personal experiences and my own relationships and the things that I have witnessed."*
GINA	*"I notice that the local evening news rarely shows people of color whether it is in a positive or negative light. It seems that when crimes are reported that are committed against white people, but I can't remember the last time I saw a report of a crime being committed against a person of color. I think overall that white people have more power and say in society, and this is also reflected in the media, especially in areas like where I live in which there is a larger population of whites."*
EMILY	*"in our minds, we are like 'Oh, that is Spanish, because they are speaking Spanish' but understanding that Spanish culture and diversity is different from the Spanish language. And that is hard when you are only presented certain things through the media, most channels are owned by white people. So, understanding like there is like these group of, like 5 or 6 groups that own all these channels, majority of the leaders are white."*

THEME 7 PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

When I asked the teachers about what they have been doing to improve themselves professionally, Deb talked about the general improvement of her teaching technique, and not diversity, saying that simply having more time to prepare for her classes has helped increase the quality of her teaching. She thinks that with more experience, now she is better at "time management and creating lesson plans, having reasonable expectations from students." What she means by "reasonable expectations" is "giving them an appropriate amount of things to do, not too little and not too much work." She has also been trying to make her classes more interesting by doing "so much research on different issues" and she has collected a comprehensive archive "of literature and stories, and different places where I can send kids to look to read the news." She also thinks that her website is "awesome". She seems to be proud to have so many materials now to share with her students that she "didn't even know when (she) started." More specific to diversity, Becky says she attends a lot of conferences about ethnic or sexual orientation diversity, equity, but she mostly focuses on African-American topics "just because that's the majority of my students, but there is also a pretty decent population of Hmong and Laotian students, and so if there are conferences about people from those cultures, I try to go." Exemplifying what she has been learning regarding diversity, Emily says that she has been learning a lot from her students: "I have a student in my kindergarten class, who speaks Hebrew, and I have learned more about that whole aspect than I ever have before and understanding like 'Oh well, there is like bacon on this, oh but you know you can't have that'... because the first interaction that I had was when she said something in Hebrew, and I would be like 'Oh, you speak Hebrew, why do you speak Hebrew?' (She was like) 'Oh, I am Jewish.' (I am) like 'What does it mean to be Jewish?' like 'What does that mean, really?'…she openly tells me stuff. So that helps, definitely helps." Similarly, Gina has been learning small details about different cultures: "For example, African-American girls, they often have their hair braided, corn-rows and stuff, and I have no idea like what's that about, like where they get their hair done. That kind of thing (laughs). Some of them get their family members do it, I don't really honestly don't know much about it. I guess those kind of small details. …Like I have a few black students in my class, I mean it is like one of those little things, maybe they said something

about their hair and I would be able to interact with them about it. …so hopefully I will learn more about it as I grow up."

THEME 8 WHAT HAS CHANGED?

I also asked the participants about what had changed about discrimination since we last talked. Becky, Deb and Gillian say that they have not seen any real changes regarding ethnic or racial discrimination in the society and schools. Gillian says that people are still profiled by the police in the South if they are people of color. Becky sees a really big problem in people's talking about equity so much but not acting on it. While her school seems to have been trying to be more equitable by having parent meetings and go out in the community to the parents, she has not seen "any really large positive outcomes," except helping some underrepresented parents have a voice that they wouldn't normally have. Deb expresses her continuing disappointment at the poor cultural sensitivity of some staff in her school, aggravated by the lack of support from the principal for her efforts to improve it. Mentioning some racist slurs found in the boys bathrooms in her school, Gina has not seen any real changes either, although she has observed a notable change in student attitudes toward LGBTQ: "While going over pronunciation with students of the u and ü during our weather unit, I pointed out the difference between the word "schwul" and "schwül". "Schwül" means humid, while "schwul" means gay. 1-2 male students in two sections of German I made a homophobic comment like, 'Ha ha! Otto ist schwul!' Normally I would have to be the one to intervene and have a discussion about the hurtfulness of such comments. However, this year in both classes multiple students shut down any laughing right away and said things like, 'That's not cool!' or 'Don't say that! Ugh!' Without being specific about it, Emily says that there are both positive and negative changes regarding discrimination, and it depends on the particular teacher, and community, and thus avoids making any generalizations. She says that due to the high level of diversity within the US, assessing its status in terms of equity is not possible. She also thinks that the legislations in place to prevent discrimination do not guarantee their implementation: "There are official policies all the time that people don't actually follow through on, like you are not supposed to discriminate based on gender but yet that happens. You are not supposed to discriminate on race, yet that happens." She is especially bothered and amazed by the fact that women are still paid less than men. Sarah feels like there has been very slow progress as a country, but there is still a big education gap and students of color are

segregated a lot, so "there is still a lot of work to do in making it better." However, since she was in school there has been a lot of changes: "They are definitely making strides to have more inclusion among the pretty high Hispanic population in my area. I also think Newpond is a great school, they do so much work to try to be culturally accepting and culturally aware." She also points out that her specific town of work is not a typical example for the rest of the nation, because the schools in M-town are generally good compared to other neighboring cities and they focus a lot on being culturally-relevant and culturally-accepting. Keisha's remarks also indicate that Newpond's curriculum is culturally relevant: "(Newpond) is a language immersion school, so you will meet a lot of people with a sense of respect for different races and ethnicities, so they are already open to cultures…reflective in the students and what is taught here, so I have had a positive experience. I am curious as to what my experience would be if I were in another school in rural X-state. Newpond (school) is a great mix, I think it is about 30-30-30." Keisha has observed improving educational practices elsewhere as well: "Like I recently taught second and third grade this summer in Brooklyn, New York and to hear like the second graders write about Christopher Columbus in a way that I wasn't taught about. They were like 'Christopher Columbus is a liar, a thief, a murderer' and I am like 'Wow! When I learned about Christopher Columbus, he was the hero. He was the great guy. Last time I heard he was the best thing since sliced bread. Like we colored sheets with him and celebrated him, we watched cartoons about him, like he was the man." I think it is changing, but that school environment was different. They emphasized a multicultural curriculum, it was a predominantly African-American school and a predominantly African-American neighborhood.

Table 13: What has changed?

	WHAT HAS CHANGED?
BECKY	*"District-wide, all schools now are required to have some sort of equity team in the building which can be comprised of teachers, admin istrators, parents, families, children. And my school administrators, teachers and parents are doing work to try to get families more involved, and trying to make sure that the school itself is more equitable, but I haven't seen any really large positive outcomes besides the fact that we have had seve ral different parent meetings, we actually go out in the community rather than making the parents come into the school, and that has helped some underrepresented parents be able to have a voice that they wouldn't normally have."*
DEB	*"Well, nothing has really changed in my school since the last time I talked to you…in spite of my attempts to bring in somebody to train the staff on cultural sensitivity. But since then we have gotten quite a few younger teachers, more recent grads from education programs who had no ticed the same things that I complained about years ago about how insensitive some of our staff members are"*
GILLIAN	*"I guess as long as I've been aware of race, I haven't noticed (a change in discrimination). …I know that in the South, peopl e get pulled over their cars because of the color of their skin. And you have to always have your ID on you because if you're from Mexico and you're driving around, you're going to get pulled over and if you don't have your ID on you, they can make you leave and that's sad but it's the truth. I don't really t hink that it's changing although some people like to think it is. …I would like for that to change but I don't think it has."*
SARAH	*"I feel like just in general, as a country we are moving forward very very slowly, but there is definitely still a lot of seg regation in schools,…. there is still an education gap, there is still misrepresentation, we talked a lot about how students of color were like more likely to be put in Special Ed, which is definitely something that I have seen at Newpond. …I feel like there is still a lot of work to do in making it better."*
GINA	*"There are still incidents of racist acts at my school. Two years ago racist slurs were found in the boys bathrooms a few tim es. Our administration handled it well, but I think we have a long way to go. If people are not racist outright, I think most are not aware of their white privilege or even what it means. …but I have seen a big (positive) change in student attitudes toward LGBTQ people since I began teaching in 2007."*
EMILY	*"I think (discrimination) depends on your teacher and it depends on your community. ...That is so hard (to say it for all the US). I think there is so much diversity within (South vs North), I cannot say like 'Oh, the North is better than the South.' I would never say t hat. ...I LIVED in both the south and the north. I travelled to Georgia and Alabama and Tennessee, and yeah there are racist people there, but there are also racist people here. …(discrimination) continues to happen but that is because there is so much diversity within the US, we cannot say like "Oh the US is doing really well or really poor"*

THEME 9 ROOTS AND SOLUTIONS FOR DISCRIMINATION

Roots of the Problem

Before elaborating on the possible solution to the discrimination problem, the teachers talk about five major underlying causes. Becky believes that families' disagreeing with other cultures lead their children to form racial prejudice, consolidated by all the media images**.** Thinking that discriminatory problems are both racial/ethnic and individual issues, Becky suggests that it all boils down to home culture because the misalignment between how children behave at home and how they are expected to behave at school, worsened by the unclarified adult expectations creates another major source of the problem:

> "Obviously a lot of the kids who get in trouble have emotional and behavioral issues as well as maybe cognitive issues…but I think a lot of times too…it is just misunderstanding, I think it is adults not really interpreting kids' actions and behaviors appropriately. …Or maybe it is not obvious to some kids that if they want somebody's attention, they should say 'Excuse me' instead maybe it is obvious to them that they should throw something at them (laughs). It sounds silly, but like for them that might be what they do, and so they don't have somebody who says to them, like 'Hey! In this classroom, when we want somebody's attention, we say 'Excuse me, could I have, blah blah blah?' like, if we don't teach them that, they don't necessarily know that. So I think that obviously that comes down to home culture. Not necessarily ethnic culture, but just the way families interact, like, if in your house it is OK to just take whatever you want then that's how you are going to be in public too. And if in your home, you have to ask for permission to do something, in a public setting you are going to ought to ask for permission."

From an intercultural perspective, Sarah thinks the problem stems from the lack of common basis to initiate genuine conversations:

"There is just really no basis for conversation. For example, … let's say there is a group of students from a country that, like a group of Russian students… and someone was like 'Yeah, go talk to them, go make friends with them' and they are all speaking Russian, I would have no idea what to say. I would be like 'Hey, so you are from Russia?' like 'What's up?' But if you have something to base, a way to start a conversation, like you have been there before or 'Oh, I took this class about Russia, like, it is really cool, or be like 'In one of my classes I ate this food, do you eat that too?' things like that. Just a way to base

a conversation I guess." She also thinks that such an absence of a shared basis is exacerbated by inappropriate institutional segregation policies and practices, which is supported by Deb's experience of institutional misplacement of her students: "ESL classes are separate from the Spanish Immersion program. The Hispanic kids in my classes are not in ESL program, because their parents want them speaking English. And the ESL kids, a lot of them speak English very well, I don't even know why they are in the ESL program (laughs). They could be in the regular classes." Finally like Emily, Gina points out to the source of the problem as cultural ignorance, and not valuing other cultures, as can be seen in their lack of interest in language learning: "I think sometimes Americans don't really value the foreign language education enough because they don't understand, they go into situation like war and they just follow with the government's doing because they don't understand anything about the other cultures."

Suggested Solutions for the Problem

For these teachers, especially for Deb, Becky, Sarah, and Gina, fighting with cultural ignorance is the very reason they started their teaching career in the first place. They seem to really care about teaching the TC of the language they are teaching to overcome such ignorance. Gina says: "I think that (combating ignorance) is really important otherwise I wouldn't be doing this job for life. I wouldn't be staying at school until 5 o'clock to teach (laughs)."

In order to solve the discrimination problem, Becky suggests teaching children "like from childhood on to accept everybody and accept people" to change their mentality. She also suggests code-switching across different social registers for Black students:

> "But I think that they need to be able to code-switch. …and so, when I am at school, I behave in a particular way and interact in a particular way and when I am not at school I behave in a different way. And I have learned that code-switching, because of my job, because of my schooling, and…if somebody told me, 'Becky it is inappropriate for you to do this this and this.' I would say it is not fair, that's who I am, but if they say it is not OK to do this at work, I would say 'OK, sure.' It's the same with the kids. You can't tell a kid "Oh, you can't swear" Of course they can swear. But maybe you can't do that at school."

Emily thinks that the individuality of the students is not necessarily more important than their culture or ethnicity, and she talks about "layers of diversity", and focusing on different aspects for each layer:

> "So you start with the individual and you start with what they are, and then you start with their family and then you branch out to their friends, then you branch out to their community and then you branch out to their school, their school goes into the school district and it goes into like the county, and it goes into the state…"

She says that the only way to work on discrimination is to be self-reflective and to be critical of personal beliefs about others which is "easier to do for a younger person than it is for an older person because they are more stuck in their ways when they get to like their older years." According to her such reflective thinking will help us to understanding how we think through stereotypes, and "all the layers that compose that (stereotypical) image that you have." She further underscores the importance of understanding the subtleties of diversity and the need for learning more about people

"Like a white person tries to be really politically correct. We would be like 'Oh, African-American,' because we don't want to offend anybody. But…saying African-American can be offensive, because some people would be like 'I am Black, I am Jamaican, I am not African-American.' and they take pride in that. So understanding that even some of the terms that I use to *NOT* offend people can offend people. And so understanding that and trying to learn more about people." Learning more about people is also given as a strategy by Gillian to differentiate between cultural versus personal student problems: "I really think it's important to know your students like family background, try to get to know their parents and families because (if a student's acting up) I don't think it's because of their race. I think it's because of something that maybe is going on at home or something that happened at recess." Talking about the subjectivity of being fair, Emily compares being fair versus being equitable and having "certain programs for certain people" to ensure equity because "diversity calls for equity because the situations are different. Equality is not going to change anything and it is not going to take care of the problems that we have." Gina thinks addressing diversity is especially important for the US context of education and educators have a "big social obligation" to ensure multicultural integration in the curriculum. She relates the significance of diversity to how school is viewed by various cultures by comparing the US schools to the German ones that she has taught at. While in Germany school is a place just for classes and disconnected from home, she says

that in the US schools it is seen as part of the community and related to "home life" so she thinks that diversity "should be a part of your education, it should just be included." According to her, this inclusion "should be natural because if we are doing everything else for students, we should be also including (diversity), just like our duty to society, to make things easier." With her macro-social perspective on the issue, Deb's comments resonate with Gina because she tries to use Spanish as a tool to help address the social issues like immigration and relate the larger social context to the curriculum to contribute to social justice in the long run. Pointing to the need for better accountability and institutionalization, Gina recommends "some regulation" of teaching to require teachers to using multicultural materials such as visual materials depicting different cultures or cultural role models instead of all-white ones. In addition, Sarah suggests focusing on intervention by working on problematic kids rather than putting them in Special Ed and capitalizing on students' assets over their deficits. She also thinks that deep knowledge of Hispanic people and culture makes her more accepting of them: "I think I am more accepting because I typically know where they come from, I know their situation, their history, …I literally have really really close friends who are undocumented immigrants, I have close friends who have swum across river to get here, I also have close friends who were here for multiple generations and I have close friends who come from families of privilege who started legally to study abroad here. I needed Spanish because I can appreciate the diversity of the Hispanic population which I think is extremely important because not every Hispanic person swam the river to get here (laughs). But you also cannot deny that a lot of people did, and that is a real situation for a lot of people and they are not bad people, they are not criminals, they are really good people and they make a *HUGE* contribution to this country as well." She believes that such knowledge reduces bias and brings more personal commitment: "I was really nervous about teaching African-American students, because I just thought that they would look at me as some White girl and my dress pants and my nice shirt and like very soft-spoken and things like that. I thought they were going to like kill me or something (laughs). Not really, but I thought they were going to just not even listen to me at all, but now that I have gotten to know so many more students and things like that I have realized that I *CAN* make an impact on these people, I can get through to them, I can connect with them on some level." Sarah works hard on "creating a thirst for cultural knowledge" because she thinks that it is "probably one of the best ways to end self-segregation" because the thirst for knowledge makes people interested in learning about other cultures and motivates them to go and

talk to them. Sarah creates this thirst for knowledge for example by encouraging her White students to join a Latin dance club or Spanish club, telling them stories about Peru, relating what they have been learning in class to cultural things, making CDs of popular music in Spanish to get them interested. She also tells them stories like "Oh, this word is really popular in this country," or like "Oh, when I was at this concert in Peru, it was really funny, this person said this word…" when she is teaching them vocabulary.

Hitting the wall: Why do the solutions keep failing?

What keeps the solutions offered by the White teachers above from working? Keisha provides deep and sincere insights here and talks about the persistent problems preventing permanent solutions. Her voice is hopeless, distrustful and frustrated because she has gone through the same over and over again. She strongly thinks that talking about it does not mean solving it and people need to be constructive rather than defensive:

"I think that (talking about race) it IS overdone, because the conversations haven't been constructive. The conversations we have about race are a great start, but they never end with, like…there is never like an action plan, like the conversation is facilitated in a way where people are really defensive, and aren't willing to let down those walls and have conversations, so I feel like if you bring up the topic about race,… you have to, sort of, frame it where people are receptive of differences, and willing to step outside of their comfort zones and share experiences and learn from other people's experiences and not just discredit it because it is different from their own." She gives a recent example from the sociology course she is taking: "They talked about the stereotypes of African-Americans, and like government assistance and like food stamps and because I was an African-American, I was seen as having that experience, like 'Oh, Keisha, can you offer your Black perspective.' So, just assume that all racial groups have that shared experience, this common experience, because they are of this race. I feel like that happens a lot." She complains about the double burden she has to bear just because of her skin color:

> "I do understand that a lot of them (white students) come from, like, small town rural X-state. And I may or may not be the first Black person you have ever met, so it is understandable that you may have questions, but when they…aren't willing to take the initiative to understand why I may do things differently, or theories don't necessarily apply to all people, l think *THAT* is frustrating. It is like I have to go on my own initiative to learn about, like I am *FORCED* to learn about white culture, and I am forced to learn about their experience, and on top of that I have learn about mine. But in the white perspective,

you learn about your culture and that is great, like you are not forced to learn about anyone else's history, or like global issues, or racial issues within the US, and so that's kind of hard to meet at college, meet at this level where I am having to learn so much more about so many different groups of people and you have gotten by with you surface level knowledge of just your experience. I think that's…a little disheartening, and a little FRUSTRATING, when you try to have a conversation about race. Because it is like, 'I am here. And I am blue in the face talking about these things.' And this is your first time ever…having a conversation about race, so it is like how can we move forward, when we are not these same levels, like 'So now you have to take this ethnic studies class, and now you have to have these experiences to meet me here.'

She also complains about the conversation always being only one-sided: "(During the) conversations…constantly I am helping you receive some revelation about your white privilege, while I feel like I am just constantly giving to people. But I feel like I am not gaining anything from the white perspective, so it is like constantly the way of the majority students is to pour into the white population, and give that Latino experience or Black experience. But as you are learning about that, you are hearing my personal stories, like what can I get from you? How can this be a fair exchange? What are you going to do with this knowledge as a white person with privilege and power, to help fix things that are around? So I think that part is a little unfair, whereas 'OK, I am just going to share my experiences, and share a piece of me' but there is nothing that comes after that. You know, like where is the work? Are you going to share this with someone else that looks like you, or build up on these conversations and spark change, or are you just going to hear my story and it just goes in your ear and you keep it to yourself and doesn't really change how you think about things?"

Furthermore, as voiced by Gina and Deb, Keisha stresses the urgent need for institutional support as well, but also her firm resolution to walk tall in the absence of such support:

"It takes support of the university to change these things, and on paper they support these things but I don't think holistically it is really a value that they hold, so it is really hard when you have, like so many little people doing work by themselves on this level. …and some get the university support, but I don't think there is overall support. I choose to NOT be defined by my race. I choose not to let the situation in X-state really dictate my experience, so I choose what things to do, I am deciding to leave after

graduation. I choose to have these conversations about race if I feel comfortable. If I not, I am not going to."

Just like Keisha, Gina thinks that racism fed by ignorance is hard to deal with and school principals have a key role in dealing with institutional change toward discrimination:

"For example, the principal that I was saying that didn't want us to do the exchange programs…and for the last 10 years he has been *SO AGAINST* like anything that has to do with foreign language or foreign culture and then prevented the entire school from benefiting from things like an exchange program. So I hope that the new principals and administrators will be able to bring change slowly and I feel like most racism and any –ism comes from people being ignorant, really."

Table 14: Suggestions for Solving Discrimination

	SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLVING DISCRIMINATION
BECKY	*"I don't know if there's a solution besides just people, each individual person changing their mentality"* *"I think (African-American students) have to learn how to code-switch. I would never say that their cultures are wrong. I think that they should be able to interact and behave as appropriate for them and for their environment…. So they are learning to navigate each of these environments through who they are as a person but also through what's going to be acceptable to other people"* *"When you have the zero-tolerance attitude towards human beings you can't possibly be inclusive. And I think behavior is something that you do need to teach, maybe for some kids it is not obvious to them, like if they want something they need to ask for it. Maybe to them, they just take it."*
DEB	*"It is important for me to be teaching this language and different aspects of culture to my students, because there is constantly things on the news with immigration and making my students aware of these different issues and saying that not everybody that speaks Spanish is here illegally…and not just painting a bad picture that everybody is evil and everybody is here stealing jobs or just making my students more aware of what is going on in our society is important to me."*
KEISHA	*"I think it takes support of the university to change these things, …and I feel like you could have a larger impact if you had the support of the university"*
SARAH	*"Focusing on intervention, trying to pick out students that might have some issues and trying to focus on working on that before putting them in Special Ed. Also, focusing on students' assets over their deficits, because as far as the way my students, even in the Special Ed class, in my class, I wouldn't really think that any of them needed Special Ed."* *"That is exactly why I am going into teaching Spanish because I know that the more cultural knowledge, the more language knowledge, the more historical knowledge you have, the more accepting you become in your view of those people."* *"Constant thirst for cultural knowledge to me is one of the best solutions for discrimination. Just making a constant commitment to spreading cultural knowledge, and even if you don't spread that much knowledge, spreading the thirst for cultural knowledge, so they can maybe interested in studying abroad, so that they might be interested in having more Latino friends, and they can have some kind of somewhere to base their conversation off of."*
GINA	*"It would be nice to have some regulation. I mean even the little details in my classroom like the ones in my first grade class I noticed that the African-American teacher, she has pictures of Black role models like Martin Luther King in her classroom, and she has got the picture of the family unit. It is a picture of a BLACK family. You need to look harder and find more pictures of different cultures. …I think it would be valid to have that as a requirement in the classrooms just even those visual things to make students feel like they are all one."* *"And I guess you just have to take baby steps."*
EMILY	*"There is so many different layers to diversity that you have to break it down to each one, and then you focus on different things for each one. So it might be classroom diversity that I am focusing on today, or it might be individual diversity that I focus on tomorrow."* *"So only way to close the gap is equity, the only way to have equity is to have certain programs for certain people, but not for others."* *"I think the only way to work on discrimination is to BE self-reflective and to teach that to your students, and be like 'Why do you think that?' because I don't think a lot of people ask 'Why?' it would be like 'Why don't you like Black people?' (the answer would be) 'Well, I guess I don't know.' (which) I hear a lot especially from younger kids.*

Table 15: Summary of Causes for Discrimination and Suggested Solutions

	UNDERLYING CAUSES FOR DISCRIMINATION	SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS
BECKY	• *All the media images and families' disagreeing with other cultures lead their children to form racial prejudice* • *Adults' misunderstanding of children's behavior due to the mismatch between home culture and school culture and the ambiguity of expectations from children*	• *Changing the existing mentality* • *Code-switching across different contexts*
DEB	• *Inappropriate institutional segregation policies* • *Lack of institutional support*	• *Giving institutional support*
KEISHA	• *Lack of institutional support*	• *Being constructive rather than defensive* • *Framing discussions where people are receptive of differences, and willing to step outside of their comfort zones and share experiences and learn from other people's experiences* • *Ensuring the fairness of opinion exchanges (instead of one-way opinion flow)*
SARAH	• *Inappropriate institutional segregation policies* • *Lack of common basis to initiate genuine intercultural conversations*	• *Focusing on intervention by working on problematic kids* • *Focusing on students' assets over their deficits* • *Creating a thirst for cultural knowledge* • *Giving institutional support*
GINA	• *Cultural ignorance*	• *Requiring the extensive use of multicultural materials in teaching, such as visual materials depicting different cultures or cultural role models* • *Giving institutional support*
EMILY	• *Cultural ignorance*	• *Breaking diversity down to its each component and then focusing on different things for each one* • *Being self-reflective* • *Understanding the subtleties of diversity and learning more about people* • *Having "certain programs for certain people" to ensure equity*

THE PROSPECTIVE SELF: THE FUTURE

CAREER PLANS

Becky plans to stop teaching French and go on with her teaching career as an ESL teacher and ultimately she wants to teach adults in higher education and possibly work in teacher education to teach future teachers to understand how vital diversity is to become a successful teacher. So, different from other teachers, she imagines herself in a position to teach diversity to others, not only to address it in her classroom. She thinks that regardless of the teaching subject and age group of learners, it is important to focus on diversity issues. She also wants to pass her interest in travel and languages on to people around her because she believes that this is what has made her such an open person. She thinks that through such an interest other people can also have "the opportunities to be more open or at least less racially judgmental."

Deb says she will continue to be a Spanish teacher and continue to improve herself in teaching it by attending conferences and reading about Spanish-related subjects. She thinks that she is "in a comfortable place now" but regarding her discriminatory boss, she will continue to voice herself through "anonymous surveys and talking to coworkers," which are the only things she can do at present.

Emily is not sure about what to do with her career because she has one more year to "figure things out." She does not have a set plan because she thinks that things never go as planned but she wants to "do education" whether it is Spanish, ESL or bilingual. While she considers going abroad to teach as an option but she really wants to move to Seattle after college, where she thinks she would be happy. As for who she wants to become in the future, she is really concerned about how she would be viewed by her students and she really wants her students to see her as a fair teacher. She wants to be a good person who "affects the world in a positive way" and she wants people to say "She did great things." which she thinks is only possible by understanding the community, students, coworkers, and the people that she interacts with.

Like Emily, Gillian is not sure about her future career because she has not taught beyond elementary school, but she knows that she wants to stay in the teaching profession. While she likes the diversity in her

current teaching setting (Newpond Elementary), she would like to try different school settings but she is also concerned that "jumping around too much" would cause her to be too superficial. Regarding meeting the diversity needs of the students, she says getting to know them and creating a welcoming environment for them will be two essential elements. She does not consider herself knowledgeable even about Hispanic culture and she wants to improve her knowledge of them by possibly spending some time in Central America and she also wants to learn more about other minorities but this is not her top priority at the moment because she is focusing on her teaching. When I ask her about how she envisions herself teaching minorities, she responds that she cannot see more than a year into the future because she will still be a student teacher then, so she seems to need more professional experience before she can make more confident professional decisions. She also stresses that she has strong interpersonal skills and that will help her get to know her students and their parents and thus hopes to teach them in the best way she can. She will also let the students know that she believes "that they can excel as long as they try."

While not sure about whether she will move to another district to teach, Gina thinks that moving out of her current community will expose her to higher local diversity and help her "gain better insight." She believes that she will "gain experience, knowledge and wisdom" about these local cultures but she will never be a "part" of them or an "expert" on them. Gina hopes that she will not become "jaded" like her teacher mom because her mom holds certain biases against certain student groups, which Gina is very critical of. She hopes she will not experience teacher burnout. She hopes to improve as a teacher in learning about minorities and she doesn't expect she would be any less interested in learning about them because she is open to learning. She also envisions herself as an "advocate for minority students" and says that she will raise her voice against racist practices. She will try to include multicultural issues but she doesn't think that she "would just randomly bring up race issues." She will include them in her classes not only due to the official requirements but also because if students are not exposed to multicultural issues then they will "end up being close-minded and racist." She will also continue to lead exchange programs "to foster understanding of diversity." Overall she wants to grow as an educator in many areas "including diversity." But talking about current teacher certification programs she says that now preservice teachers are "forced" to take multicultural education, which she thinks is "a good thing" and is "useful." But her use of the word "forced" may be interpreted as a sign indicating her disbelief in the usefulness of multicultural education.

Sarah plans to teach abroad or close to where she grew up, and she doesn't think she will teach in an inner city school. She wants to "close the gap between Hispanic students and the non-Hispanic students," which has been her major goal, by bringing Hispanic culture to her school possibly with a Spanish club and Latin dance club and thus getting her students interested in Hispanic culture. She further considers to take groups of students abroad, as well.

Keisha plans to move to the East Coast. She does not want to stay in M-town because she is tired of constantly being reminded of her race, and race being the primary factor for others in deciding even whether or not to talk to her.

Table 16: Career Plans

	CAREER PLANS
BECKY	*"I think it is important that I pursue my interest in travel and languages because I feel like I will continue to have more and more capacity to understand other people and cultures. And…I should try to pass this interest on to my family and my friends and my students and people I come in contact with just because IT HAS made me so much more of an open person. …now that I am beginning just to pack away littlest part of knowing a lot of things about the world, I need to get people's interest, so they have the opportunities to be more open or at least less racially judgmental."* *"I would like to teach for a few more years as a K-12 teacher but eventually I'd like to work teaching adults…if I do progress into higher education, if I'm working in teacher education, then I really think that my focus would really need to be to help up-and-coming teachers to understand how important diversity issues are to their success as a teacher."*
DEB	*"I will continue to be a Spanish teacher. …I think I am in a comfortable place now, so…I want to continue education, continue going to conferences, continue reading about different things pertaining to the Spanish language and teaching Spanish. But as far as the things with my boss, there is not a whole lot of things to do other than continuing to voice myself through anonymous surveys and talking to my coworkers."*
GILLIAN	*"I love the diversity of Newpond, I love that it has the dual English immersion program, and I would love to teach in a school that has something like that. I would like (to try different education settings) but also I don't want to be jumping around too much because I'd rather just get settled somewhere instead of being very superficial."* *"I think I am good at getting to know people, (which) is also something that will help me in the future…getting to know my students, getting to know their parents so that I can teach them in the best way that I can."* *"I think as a future teacher I would want to let the kids know that I really do believe that they can excel as long as they try."*
SARAH	*"I am planning on taking a couple years to teach abroad, and then I am planning on teaching near where I grew up. I don't really plan on going to inner city to teach, but I would like to teach near where I am from, and then I would like to get as involved as I can with Spanish club and Latin dance club maybe. Really trying to bring Hispanic culture to that school and embrace it as much as possible in that school and get my students really interested in Hispanic culture. Maybe then take groups of students abroad, if possible. …that goes back to my main goal of teaching, trying to build relationships and close the gap between Hispanic students and the non-Hispanic students. …"*
GINA	*"Right now I am not sure whether I will be in S-town, move to another district, or possibly move abroad to teach in future years. I think if I move out of my community, I would gain better insight (into diversity)."* *"I think in the future I am going to keep (diversity) in mind, I am going to try anyways, and hopefully I don't become jaded."* *"I'll probably get to know things about these cultures as I gain experience, knowledge and wisdom, but I am not sure I will ever be part of these cultures or be an expert on them."* *"I think I will continue to do what I am doing; such as leading exchange programs to foster understanding of diversity."*
EMILY	*"I have a year (before getting certified) to figure things out. …I don't have a set plan, so what I have for my goal is to take advantage of the opportunities that are given to me. I want to do something with Spanish education, but that could be like ESL, that could be bilingual education, but what my heart is set on is moving to Seattle after college, and that is where I think I would be happy, but that plan could change in a year from now. So I don't really know."* *"I want to affect the world in a positive way, not just because I want people to say 'Oh, she was a great person.' I want people to say 'She DID great things.'"*
KEISHA	*"I don't see M-town as a place for me to stay. I plan to move to the East Coast. This isn't a place that I don't think I can go on, like every day I woke up here, race is the first thing I think about. But I think people choose whether or not they want to interact with me because of my race."*

AREAS TO BE IMPROVED

Thinking that managing a newsletter and a website and occasionally organizing events for parents' involvement is "just scraping the surface" Becky would like to engage parents more actively, perhaps by "offering a French class" for them. She is also criticizing the current plan for having 90-minute reading and math blocks in her school to address the achievement gap, by saying that this will not be a "panacea," and the students will not be "shooting off the charts with these wonderful scores" if they don't feel safe in their learning environment because of discrimination." So she stresses the quality rather than quantity of teaching as more important, and culturally relevant teaching as a precondition of that. Besides this quality dimension, she goes on to underscore the "authenticity" of the teaching situation by pointing out to her need to improve her lessons about diversity by making them more authentic. She believes in making the learners experience it for themselves" rather than "spoon-feeding" them. She feels like she is good at looking for ways to improve her knowledge of other cultures but at the same time thinks that there is still room for growth. But to her, this growth calls for an open mind and cannot be gained simply by experience but needs to be supported with "effort and exposure."

Saying she is "not perfect," Emily thinks that there is always room to improve in learning about diversity. She points out to her struggle between trying to simultaneously address the diversity of her students and not being limited by it. In her perception of such diversity, state-diagnosed learning styles and education levels (such as ADD) are also integral dimensions, which may limit how she teaches if she allows it to. She gives a recent classroom experience: "Like today I had a student who was trying to write the word 'laboratorio' on the board, and I am like 'Oh, no, it is a really long word, like, I don't know if he is going to be able to handle that, I should call on another student.' As I am thinking this in my brain, I'm like 'No! He deserves to be challenged, he doesn't deserve for you to limit what you are going to teach him based upon some limit that some says that he cannot handle.' So we just took it a little bit slower, I helped him with each letter, and he did it perfectly." She hopes that she will never be discriminating among her students, but if somebody comes up to her and says that she was just discriminating on the basis of students' gender or the

way they look, that will be the moment for change. She also thinks that as the US population changes so will some of the things that come up in the media.

Admitting that she does not know how to improve on teaching minorities in her classes, Gillian thinks it is important to get to know them by looking at their writing assignments, giving out a questionnaire, asking past teachers about them, and talking to their families.

Underscoring the need to get beyond an ethnocentric approach, Gina would like to make her lessons "more international." She thinks that she needs to improve her cultural knowledge of different cultures both in her own and in other societies, which "might change my teaching styles depending on what my class demographics are." She also wants to learn how to react to students and even her own peers' comments and values regarding race and culture. She hopes that more future knowledge and experience will help her teach both about diversity and teaching students of different cultures. Like Becky, she also emphasizes having "an open mind" as an essential factor. Like Gina, Sarah believes that her teaching skill will improve as she gains more experience, and that she is on her way up from "unconsciously unskilled" to "unconsciously skilled" and she thinks that at the moment she is at the "consciously unskilled" stage, where she is aware of her weaknesses and is trying to improve on those.

Deb complains about the lack of sufficient time (like Becky) for self-improvement and says that such improvement requires strong determination that has to be set as a goal and followed though. She is leading a school committee trying to organize a cultural sensitivity training in the school but the lack of support from the principal has been making it difficult and frustrating. She believes that having more public involvement like Spanish-speakers in the class will also help students by introducing them to such role models. She also thinks that people's awareness of diversity issues will keep increasing.

Keisha plans to make her curriculum multicultural by bringing in different stories.

Table 17: Areas to be Improved

	AREAS TO BE IMPROVED
BECKY	*"There is some improvement that I can have that is finding more authentic ways of doing it. Anytime that you set out to have a lesson about diversity issues, you are setting up an inauthentic situation. If I am like "I am going to have my lesson about Africa, today" or "I am going to have my lesson about France." like…you are spoon-feeding kids your own version of the truth. So I think if you can find ways to have students experience it for themselves, like, maybe by bringing speakers into the classroom…"* *"I wish that I had better ways of involving (the parents) …I was thinking of actually offering a French class for parents, like they could come once or twice a week to learn some French and be able to help their kids more with French, but there are so many things going on that I couldn't even possibly imagine adding them to the mix."* *"I feel like I'm really good about seeking opportunities to improve my knowledge, but…I definitely could know more and do more (about minorities)."*
DEB	*"I would like to find MORE time, obviously. But it is really hard to keep current on things you have to be really determined to do that."* *"There is a committee that is talking about diversity, cultural sensitivity issues in the school, and they are pushing to get some kind of training, or speaker for an in-service maybe next year."* *"I could be better by having more public, more speakers come to my class and talk to my students from Spanish-speaking countries to talk about what it is like where they live and have my students interact with them."*
GILLIAN	*"I feel like I am not knowledgeable as much as I would like to be (about the Hispanic culture), I would love to improve my knowledge about them."* *"I honestly don't know (what to improve on to teach minorities) …just understanding who they are, I think that's so important just to know all of them, know as much about them as you can."*
SARAH	*"Right now I am "consciously unskilled" …my teacher always taught this "unconsciously unskilled" versus "unconsciously skilled," where you are just good at it, without even thinking about it, that is what you want to get to. So I feel like right now I am bad at it, but I am learning every day. So, hopefully I will be able to grow more."*
GINA	*"I'd like to make the curriculum more international."* *"I hope that I improve, like, with cultural things with different minorities. Like I am sure there is cultural things that I may not know about other backgrounds. Some might change my teaching styles depending on what my class demographics are. …I would like to learn how to react to students' and even my own peers' comments and values regarding race and culture. …I have an open mind, and the more international and local experiences I gain, the better I will become at teaching about diversity as well as teaching students of different cultures."*
EMILY	*"I need to become more aware of my students, and their diversity without allowing that to limit how I see them, which I think is a struggle for me. Diversity can mean so much more than just culture or language or the color of their skin or where they are from, diversity is also in the fact of how everyone learns, also it is also in the fact of their education levels, so there are strong points and there are weak points. …It is definitely something someone has to work on, it is NOT allowing that (state-determined learning levels) to limit my education philosophy."*
KEISHA	*"I would love to have a multicultural curriculum and if the curriculum didn't reflect that, to try to shape it and make it my own to bring in these different stories."*

PREDICTIONS ABOUT DIVERSITY

Becky, Emily, Gillian and Gina believe that there has been and will be some gradual progress regarding diversity. Becky believes that such improvements will essentially depend upon how open-minded people are towards others and how much their personal growth is supported by education, travel and legislation. She believes that, unless the media is "allowed to run rampant," diversity will be better addressed around the world thanks to greater "international communication, understanding and awareness." She thinks that traveling and having cross-cultural experiences is the key to continued progress. Still, she views it as "a societal issue," and no matter how well it is tackled within school, what students actually experience outside "is going to be what they truly believe the condition of a minority is." She believes that the classroom work can help fight that "big fat racism" at the societal level only if students go out with a mindset of change, wanting to fight for equity and racial justice. She says that as a teacher her power to change is limited because she can't control what happens outside her classroom. Thus, she recognizes the need for both macro and micro contexts to support each other. I also asked her about how changing technology would affect diversity issues. She thinks that online or hybrid schooling will operate in both "closing" (negative) and "opening" (positive) ways. On the one hand, since online learning requires less true person-to-person interaction, it might create less understanding between different cultures. On the other hand, because of online learning environments, people will interact with more people of different backgrounds from further away. However, she believes that face-to-face interaction "will be an essential element at least for a while." Gillian thinks the gradual improvements in how minorities are treated has been at more local scale than nationwide and that recently the progress seems to have slowed down. She also thinks that minority families would not feel as comfortable in a small town as a White family would, both financially and culturally.

Gina predicts that the increasing diversity in the US will bring more integration because higher interaction with other cultures results in more openness to and less fear of them. She gives the example of Mexican immigration, scaring some people that their jobs are taken away. She believes that such people do not interact with Mexicans and do not really know that "they are really hard-working people," which makes Gina

"angry." She also thinks that improvements in how the minorities are treated at school will take long time, but judging by the historical progress, she "has faith" that it will keep improving. On the other hand, Gina thinks that the way minorities are treated in the classrooms is improving "very slowly but surely," and teachers will be "more accepting" of and "more interested in" different cultures although she has seen some teachers easily lose hope and lower their expectations and standards for their students by not expecting them to perform their personal best.

Like Gina, Emily thinks that the growing size of minority populations will help their voices to be heard and the situation for them will keep gradually improving, leading to more equality.

Table 18: Diversity Predictions

	PREDICTIONS ABOUT DIVERSITY
BECKY	*"Not just in the US, but throughout the world things in some ways are getting better. I think there is more international communication, there is more international understanding and awareness that will just continue to make things better and the more people that can get the opportunity to go to other places, even if it is within their own country, to study in another state, it is just going to help people become more and more understanding. …I think there is a lot of room for improvement but I think it is moving in the right direction. …the condition of minorities will continue to improve…"*
GILLIAN	*"Around here I think it has been (improving). …I hope throughout the whole country goes that way, I guess it depends how far back you look but looking back over a hundred years ago, yeah we have made a lot of progress….But I think more recently the progresses kind of slowed down and I don't think it is exactly equal yet…I think yes, it's gradually getting better."*
GINA	*"I really think that more diversity (in the US) will bring more integration because people will be forced to interact with other cultures, you cannot always avoid it if there is more people around."* *"I think discrimination will exist through my lifetime, but I have faith that it will improve, based on the changes that have taken place since the Civil Rights Movement."* *"Yeah, I think we are just still moving forward, very slowly but surely, I think with every generation teachers are going to get more accepting of different cultures and more interested in different cultures."*
EMILY	*"I think it is changing slowly. I think it is hard to change the way that people think. But by population size alone it is improving because of the fact that minorities are becoming equal and yeah those minorities will be different from within their groups, but just by sheer population alone, the more voices are around, the more voices can be heard. And it requires us to listen."*

Table 19: Summary of the Imagined Future

	CAREER PLANS	AREAS TO BE IMPROVED	PREDICTIONS
BECKY	• *Get people interested in traveling and languages, so they become less racially judgmental* • *Train preservice teachers to raise their awareness of diversity as a key to their success*	• *Finding more authentic ways of addressing diversity* • *Finding better ways of involving parents* • *Knowing and doing more about minorities*	• *More international communication and more traveling will help people become more and more understanding* • *The condition of minorities will continue to improve*
DEB	• *Continue her professional growth as a Spanish teacher* • *Continue to criticize her boss' unfair conduct via surveys and talking to peers*	• *Creating more time for diversity* • *Raising cultural sensitivity in school* • *Increasing community/ native speaker involvement in the class*	
GILLIAN	• *Work in an immersion school preferably with diverse students* • *Try different teaching settings but eventually settle down and go deeper* • *Get to know students to teach them in the best way* • *Challenge students to excel*	• *Improving knowledge about Hispanic culture* • *Increasing knowledge about other cultures*	• *It's gradually getting better*
SARAH	• *Teach abroad for a couple years* • *Teach close to hometown* • *Promote Hispanic culture at school* • *Close the gap between Hispanic students and the non-Hispanic students*	• *Growing to become "unconsciously skilled"*	
GINA	• *(Possibly) Move out of the current community to gain better insight into other cultures* • *Keep diversity in mind and try not to become jaded* • *Increase knowledge and wisdom about other cultures but never truly be part of them* • *Lead exchange programs*	• *Making the curriculum more international* • *Improving knowledge about minorities* • *Learning how to react to student/peer comments on race and culture* • *Gaining more international and local experiences*	• *More diversity (in the US) will bring more integration because people will be forced to interact with other cultures* • *Discrimination will exist through my lifetime, but I have faith that it will improve* • *Teachers are going to get more accepting of and more interested in different cultures*
EMILY	• *Take advantages of the future opportunities* • *Do something with Spanish, ESL or bilingual education* • *Move to Seattle* • *Affect the world in a positive way*	• *Becoming more aware of students' diversity without being limited by it*	• *It is improving because the minorities are becoming equal (in number) and the more voices that are around, the more voices can be heard*
KEISHA	• *Move to the East Coast due to lack of support in the current location*	• *Having a multicultural curriculum*	

"Our sense of being a person can come from being drawn into a wider social unit; our sense of selfhood can rise through the little ways we resist the pull. Our status is backed by the solid buildings of the world, while our sense of personal identity often resides in the cracks." (Goffman, 1961, p.320).

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

According to SI, the "I" surfaces only through actions, so it can only be known in our memories. Thus, asking these teachers about their past experiences was an important part of my analysis. Except for Emily, all the White teachers lacked the chance of interacting with any non-White people during their childhood, and thus could not go through developing Self into "generalized other," due to segregated parallel lives. Even when Gina had a Black friend, he was "acting White," so there was hardly any genuine social interaction with non-White others. As is evident in the case of the white-acting Black friend, an automatic assumption that people act according to their skin color or perhaps ethnicity seems to be groundless. Here, the race can be seen as the structure, but some people will resist it by adopting and acting upon a whole different set of identity markers and distancing themselves from the cultural role predetermined for them by the general society. In her mind, Sarah assigned a positive meaning to being a minority because they represented an extra layer of rich (almost mystic) cultural fund on top of what she had. In her childhood, Becky's best friend was an Indian girl, so she had close contact with the Other. However, she calls her "the token Indian girl," implying her awareness of the cultural stereotype by the "generalized other." By laughing at it when mentioning this stereotype, she indicates her disapproval of and cynicism for such a significant symbol of the dominant White culture. In Emily's case, as a child, having many Cuban friends really led her to symbolically interact with them and caused her to assume their perspectives by rousing her interest in their culture. Interestingly, she chose the Latin culture as "the generalized other," and saw herself part of it, rather than the White culture. Some of the significant symbols she uses to define the Latin culture is "singing all the time and cutting people off in midsentence." Keisha displays a strong sense of "I" self, and deliberately rejects the "me" dictated by the mainstream society. Her role-taking of others is based neither on ethnicity nor social status. These teachers all demonstrate different degrees of rejection of the "generalized other," by choosing to teach the language of another culture and getting involved with the TC to varying degrees.

When Deb was a teenager, she quit her job by mentally assuming the role of her Mexican coworkers when they were insulted by the boss. At the same time, she stereotypes people like her boss as "rednecks," and she distances herself from them by saying that "she doesn't go to those kind of places. Denigrating her own White community, she seems to be protective of the oppressed Mexicans. Thus, she is distancing herself from the White mainstream American society and simultaneously identifying closer with the blue-collar Mexicans. Her point here is that unlike herself, those "rednecks" who complain about Mexican immigrants simply do not know how hard-working they are and how much they suffer and toil to make ends meet. She is also making a broad statement on a macro issue (immigration) from her micro-social experience, with quick generalizations. Another aspect of SI analysis is selecting what to respond to, or indicating to oneself. In Becky's story of growing up in her neighborhood, she mentions some Mexican boys that would catcall her. She would choose not to respond to that, and ignored such "stimulus" from her environment. Talking about her neighborhood friends, Gillian reveals very limited interaction with them, and how she never thought they were different from her. So, she seems to have stayed at the "play stage" of self-development regarding the Other. This is true in the literal sense as well, because she talks about how she spent much time playing basketball with this Philippine boy in her neighborhood. Although Sarah did not have extensive interactions with the minorities during her childhood, she remembers always empathizing with the Latinos because she thought they were unfairly treated by the teachers, thus she prefers to symbolically interact not with the "me" of authority but with the "me" of the Latinos. Somehow, despite being raised in the same family, she also did not develop the "me" self of her brother, who would make fun of her dating one of the Latinos living in the "Trailer Park." I think her brother's racist attitude was representative of the general "me" self of her specific upper-class white community, generally segregated from the lower-class non-whites, but even at such an early age she had developed a distinct "I" self without prejudice. Emily's case is even more interesting because her story about her neighborhood makes it clear that she is confident and skilled in both cultural worlds of Cubans and Whites. Unlike other white teachers Emily seems to be equally comfortable shuttling back and forth between the symbolic systems of both cultures. However, from her strong bicultural lens, she does not base social segregation on culture. She explains social groups and classes totally on the basis of socioeconomic status, and

uses the example of "art" as a status symbol and how it is used as a status marker for the elites. Being poor, she did not have "access" to art or learning how to appreciate art. Here we can see that she "successfully" internalized the view of the generalized other, dictated by the elite class. She does not seem to question the importance of the elite version of artistic capacity, but only the inability of having access to it. Also, her dark skin tone being perceived by the local Latinos as a marker of being a Latina, and so being approached by them as if she was a Latina is interesting because it shows how important some seemingly insignificant small signs can be, when interpreted by different people in different ways. Dark skin tone, in this case was a "significant symbol" for them, signifying cultural membership. Keisha's cultural symbolic interaction began with her first French and Latin classes. She found the culture and language presented in those course books interesting and was driven to learn more. She describes this broadening scope of cultural mental semiosphere as "branching out" from her own community out toward the world. It is obvious that as she learned and experienced more from various episodes of interaction, she was able to develop many diverse generalized others, both expanding her horizons and enriching her personality.

Regarding the past schooling experience, Gina comes up with an image of a stereotypical underachiever minority child, which does not has poor grades and thus not allowed to do sports and even if he/she is allowed to do sports he/she will probably be "kicked out of" them too if he/she gets into trouble. Since Gina herself was an "achiever" she did not interact with that kind of a school mate at her school. Gina's description feels sterile and official, not necessarily implying an empathy. Speaking of her school, Sarah succinctly portrays her context by using the image of "the Mexican Hallway." To her, this Hallway symbolizes the gate to the third (physical) space of interaction where non-Latino/a students had the choice to go and befriend the Latino/as. But nobody did so, and neither did Sarah, because in her self-interaction of the possible scenarios, she decided that she would appear stupid, if she tried to go up and talk to them. Sarah's dilemma between her interest in the Latin culture and her hesitancy to approach the Latin culture reveals two interrelated things: The perceived need to have a shared subculture as a conversation starter, and authenticity. Without an apparent authentic motivation, any attempt for cross-cultural or inter-group conversation will be taken with suspicion.What is noteworthy here is the way such symbolic self-segregation is facilitated, if not

encouraged by the in-built institutional mechanisms, especially by tracking. From the SI perspective, tracking represents the generalized other to be adopted by the lower-track students and treat him/herself as the object of it, accepting this "me" self assigned to him/her by the institution. Sarah's observation that the Mexican students were like "ghetto kind," they were "all the same color and dressed the same" also indicates that such separation among the school groups prevented individual students from deeper appreciation of others, thus they could have deeper intra-group symbolic interaction but cut off from inter-group social interactions and perspective-taking, which eventually led to simplistic overstated beliefs about the Other, as evident in Gina's (big-lipped Black girl) and Becky's (the Black are better athletes) stereotyping. Another interesting point rises when Emily talks about how she realized cultural differences and became aware of the Other at the fourth grade, when two Cuban classmates were being loud. The realization came only after the Cuban teacher focused the classroom's attention on their behavior and explained it to the whole class that that was only normal, "this is how we speak in our community." This is an important point because the teacher, representing the authority, tells the students how to interact with the situation, labeling it as "normal." Another teacher might have scolded the same kids for beign loud. As such, practicing culturally appropriate pedagogy is important not only for the culturally different learners, but also for the learners from the mainstream culture. The teacher was giving the symbolic tool to shape student thinking here. In Becky's school experience as a student, her interactions with the other cultures was mostly through the courses, especially the language courses. Just like Keisha's experience, her symbolic interaction with the course content and materials like images and posters paved the way to deeper understanding of the Other. I would like to call this as the second-hand "mental space of interaction." From this school-provided symbolic space of interaction, they later moved to the first-hand "interpersonal space of interaction" when they experienced life in another country. The only Black teacher I have interviewed, Keisha told me a different schooling experience. She was lucky to have the full support of her family, her community and her teachers, but the official curriculum at her school was representative of the white culture, not supportive of her Black experience outside the school. Presented from top-down, the curriculum represented the expectations of the society and dictated its internalization as the generalized other in the name of meeting standards, regardless of the "recipient" students' culture. This was confusing and hard

for her to comply with. The "blond-haired blue-eyed girl living on a farm" was not reflective of her experience. Fortunately, she did not have to, and she was able to eschew such curricular irrelevancy to immediate experience thanks to her Black teachers. They helped her by bringing culturally appropriate materials written by Black authors to the class. The first time she became aware of her "otherness" was when they watched the "Roots" with their teacher at school. This was the first time she became aware of herself as the object, as the "me." However, her construction of "me" as the social self required a twofold effort compared to a white peer in a dominantly white society. She had to learn how to construct both a White "me," and a Black "me" to be able to move up through and navigate the official education system because while officially tolerated, her culture was not officially recognized as valid.

An important part of these teachers' past experience is their stay in another country where the language they teach is spoken. This was a great equalizer especially for the White teachers because it forced them to see how it felt like to be a minority, being visibly different. It was like a big cultural "looking glass," viewing themselves as the object of the Other. It could be likened to undressing, whereas previously they were comfortable dressed in white in a white society where the norm was white, now the dress code was different and they were being forced to remove the white dress. This time, the local people foregrounded their "Americanness" and "femaleness." Perhaps for the first time, they felt the urge to fight for their "I" self against the "me" self laid upon them. They were mostly stereotyped as "rich Republican American," or "easy sexy American girl," and they strived to prove them the opposite was true, doing their best to distance themselves from that perceived social role. One way of retaliation strategy against such stereotyping was counter-stereotyping. Emily and Sarah, for example, found the host culture medicinal beliefs "weird" and the Hispanic people were too dependent on their parents, unlike the US. Wendy thought the bathrooms in China were "weird." Wendy also thought that the Chinese were not individualistic enough and were too apathetic. In Wendy's case, we also witness the clash of the mental space of interaction with the actual, experienced interpersonal space of interaction, whose results were disappointing for Wendy because the Chinese failed to live up to her imagined behavior. Further, Deb actually distanced herself even from being "girly," by saying that Latinas are always jealous of her because she is able to hang out with" their men" despite she does not "do

her nails or put on makeup" but they do. With this, Deb setreotypes both gender roles and culture, projecting a strong and proud "I" self as well. Keisha's skin color became something of an asset in China because her Blackness was prized there for being exotic and she was treated "like a celebrity," which she did not complain about. This goes on to show that even something visible and fixed like skin color can be fluid and can be an object of reinterpretation. I think this type of transiency, relevancy, context-dependency and fluidity of meanings is very crucial because when people view situations ony temporary the nature of their interactions with them are completely different. Arguably, being so intelligent and perceptive, Keisha would have been disturbed by such an exotization of self in her own culture, but rather she seems to have enjoyed it in the TC. Keisha and Sarah stress that they went to the TC with an open mind and wanted to have as deep and authentic experience as possible. Here, "authenticity" comes up again as a significant symbol. Through their authentic experiences and interactions teachers internalized the generalized other of the TC to varying degrees. For example, Wendy was eventually able to to see why the Chinese were acting so "apathetic," and thus tore down the walls of bias blocking her taking the role of the Other, while Keisha reached a deeper understanding that essentially we are all human after all. However, regarding the adoption of TC roles, Becky covered the widest range and depth. For example, she tried wearing a veil and fasting, despite the fact that she is a religious Christian. Thus, she consciously selected her ways of action in the TC, challenging her own religious rules in place. She even went beyond that by trying to understand some Islamic practices like wedding four wives, by putting herself in Senegalese Muslim men. She was clearly going beyond the cultural, religious and gender-based roles assigned to her, in a genuine effort to make sense of the Other. For Becky, Gillian and Emily, this deeper appreciation manifests itself in the way they realized the importance of family, after their symbolic interaction with the TC. Especially for Emily, a transcending view of self emerged: now she could understand why "being an American is not a great thing for certain people." Besides this critical view of the self as "me," she also gained a deeper, more refined perspective on the TC compared to her perspective before she went abroad. After coming back to the US, Sarah felt a longing for the diversity in Peru, identifying with the Peruvian perspective and distancing herself from the boring US cultural ways of behavior, stereotyping them as "drinking beer and ice-fishing." Her story shows that people can and do make conscious choices on what

pieces of culture to focus on, what meanings to assign to them and to what degree appropriate them as part of their own self. For Becky, her study abroad experience of having to develop her "me" self as the object of the Other resulted in having a stronger "I" self because she "finally understood what it was like for somebody to be a minority."

As for the present time experiences, the teachers' overall approach emphasizes the "uniqueness" of each student, contrary to all the stereotyping they construct for others. Becky is particularly concerned about making sure her students' classroom experience is authentic, safe and equitable, by giving them "voice". This approach is very much in line with the SI approach because it asserts that people make their own meanings of the objects and situations. Actually the whole reason for the creation of SI was originally to counter the idea that people are helpless in changing their conditions because of the innate personal or social structures. There is no one universal "truth" to be accepted by everybody. Becky also stresses being a good "role model" for her students, which makes sense because the students will be symbolically interacting with that role model in their social construction of their selves. So, instead of cookie-cutting the meanings for her students, she wants them to make them themselves, by just modeling, leaving the decision to them. Unlike Becky, Gillian believes in "instilling" the right attitude in students that they can do it. This implies that she buys into the authority figure and she may have developed a stronger "me" by internalizing the "general other." Bringing in a farmer analogy, Sarah keeps using the "harvest" as the metaphor for her approach to diversity. She believes in harvesting the individual differences. She wants to follow an inductive methodology for her teaching, rather than basing her pedagogy on deductive assumptions like stereotypes. Labeling Black students as "outspoken," she wants to involve them by using music, dancing and drama. She gives an interesting example of using collective action as a method of discipline, by asking them in Spanish "Who are we?," and getting them all to act together as part of a team and indicating to themselves, so we can see the application of symbolic interactionism in a very micro scale in her pedagogy. Gina believes that the diversity courses she has been taking as part of her certification have been helpful for her to raise her awareness (as a tool of focusing attention in the Goffmanian sense) and sensitivity to be more inclusive in her teaching, but she thinks that having a Black teacher would work better for the Black students, because they would be able to better identify

with her/him. This is another interesting point. From the SI angle, younger learners might actually find it easier to take a teacher of their own race or ethnicity as a model, and symbolically interacting with her/him by role-taking. Interestingly, she hypothetically assumes the symbolic role of a minority student by stereotyping them: "So, maybe like Mexican students may be more clingy, huggy, more touchy than you are, just because that is cultural. …if a teacher is really cold to them, and is like 'No, we can't hug, we can't touch,' they might take that in the wrong way or something. They might, like, dislike school more because they think their teachers are mean." It seems like here Gina's stereotyping is purely functional: She is trying to understand minority students from their perspective, but lacking deeper knowledge of them, she seems to apply stereotyping as a strategy. As such, limited knowledge may hinder assuming the roles of Other, and may prevent successful empathy-building. The mental image on Gina's mind regarding minority students is negative because she associates them with discipline problems, so she needs to reconceptualize them in her mind as well. When Deb is talking about how important it is to correct racist student behavior on the spot, she reflects on herself as object for a second (as a "me" self) and says: "I don't even know how I'm saying this I sound like an idiot." and then continues: "I mean all of those multicultural lessons and cultural sensitivity blah blah blah blah blah, is always something you have to think about." Such sarcastic and off-handed remarks tell me that she is not really serious about countering racism or she does not really buy into its solution. Sometimes White teachers feel really helpless when they encounter some discipline problems with minority students because they seem to lack the cultural symbolic funds to cope with them, as in Sarah's episode with a Black student regarding his cell-phone, where she was accused of being racist. In this case, while she has the institutional power representing the generalized other, the student wields more cultural power by representing his own culture. Admittedly lacking the experiential knowledge of the Other, she was unable to handle this minor crises by successful role-taking and thinking out the possible scenarios of action well (Which points out to the need for training in culturally relevant peagogy). As strategies to address diversity, authenticity (Becky) and showing interest/remembering (Emily) stand out in the narratives of these teachers. One unexpected finding is how significant the teachers thought it was to make sure their students understand the intra-cultural/linguistic diversity of the target language they teach. They try to accomplish this mostly through music, movies and even

visits to the TC, in an attempt to have the students symbolically interact with and adapt features of the TC. Talking to native speakers, especially from their own age group seems to work best for the students in terms of such positive interactions. Moreover, Becky's story about her presentation to her students various types of toilets and bidets is interesting because it is a clear example of how teachers can get students to symbolically interact with everyday objects and reinterpret them, affording them deeper insights into and empathy for other cultures. Becky found that such imagined symbolic interaction was hard for younger students, and she tried acting as a successful strategy. Obviously, language teachers bring the Other into the classroom by creating a third cultural space, initiating many simultaneous mental interactions and multiple perspective-taking.

Regarding racism, Becky thinks that "ignoring" racism is also a type of racism, and when students called her "racist" to possibly test her reaction, she had a conversation with her students and wanted them to to justify that. She is confident enough about it that she is not shy about confronting others about her stance. She does not imply that she is perfect though: "I can't help that I have assumptions about certain people, I can't help that there are certain patterns that exist in the educational system I mean I can try to overcome them, but,...everybody has racist moments, racist tendencies, even people of color." She is honest about her internalization of the dominant social "generalized other", but she is conscious of it at the same time and she says that she would welcome criticisms from others and she will try to change her behavior as long as they are justified. Becky thinks that racism is mostly institutional, while the other teachers believe that there is an anonymous and indirect racism prevalent in the society. Interestingly, talking about her experience with anonymous racism toward her, Keisha mentions how some White people try to reverse code-switch with her and talk to her in the African-American vernacular, trying to coordinate their symbolic interactive spaces with her, trying to create a presumptively shared space, which she finds racist as well. If she did not present a counter example, their behavior would just be reinforced. Her refusal to cooperate by playing along with them helps weaken such stereotypes in people's minds. Deb conceptualizes racism is via episodes she had with racist people from her school context. In each of the cases she narrates, she also details how she reacted to the racist situation, sometimes formally filing a complaint and sometimes gossiping about it and publicizing it to her peers, family and friends. All the white teachers are aware of their privileges associated with being white,

looking at themselves from a "looking glass" perspective, but at the same time they try to balance it out in a defensive way by talking about the potential disadvantages it poses, like getting discriminated againt by affirmative action. Here, Emily raises a notable quandary: How to be White but fight the White privilege at the same time? This is essentially a fundamental fight between the generalized other (me) conforming the social norms and the "I," trying to fight it and change it. To "compensate" for their Whiteness, these teachers try to get more deeply involved in other cultures and learn more about them, but Emily points out that in the teaching context, you cannot act as if you are not White with a Black student; that would not be authentic. The specifics of the local context (e.g. urban vs rural) and the demographics of the educational setting weigh in heavily in these teachers' consideration of addressing diversity because they believe that to be able to teach well and be fair, they need to calibrate their teaching style accordingly. Emily expressed concern about keeping her "teacher self" consistent across various contexts because inconsistency for her signals poor teaching. Becky ensures her consistency by reflecting on her teaching, by getting peer perspectives on it (rendering herself as an objective and assuming the "me" self). From an SI perspective, since people are unable to see their "I" selves, but they can only see it retrospectively, they need the society, they need to view themselves from the Other perspective, as "me" self. In this case consistency in teaching clearly requires others. "We are never totally aware of the '*I*,' and through it we surprise ourselves with our actions. We know the '*I'* only after the act is carried out. Thus we know the '*I*'only in our memories." (Ritzer, 2011, p.362). Regarding the influence of media on diversity, teachers choose not to consciously interact with the media images and messages as much as possible (for example by not watching TV) because they all think it just reinforces stereotypes and normalizes racist and violent behavior. They seem to be critical consumers of media, selective and resistant to the symbols and images it disseminates. For diversity-oriented professional development, Becky attends conferences and relies on her professional network, while Emily and Gina rely mostly on their minority students by interacting with them and learning from them.

Finally, what Becky identifies as the root of the discrimination problem is striking and very relevant to the SI analysis. Basically the discriminatory practices against minorities stem from an improper symbolic interactionism of adults with the children. Especially young children, having internalized the symbols of the

home culture experience problems when they try to carry that set of home symbols into the school setting. The "me" self at home may not work so well at school. In turn, their teachers or administration may misinterpret such maladaptation and label them with emotional, cognitive or behavioral disorders. In other words, children and the staff may fail to attach the same meaning to the same object or behavior. Becky suggests that this misalignment between the home and school culture (symbolic interactive spaces) can be solved by clarifying the expectations and making the school rules clear to all.

Regarding their future imagined selves and experiences, all teachers want to stay in the teaching profession and spend some time teaching abroad, which helps explain their representation of a strong professional self in the present. Becky imagines herself growing into a teacher trainer, teach future teachers how important addressing diversity is to teaching besides getting people interested in traveling and languages so that they will be less biased. Deb hopes to grow further as a Spanish teacher and continue to raise her voice about the unfair and discriminatory practices in her school. Eventually moving to Seattle, Emily hopes to take advantages of the professional opportunities that come her way and affect the world positively. Gillian wants to work in an immersion school after trying different educational settings, and wants to keep learning about her students so that she can teach them and raise them to their potential in the best way. Gina aims to deepen her knowledge about different cultures and keep diversity in mind when teaching, hopefully without experiencing burnout like her teacher mom. By staying close to her hometown, Sarah plans to promote the Hispanic culture in her school and close the gap between the Hispanic and non-Hispanic students. Expressing dissatisfaction with her current town, Keisha wants to move to the East Coast, where she would feel more at home. Specific to the diversity aspects that these teachers think need to be improved from a reflective standpoint, Becky again underscores "authenticity," and her need to make her teaching more authentic perhaps by involving parents. Deb hopes to increase cultural sensitivity in her school and increase community involvement in her classes. Emily would like to increase her awareness of her students' diversity without being restricted by it. Gina thinks she needs to have more international and local experiences, improve her knowledge of minorities and learn how to act to diversity-related feedback. Gillian feels like she needs to deepen her knowledge about other cultures, especially the Hispanic culture. Sarah thinks she needs to become "unconsciously skilled" (expert) in

teaching. Keisha imagines herself that she may need to make her curriculum culturally responsive. Regarding the future of diversity, Becky, Emily, Gillian and Gina think that it will keep gradually improving due to increasing international communication (Becky) and increasing demographic diversity (Emily and Gina). All these imagined future selves are important because they help explain their present actions, projecting light from the future into the makings of their "me" selves.

SI can be likened to speaking a language: speaker's words precede him/her (consider situationally appropriate registers/scripts), but what she will exactly say depends on speaker's specific symbolic interaction with the given situation. SI also has made me realize that there are multiple "me"s and "I"s operating concurrently. For example, when the teachers were talking about their "I"gency during the interview, they were also conscious of the social expectations from them and monitoring their stories through their "me" Self. I felt that Deb cared the least about "impression management" during the interview with me, probably because of my friendship with her outside of the interview context, and so not "framing" it as a formal situation. In general, these teachers gave me a sense of knowing how to be politically correct and I felt like their responses were scripted to some extent (this was not so much the case with Becky and Deb). Thus my feeling was that Deb gave me the most sincere and personal answers with her swearwords and her honest account of how she dislikes her "racist" colleagues and boss. In a sense, being "on-the-record," I was not completely allowed into the rest of the teachers' *back stage* self, as formulated by Goffman. However, the inconsistencies, slips and stereotypes in their talk revealed some glimpses to covert thinking as well.

Refusing reductionism and the assumption of uniform experience, Collins (2000), as an African-American feminist SI professor, rejects the controlling slavery era images of African-American women because they keep Black women oppressed by normalizing racism/sexism, and maintaining interlocking systems of race, class and gender oppression. Her argument strongly reflects Keisha's rejection of being seen as a representative of Black experience. In addition, Collins' feeling of "growing smaller in a world where she was not only different, but also considered less important," resonates with Keisha's feeling of an outsider within the White community. Another concept that explains Keisha's situation is Goffman's "discredited

stigma." Keisha's skin color is not perceived as a stigma in her own community, unlike her current White school community.

In addition, going abroad and then coming back home, these teachers had to assign and re-assign meanings to their existing *significant symbols* (gestures that calls out the response of the other, like insults) in their minds, like having "white skin" or being called "American". Through the interaction with significant symbols in the home culture (HC) and the TC, they have gradually developed two "me" selves from each (based on the dialectic between the "me" and "I"). These two major selves constantly negotiated, reinterpreted and their certain parts highlighted depending on the perceived context. For example, being an American (HC self) is foregrounded in the TC, while the TC self is underscored in the HC, for various reasons like to imply excellent professional cultural competence. Sometimes certain features of self is downplayed as well, as when Deb downplays her "female"ness in the TC. Proud with the accomplishment of developing a full TC "me," allowing them perfectly recognizing, interpreting (reading) and using the TC symbols, the teachers now show off this unique "I" of their social self. In a way, their bilinguality and biculturality lets them be free from both HC and TC to some degree and think/act liminally because they are able to interact with both sets of cultural symbols. The common thread throughout all these teacher narratives is a life spent on achieving the social "me" in the TC, so that acting as a distinct "I," they can change the unfair HC practices toward the TC people. One important implication of the DSI analysis of their narratives here is that one needs to purposely seek cultural symbols, choose to indicate (relate) them to self, interpret them to make sense of them and then coordinate actions with the Other, which requires extensive and deep interactions with the Other (culture). Otherwise, the symbols remain only superficially and stereotypically interpreted preventing any substantial understanding or empathy for the Other. I have felt that a more superficial sense- and self-making was the case with Gillian, while Becky's was deeper and seemed to be getting deeper. Becky was the teacher articulating her opinions in the most detailed and comprehensive way, and she went across boundaries by completely immersing herself in the TC semiosphere (e.g. veiling herself). Keisha also struck me as a person with deep symbolic understanding on many levels, who still keeps growing. I also observed that these teachers are more comfortable and confident talking about the target language and TC, rather than the US, lending further

support the SI postulation that people choose which phenomena or objects to symbolically interact, what meanings to ascribe to them and to what degree. Therefore simply being a US citizen does not automatically make them "subject" to the same symbolic interactive process. They have an active role in shaping their selves, and in this case they seem to shape it more around the TC context and symbols. As well, my analysis reveals the need for a broadened multi-chromatic (including shades of White and Black) and multi-chronological (Past-Present-Future) lens on the diversity issue, rather than the traditional lens of focusing on the socialization of the mind from the context-free present time. Social coordination of the mind and selves requires one to have simultaneous symbolic interaction in the past, present and future spaces intersected by all the other perceived selves, including the generalized other. My initial purpose was to "deconstruct" teacher knowledge and beliefs by learning about past experiences and identifying the sources of certain knowledge and belief formation. Hence the word in my study title "demystification." I had thought that maybe the teachers in my study had a critical incident in their past and turned racist or the exact opposite. However, although they cited some racist anecdotes (especially Deb), they did not turn racist. In fact, this supported the SI proposition that people are actively selecting in what to be affected and how. So, none of the teachers seem to have changed opinions due to such negative experiences, but rather reinterpreted them as awareness-raising examples for how not to be.

From the DA part of the DSI conceptual interpretive lens, my micro-social SI analysis begs a higher meaning and wisdom. The DA component provides this conscience-wisdom and helps answer the million dollar question of "so what". Why would all these teachers 'go out of their ways' to address diversity? Yes, they are officially required to meet the diversity standards, but without sincere motivation no standard can be successful. Institutional requirements can only partially explain their motivation. For the eight teachers taking part in this study, the instrinsic motivation for tackling diversity to their best came from their imagination of an equitable world (in the DA sense). They have been constructing their Selves in different ways (e.g. in different degrees of cross-cultural experiences) to address the inequity in the society in general, and in their schools in particular. What the SI lacks is the "moral" and "spiritual" dimension of the DA. Thus, through their symbolic interactions, drawing both from their past and future, these teachers have actually been growing morally and spiritually to affect the world positively and seem determined to keep doing so. Their decisions to learn

languages, become a teacher, to go abroad, to make friends from many different cultures, and exploring multicultural perspectives to gain deeper cultural consciousness seem all to be motivated by the same goal, which perfectly aligns with the premise of the DA. It explains how these teachers maintain their integrity and consistency through so many different and sometimes conflicting situations and perspectives by re-situating ontological realism in relative ontology, eschewing syllogism. The DA clarifies that, selectively filtering the outside discourse through their subjective experiences, teachers construct their unique identities in the primary world (the "I"), which provides continuity of self. I have tried to discuss above how this symbolic construction process worked for the teachers at the micro level. The DA posits that the perceived psycho-socio-cultural dimensions are constructed, deconstructed and negotiated within the complex dynamic of "trialectics" by the teachers in the semiotic third space in their minds. I have tried to analyze how they do this through symbolic interaction. Still, indicative of a low level of social awareness, the teachers (especially Gillian) show some "sense of superiority" toward the Other in their narratives (evident especially in their stereotyping), which is to be eliminated if real diversity is to be achieved. Further, observed from the DA perspective, these teachers (especially Becky) have been going through a personal transformative process of "global citizenship," reflecting on and knowledge/belief reframing of their experiences to reach a high level of "metasemiosis," and relating it to their professional "semioethics" on their way to become deep educators. Taken together, SI and DA confirm the importance of taking multiple intra-and inter-cultural perspectives of the Other, keeping in mind the overarching purpose of achieving equitable and culturally relevant pedagogy for all.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS: MOVING AWAY FROM THE PETALS AND SEEING THE BEAUTY OF THE PHENOMENAL FLOWER

In this concluding section, I summarize my initial motive for the study and its change over time, followed by an overview of the original aspects and possible contribution of the new DSI analytical interpretive model (with a flower-bee analogy), by first going over the major findings unearthed by the SI aspect of the model, and then over those revealed by the DA aspect.

This study grew out of my personal quest to understand how teachers for their knowledge and beliefs, which I thought were the foundations of their actions. Later, after experiencing discrimination in the US due to my foregrounded foreignness, I became aware of other types of injustices, especially based on ethnicity and culture. This led me to pay more attention to the cross-cultural issues in teacher education since I always wanted to be a teacher educator. So, teacher education and diversity became the natural focus for me to study and understand deeper. My initial plan was only to use SI for my analysis, but I quickly noticed that such analysis would not give me the depth of understanding I was after, which prompted me to add another analytical tool to my toolbox, the DA. Merging SI with DA has given me a powerful holistic tool to grasp how teachers construct their experiences. The new DSI analytical approach I propose here is a unique lens because while it uses the "vertical" depth of the SI, it also combines it with the "horizontal" depth of the DA, trying to incorporate the deep ethos of the deep sharing, which is the transformative basis of multicultural education. At the intersection of these two types of depth (vertical and horizontal) sits the teacher Self/Selves with four different depth levels. Thus, there is a deep "I" and a deep "me" teacher self, invisibly operating across contexts and over time, yielding a transcendent sense of coherent personal/professional identity. Even Becky, who stands out as the teacher with the deepest understanding of and dedication to social justice and fair treatment of all cultures, suggests that African-Americans need to code-switch to succeed at school, or stereotypes them by saying things like "the Black are better athletes". On the surface, this may seem in conflict with her other progressive beliefs, but I prefer to interpret this as an indication of integrity. She

comes across as a genuinely honest person in her statements. These teachers utilize the larger symbolic discourse of the mainstream society to look at themselves and to look at the other cultures, and they have the "authoritative" professional discourse and the "internally persuasive" discourse (in the Bakhtinian sense) where they are trying to position themselves along a continuum of multicultural dedication. By using DDA to analyze the participant teachers' statements, I was able to connect them to other contexts and worldviews, always keeping in mind the depth of experience and reflection, and how they are expressed in personal narratives. Still, my original goal to "demystify" teacher beliefs and knowledge of diversity to "improve" them has turned out to be too ambitious, because they are not as easy to capture as I had initially thought. With all the dimensions I have tried to cover here, teachers' constructions are still very complex, fluid, and elusive. However, I believe that my DSI analysis of the data is still helpful because it demonstrates that based on the degree of their interest in social justice and through the symbolic contact points with various cultural groups, preservice teachers choose to distance themselves from the mainstream culture (eg. art is the milieu of the elite class), they resist the racial/ethnic roles they are expected to play by the US or host country society, that they use many cultural stereotypes despite expressing disbelief in them, their degree of depth in intercultural interactions and the degree of empathy with them varies (Gina apparently has the least and Becky has the highest cross-cultural empathy among the participants), they sometimes connect their lived SI experiences (eg. Deb's experience with Mexicans) to the broader DA context (illegal immigration), they question the mainstream injustice and develop different degrees of meta-awareness of systemic racism/discrimination, depending on the degree of personal investment in social transformation, and they are able to progress from the second-hand symbolic "mental space of interaction" using superficial symbols such as foods and clothing to the first-hand "interpersonal space of interaction," by personally experiencing other cultures.

Regarding target language cultures, all of the participants crossed cultural boundaries by viewing themselves from the other culture's lens, at the same time distanced themselves from the role cut for them by this other culture such as countering or rejecting the "easy American girl" stereotype by downplaying being female. The degree of relevancy, stability or permanency they assign to various symbolic cross-cultural

markers changes. They express various degrees of sincerity in trying to learn about the other, determining the range and depth of intercultural experience (like Becky's wearing veil or fasting like Muslims). They all express a sincere concern about having an authentic experience of the other culture, and determination to have deep intercultural experiences. Their study-abroad experiences also re-shaped their lives regarding diversity (eg, Becky finally understood what it means to be a minority).

Regarding the present time, the participants have various degrees of symbolic interactions at various contact points with students, and some recurrent phenomenological points emerge as significant, such as the uniqueness of each student, the importance of being a good role model for them; the clash of the power of first-hand personal knowledge (being a Black student) with the power of authority (as a White teacher lacking the experiential knowledge of the being Black); authenticity (Becky), honesty, showing sincere interest, and remembering (Emily) stand out as strategies to address diversity in the narratives of these teachers; they try to make sure their students understand the intra-cultural/linguistic diversity of the target language they teach through music, movies, drama, and even visits to the TC, in an attempt to have the students symbolically interact with and adapt (internalize) features of the TC, and empathize with people from other cultures. Furthermore, some participants counter racism in their schools very promptly and vehemently (such as Deb and Becky), while others' reactions do not appear as strong. Additionally, the specifics of the local context (e.g. urban vs rural) and the demographics of the educational setting seem to deeply affect the way they address (or would address) diversity. Also, while being aware of the media stereotypes, they are critical of media and they do not seem to be influenced by the media to a great extent. Their professional improvement efforts regarding diversity do not seem to be very strong.

Whereas the SI aspect of the DSI helps explain the interpretation of knowledge and beliefs, the DA aspect looks for/into "wisdom" in teacher actions. The focus enabled by DSI may enhance the perspective in culturally relevant/responsive teacher education, as it is non-normative and allows reflection in a deeply interactionist way. My favorite hobby is gardening, and I have always been interested in plants, especially flowering plants, so a horticultural analogy to my multicultural analysis here could help better clarify my point. In my flower model of phenomenological teacher experience, each petal shows a different color of

teacher meaning–making, indicating how personal experiences are colored through the interpretive experiential worlds of the teachers. By the same token, as a researcher, I can be likened to a bee trying to collect the nectars of interpreted experience from each teacher. This analogy is also useful to explain the double hermeneutics involved in the phenomenological analysis: I have tried to make sense of how teachers make sense of their own experiences. So, they first filter and convert their experiences into "nectars," and then I, as the researcher try to turn the nectar into honey, through my own DSI processes. The DA aspect of the DSI blossom allows an analysis of "why" teachers choose to situate and reframe their experiences in line with a certain worldview, a higher transdisciplinary purpose, and intentions guided by certain beliefs and knowledge, eventually (but not necessarily) reaching a moral/spiritual consciousness (By spiritual here I am referring to Korten's (2007) use of the term, in the sense that a person feels a deep connection to Earth, with deep global awareness and responsibility). Through the transformative process of becoming "global citizens," teachers can meta-semiotically reframe self-knowledge/beliefs to reach a transcendent DA level of semio-ethical "conscience-wisdom" governed by the deep "I". This deep "I" is the basis for selectively filtering the outside discourse through their symbolic interactive subjective experiences to ensure continuity of the deep self in the "trialectics" of the semiotic third space, enabling teachers to maintain their integrity and consistency, by gaining deeper cultural consciousness and providing a higher macro purpose and direction (like social justice) for the individual micro actions and choices, driven by an "imagination of an equitable world." The depth also comes from the meta-awareness of the symbolic interactions with people and objects. For example, some teachers' underscoring the need to be "authentic," and "consistent" denotes a deeper level of consciousness regarding these socio-cognitive processes in the construction of knowledge and beliefs. My DSI framework is too new and it is still work in progress, but hopefully it will help teachers and teacher educators to reflect on the complex and fluid dynamics of their multicultural experiences from a fresh perspective, helping them find creative ways to address diversity and seek alternative spaces of transformative social justice in their own lived experiences.

LIMITATIONS

Missing in my analysis is the observation of these teachers during their "overt" interactions (in the Meadian sense) with others, especially with their students. Such an observation would bolster my SI analysis by allowing me to see the "conversation of gestures" and meaning-making in the classroom and possibly in the larger school context.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

DSI focuses on conscious action and socialization, so it would also be interesting to study the role of subconscious in the interpretation of diversity. Another potential research point is studying the role of emotions (like worries and regrets) in teachers' social construction of their diversity beliefs.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

PART I (Past) *90 min*.

1. Thinking about your past, what have your sources of learning been about other cultures and races?
2. Have you been exposed to different cultural groups? Did that change your ideas of them? Any specific examples?
3. How has your family and schooling influenced your mental constructions of race and diversity? Any specific examples?
4. Do you remember any standing out experiences regarding racial/ethnic discrimination?
5. What kind of images come up in your mind when specific ethnic/racial groups are mentioned?
6. Did you have any friends from other races so far? How have your interaction with them been? Any specific examples?
7. How was your interaction with the host family during your study abroad? Any specific examples?
8. What did you learn about the host country people when you were there?
9. How do you compare the diversity issues in the host country culture and here? Any specific examples?
10. Coming back to the US, how did you feel, how did you re-acculturate here? What did you notice that you had learned?
11. Have you encountered any problems with the minorities while teaching? Any specific examples?
12. Did you observe some racism among students towards one another? Any specific examples?

PART II (Present) *90 min*.

1. How do you infuse diversity issues into your teaching? Any specific examples?
2. Where do you see yourself in terms of addressing diversity in your class? Do you see any areas to be improved? Any specific examples?
3. What is your ideological or philosophical stance on diversity and discrimination?
4. Is there anything specifically related to language teaching and diversity that is important for you?
5. In terms of diversity, how do you connect your study abroad experience to your experience here at the department and at the schools you teach?
6. How is the racial makeup of the classes you are teaching?
7. What do you think about the African-American/Hispanic/Asian (and other) culture, do you see any differences in the way they behave?
8. What do you think about the local situation, like instead of this city, if you were teaching somewhere else, a more rural or more urban town, how would that be different?
9. What is your relationship with the minorities in the workplace/at school?
10. How does being a Caucasian person work for you? Do you feel privileged because of your race?
11. How is diversity represented in the mainstream media? For example, when you watch MTV or BET, you think they are representative of African-American culture?
12. Have you seen any positive or negative changes regarding racial/ethnic discrimination at schools? How?

PART III (Future) *90 min*.

1. How do you see yourself both as an individual in this society and as a teacher in the next 10 years regarding diversity?
2. How do you construct your racial self as a Caucasian teacher?
3. What's your career plan as a language teacher? How will this affect your behavior on diversity issues?
4. Do you see any future improvements in how the minorities are treated in classrooms?
5. Do you consider yourself knowledgeable about the Hispanic/African-American/Asian culture (and other minority cultures) in the US? Will you be looking for ways to improve your knowledge of them?
6. Do you consider yourself competent about the Hispanic/African-American/Asian culture (and other minority cultures) in the US? Will you be looking for ways to improve your competence of teaching them?
7. To summarize, I'd like you to go back, think about yourself and your experience and think about the present and then your projections about the future, especially regarding school. If you had to summarize your position, how would you do it?
8. Can you build a storyline of your future as a teacher regarding these issues?

APPENDIX B

BECKY IN THE CROSS-FIRE OF RACISM

"So my friends decided that they were hungry, so we went to a McDonalds drive-thru. …so we pulled up to the drive-thru, but the other cars were going this way, but since we came from the parking lot,…so I was like there were three cars in front of me,…so it made sense that we'd be the 4th car, and this truck pulled up behind me, and so I figured that the truck would let me in, and I'd be 4th, they'd be 5th. But, rather than letting me in, they tried inching forward, so I inched forward, and I squeezed my car in there, because I was like they're not going to get in front of me, I was here first. So, my friends and I were just talking and whatever, pretty soon, my car was shaking, and somebody was pounding on my windows, and I turned and look at this woman, a black woman who'd leaped out of her car, and got in front of my car, who was screaming at us, and yelling at us: 'I can't believe you think you can sneak your little white asses in here.' and she's just hollering at us, and I'm like: "Oh my God." So I roll up (laugh) all the windows in my car, and my friends are like: 'I can't believe this.' And I'm like I rolled down my window and "Excuse me ma'am, I'm sorry if there's a problem, we were here first, we didn't think it'd be an issue for us to pull in, and…whatever. So my friends, who were really drunk, I wasn't drunk, I was just driving but they were really drunk, they decided to say some really awful things,…the lady had already said little white asses, which was kind of,…whatever, but my friend in the back seat was like: 'You couldn't wait for a couple more minutes to fill out your fat ass?' and then, my friend in the front seat rolls down the window and [imitating her]: 'You like fried chicken, you like your fried chicken?' I'm like: 'Oh my God' and I'm like: 'You cannot say that kind of stuff!' I was so… really…mad at my friends at that point. I was mad at this woman for yelling at me, I was mad at my friends for saying these things… So then there's another truck pulls up on the other side, I'm just trying to avoid the truck and there's these guys, and they're like: 'Honey you might need to get outa here.' I'm like: 'Don't worry, I'm fine.' And he's like: 'No, seriously, look around.' My car was entirely surrounded by other cars, with other black people in the cars (laughs), friends of this woman I'm assuming. So the guy was like 'We're kind of blocking your left back.' He was like: 'We're going to get out of your way in a couple of seconds. If you're smart, you get out of here as soon as possible.' In the meantime, this woman, in front of me, goes walking over towards other cars to talk to them, so the other truck leaves, and as I'm driving away, I had like 3 glass bottles thrown at my car (laughs). It was really scary because I was really mad at my friends, because they… were…being mean, and they were egging the woman on and stuff, but it was just a weird situation…So then, I don't know, everything was fine, we left we got back to the hotel. It was fine. But it was just scary, because we were surrounded by cars for a while…And it was really weird, just because I wouldn't think of getting in line at a McDonald's as being a very blatant racist move. I see a big pickup truck, and I automatically assume that it's some big hick farmer. I don't know any better. But it was just really awful. … (My friends didn't make any other racist comments) because I yelled at them and I just really got mad at them and 'You can't say that, you can't just do that kind of stuff, this is my car and I'm the one who's driving you around, you have to be respectful of my wishes', and they were like {imitating}: 'We're sorry, we're sorry, we're just trying to defend you.' And I am like: 'Well, defending me doesn't necessarily require you to make a racial comment to somebody else.' (Laughs). So, I know that they kind of provoked the woman ahead. …I got out of it (this experience) basically that those two girls in my car, two of my closest friends from high school, I would never in my wildest dreams had assumed that they would be racist, or say something racist. And the fact that they did just astounded me. And also, I'd never had an experience where a Black person has said some sort of White comment to me, or…I mean, in Senegal, kind of, because I was minority, but if anything, the racism there, would give me an advantage, just because people respected White people in a lot of ways…it depends, it's hard to explain it. But I'd never in America felt, like reverse racism. Like I've had Black friends, I've had situations where I worked with Black people or I've been in groups, whatever, but I'd never had a situation where a Black person took out aggression on me, and made racial comments. So it was really just surprising, and…I mean I

realized that this is an isolated incidence, and this is one woman who said one thing, and yeah she had people around her but, I mean, for all I know she could have told them I did something else. I don't know what she said to them, so they were probably just trying to protect her. It was just kind of…a weird situation. And it was in W. D. of all places, which is a small town, and like, it's busy in the summer, but that was,…in rural X-State, you don't expect an issue like that to come up."

APPENDIX C

GINA'S ENCOUNTER WITH NEO-NAZIS IN EASTERN GERMANY

"I was visiting my sister for two months, and we went camping on the Baltic Sea, we camped on the beach, and that night we were woken up by these whistles and people, like ravers from Berlin, and we were like 'Who are these people?' and we were: 'If we can't beat them, we'll join them.' So we started talking to them, and we ended up hanging out with them all night, and the next day, we were playing volleyball together, and they seemed like really normal people, and after, we were sitting at the beach for a while, listening to music, and my sister comes up to me, and says, 'We should leave right now! We're leaving now!' I was having a really great time, and I'm like, 'Why? What's the big deal?' and she's like, 'We have to go,' and as we were walking away she was like, 'Were you listening to that music?' Oh my god, like everything is coming together now! At their campsite, they had this big sheet, there were like two lightning bolts that said, 'SS.' It turned out that they were neo-Nazis! We had no idea! My sister heard that it was racist music, something about **ni****s**, and really bad stuff, and so she freaked out, and that's why we had to leave, and then we realized the next day, like, Oh my god, look at what the sheet says, that's what those lightning bolts are, and they all have shaved heads. And as we were leaving, as our train was pulling away, this kid had big boots – springerschtiefel (?) is what they're called in German, and he had a shaved head, and as we left he did the Heil Hitler sign to us. And my sister yelled something out the window…I've never seen that before in Germany, and this was East Germany, after Communism, and people were poor. This was in 2000…and then we ran into those same people we saw on the beach on the bus, and we were like, 'This is such bad luck, how can we run into these people again?' And they asked my sister: 'What kind of music do you like?' And she's like, 'Lauren Hill,' and they're like, 'Oh, she's Black.' like, 'How can you listen to that music?'…There were probably like five guys there, and they were like, 'Well we hope you weren't offended by our music. You should understand, like, these people are like taking our jobs' …They were trying to justify their music, and why they are like how they are...I couldn't believe that was still going on in Germany."

APPENDIX D

RACIST EXAMPLES GIVEN BY DEB AND WENDY

EXAMPLES GIVEN BY DEB FOR RACIST FIGURES FROM HER SCHOOL

Figure 1: The School Principal

"But our boss, she is the queen of being culturally insensitive, so when we bring those things up to her, she says 'I don't think that is a problem at all.'…She is white, she is from Small-town, W-state, born and raised there. I wouldn't necessarily call her a "redneck," but I think she was maybe raised a little bit redneck stereotype. If she didn't come up with the idea, she doesn't want to change it. She makes lots of comments and I can't think of any offhand, that are really insensitive. Oh. One of my coworkers, Jay, he

is married to a Chinese woman. She cooks. Every day he eats the leftovers that she cooks. And every day, Meggy, my boss, makes a comment about how stinky his food is and why is he eating with chopsticks. She is the administrator of our school, and she laughs about that, and she is not trying to be funny. She is really so rude." …He usually says something snotty about back. But he doesn't ever tell her…What are you supposed to say, "F* ** *you Meggy?" I mean you can't say that. Everybody else gets mad about it, but…And that sucks. It is hard to change it. She doesn't have to defend her opinion, because she is he boss. She says this is what I say, and that's it. She is beyond and above everything in our school, it is frustrating. Every year at the end of the year we do a director survey, and on a scale of zero to ten, in almost every category I rank her at zero as the worst, and then I write comments on why I think she is a horrible administrator and I know at least three of us do that every year but nothing changes. It is an anonymous survey but some of the comments that I make are specific to my subject area but I am not scared to say this is what I think because it is anonymous, in theory she cannot fire me for it."

Figure 2: The Cooperating Teacher

I was student-teaching,…and…my cooperating teacher is kind of a close-minded woman, and one day I was trying to make small talk with her while we were out on the playground for lunch duty or whatever, and… I asked her where those kids went to high school, if they went to high school at J… J and L schools are divided by one road, and they are really really really close. So I asked her if any of our student from L. would go to J High School, and she actually got mad about it and she is like: "Of course not! We are in L, and J is in M-town." And I was like "Well, if some of the kids lived at the end of the street, they would actually be very close to J High School, why would they go there?" [She was like] "This is L, and L wants to be separate from M-town, and we don't want anything to do with M-town, because if we merged, we would have all the minority and low-income students, and that's not what we want." She said that to me, just like that. I was really… shocked that she said that and I didn't really know what to say back… And I really didn't know whether to argue with her or not to argue with her, because, I'm just, I'm a student, and what if I need her as a reference some day and I didn't really know whether I should get angry… so I didn't say anything. ...So after she said that, then I started to pay attention to her classroom to see how she treated some of the minority students. She was nice to the Asian students, but I noticed that she sent one of the black students out of the room all the time to the… in school detention room. ..I don't know if he deserved to be sent out of the room all the time, but almost every day that I taught there, he was in that room. So, he spent most of his days in there, but anyways her whole reaction to my question, was really inappropriate I think. She didn't even give him a chance, in my opinion…. too bad my teacher doesn't do that (let me tutor him in another room) because this one kid is not getting a fair shot and she doesn't even care about it….Maybe it's because she is racist, I have no idea… But… it was really shocking.... I did write about that situation and it really did upset me and I really did tell about it to my professors here at the department. … They said if she continued to be a big problem, then maybe they would say something. She DID a lot of bad things. It wasn't just the minority kids; she was just a very annoying person, period. ... … according to her, nobody in L wants them. Which is pretty bad, because there ARE low-income and minority students IN L, and if people like her are teaching them, it's pretty sad, because they are not given a fair chance. So…bad teacher!"

Figure 3: The Offensive Computer Teacher

"Oh here's something I've found very offensive in my school: in our school we have something called TGIF its every Friday and it's for the last two hours of every Friday the kids do some kind of educational activity so sometimes we have people come in with wild animals and they teach the kids about the wild animals and everybody goes to the commons and they'll be up in front of the room. All of these people with these wild animals come in and teach the kids so it's really cool…so anyways we have these big presentations it was like a talent show and all kids and all grades get to do some kind of talent on their own or in groups or with certain teachers…. you know it's a talent show anyways there is a teacher in my school who is not certified, …he's extremely unprofessional he wants to be all the kids' best friends and you know touches kids or hugs kids sometimes and it is really inappropriate he's never gone through any

kind of training to know that those kinds of things are inappropriate and one of the things he decided to do with this group of boys, …they created some kind of project in his computer class that was a commercial and they were supposed to be selling lemonade and they called it Larry Lemons Lemonade. So they decided to put on this commercial in front of the entire school and this computer teacher actually dressed up in a poncho and a sombrero and took some maracas and started dancing up in front of the class and was saying he was from Mexico and was being extremely, extremely extremely offensive. And I was extremely offended and I don't think we have any Mexican students in our class but we have other Hispanic students and parents in our school and he put this on not only in front of the entire school but in front of parents and everything and didn't even think twice that that could be offensive. He completely stereotyped an entire group of people saying that they all wear ponchos and sombreros and wasn't even a nice poncho it was a plastic poncho and he was making fun of Mexicans in this commercial and he let his students do that and really Mexicans have nothing to do with making lemonade. This is a lemonade commercial; the only reason he dressed up that way was to try to be funny and what he was doing was making fun of another group of people. I was irate after this happened. Not only did they do this but they took the video that they made and put it on YouTube. … When I found out they put it on YouTube, I brought it to my bosses' attention and said how inappropriate and it was offensive. And I caused a big stink about it but I have no idea what actually happened whether he got reprimanded or not. …But his idea of being funny was making fun of another culture and he did it in front of the entire school and I may be the only person that took offense to it but still. You know after taking so many classes in multiculturalism and diversity….I told many other teachers that went through my program who were offended. My mother I told, who is also a teacher, was offended. I told another friend of mine's parents who were teachers and they were really offended. So the only other people who may not be offended were the people in my school but I said you know what if somebody went up in front and were wearing a loin cloth and face paint and a head dress and started jumping around in front of the stage going (Indian chanting), would people get mad about that? Yes, of course they would get mad about that. So why can Jim be up in front of the school dressed like this Mexican per se? It was horrible. Plus he put his kids on frickin' YouTube. I mean that's really bad, you can't do that. …So anyways, but other teachers in my school were also offended. Probably because I pointed out how offensive it was. I probably got them riled up myself, but once they thought about it yeah..."

Figure 4: The Overly-Inquisitive Coworker

"Two years ago, we got a Mexican Spanish teacher; she teaches my 1st through 3rd grade students so she was born in Mexico, came to the US when she was 14. She is a legal citizen, but one of those teachers in my school asked her, in her first month of teaching, if she came to the US legally and if she was a legal citizen. …you cannot ask questions like that! It is so offensive! She hates that coworker now, won't even talk to him unless she has to. And he is the same one that goes around asking people 'What is your political view? Who did you vote for? Who are you going to vote for? What's your religion? Do you believe in God?' those are inappropriate questions. You shouldn't ask students or adults those questions. But he thinks that's OK. You should know not to do that anywhere, but when you are doing that in a school, you are doing that to KIDS, you are embarrassing them, you are putting them on the spot and you are talking about things that might not necessarily want to talk to at school, singling them out is being different. "Oh, your last name is Rosenberg. You must be Jewish. What is that like? Which synagogue do you go to?" you know. C'mon! Don't do that to the kids! … He doesn't think he is being offensive. He thinks he is sparking up a conversation."

Figure 5: The Non-Challenging French Teacher

"There's a brand new French teacher this year in our school. And she didn't do anything last semester. All my first graders can read and write in Spanish and write grammatically correct… in first grade. None of her first grade students can do that. She doesn't think they could and she doesn't challenge them. So they're bored. I hear the Spanish students make fun of the French students for not knowing anything. It's because their teacher isn't very good. …She's coming from California. …She's definitely not coming

from a school for gifted and talented students. Her expectations are way lower. I've tried many times throughout the semester to explain that these kids are gifted and talented and they are really motivated. Most of them already came to this school knowing how to read and write. Most of these kids knew how to read and write WELL before they even got into kindergarten. They are way ahead of the curve. So challenging them to get them to write French is totally fine, but she doesn't have any expectations of them and so the students' production is really low. And they know that. The kids complain about it."

EXAMPLES GIVEN BY WENDY FOR RACIST PERSPECTIVES FROM HER FAMILY

Example 1: Racism toward Her Asian Husband

"I should mention that before he (my husband) came here I tried to warn him sometimes there is racism especially toward Asian men and he just brushed it off and said 'Oh America, I just want to go there and watch basketball games or whatever he wants to do. But after he's been here for 3 years he would be the first one to tell you that it does make a difference. …he gets a lot (of racism) at his workplace right now. Like people taking advantage of him…He is a Chinese chef type thing and basically he is supposed to be working, but the white coworkers give him some of their tasks so he's doing both his stuff and their stuff and he can't really say anything."

Example 2: Husband's Racist View toward African-Americans

"Where (my husband) works now, he is basically working with mostly Chinese people, like people from China. …They have a stereotype for each group of people that they share with each other. Even with themselves… he's like a server, he cooks up some buffet food. …he says for example you have a few different kinds of people who come in as customers who are like "I want this, ooh can I try some of this, can I try some of that" or they have a whole thing full and they have a special order made and they are like….here I don't want it and they don't want to pay. Just people who are really irritating and you are doing all this work in serving them and then they just like decide...like ahhh (changing their minds). And according to my husband the people who do that are always African American. And so he and his Chinese coworkers have this idea. And the people who get picked up for like stealing food, they go in and they pretend that they have paid he says that those people are almost always African American. …for example the other day, we were driving in here and someone cut him off and he was like, 'Definitely going to be a black person!' And I was like, 'Wow, you can't really say that.'

Example 3: Her (American) Mother's Racist View toward Asians

"And I told you about the guy who came as exchange student right, very rude, very spoiled and ((my mom) cooked his meals every night and he would say, 'This is not delicious!' like every single meal and we were like, 'Wow' and so one day, she bought him some rice and said, 'Hey, you want to make this the way you like it go ahead?' and he said, 'I don't cook. That is for my cook to do.' He has a cook at his house. He's very rich, so that guy didn't help with her perception. And then my husband's issues adjusting to American culture. …I guess, like he said that people in public just slap their wives and whatever and people just go about their business. They're not going to get arrested for anything." …My mom's view has changed to be even more negative than it was as a result of him."

APPENDIX E

IRB Approval

Education and Social/Behavioral Science IRB

7/2/2015

Submission ID number: SE-2012-0607-CR003

Title: Demystifying Language Teachers' Cultural Diversity Knowledge and Beliefs Through Deep Approach

Principal Investigator: FRANCOIS V TOCHON

Point-of-contact: FRANCOIS V TOCHON, HARUN SERPIL

IRB Staff Reviewer: CAROL ZIRNGIBL

A designated ED/SBS IRB member conducted an expedited review of the above- referenced continuing review progress report form. The study was approved by the IRB member for the period of 12 months with the expiration date of 7/1/2016 . The study qualified for expedited review pursuant to 45 CFR 46.110 and, if applicable, 21 CFR 56.110 and 38 CFR 16.110:

Category 7: Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies
To access the materials approved by the IRB, including any stamped consent forms and recruitment materials, please log in to your ARROW account and view the documents tab in the submission's workspace.

Please review the Investigator Responsibilities guidance (http://go.wisc.edu/m0lovn) , which includes a description of IRB requirements for submitting continuing review progress reports, changes of protocol and reportable events.

Please contact the appropriate IRB office with general questions: Health Sciences IRBs at 608-263-2362 or Education and Social/Behavioral Science IRB at 608-263-2320. For questions related to this submission, contact the assigned staff reviewer.