Spring 2005

Visualizing the invisible: The role of race and white racial identity in the teaching and pedagogy of new ESOL teachers

Tonda Liggett
University of New Hampshire, Durham

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholars.unh.edu/dissertation

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI®

VISUALIZING THE INVISIBLE: THE ROLE OF RACE AND WHITE RACIAL
IDENTITY IN THE TEACHING AND PEDAGOGY OF NEW ESOL TEACHERS

BY

TONDA LIGGETT

BA, Hillsdale College, 1985
MA, University of New Hampshire, 1996

DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

Education

April, 2005

UMI Number: 3169086

Copyright 2005 by

Liggett, Tonda

All rights reserved.

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy
submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and
photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper
alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized
copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI®

UMI Microform 3169086

Copyright 2005 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against

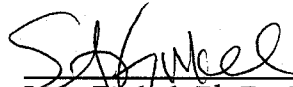unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346
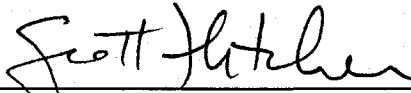
This dissertation has been examined and approved.
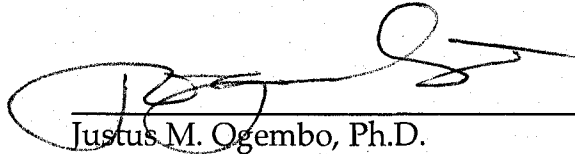
Liza Finkel, Ph.D., Dissertation Director
Associate Professor of Education
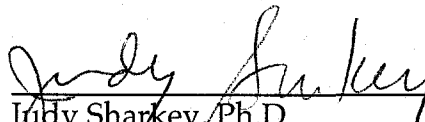
John R. Ernest, Ph.D.
Professor of English

Scott Fletcher, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Education

Justus M. Ogembo, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Education and Anthropology

Judy Sharkey, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Education

Susan D. Franzosa, Ph.D.
Professor and Director, Education Program
University of Washington-Bothell

April 12, 2005
Date

DEDICATION

...to all the teachers who reflect, share, and struggle to make their classrooms sites of renewal and change

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is the product of much discussion and wrangling of ideas with my doctoral student cohort and the many professors who challenged me to look through a critical lens to unravel the complexity of lived experience and make connections to my own teaching context. The compassionate intelligence of these teachers has guided me throughout my years in the doctoral program and I will continue to look to them as models for my future practice.

I remember one time, when asked how to choose a dissertation chair, Tom Schram said, "Choose someone who you would like to be in touch with for the rest of your life." With this in mind, I turned to Dr. 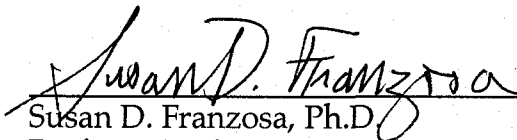Liza Finkel. I extend my most sincere and heartfelt thanks to Liza for her constant thoughtfulness and advice on the hundreds of pages of drafts she read and edited as well as her openness to talk about the nonacademic aspects of life that vie for attention while the writing continues. From the planning stages of my comprehensive exams, through the research and writing stages, and into the job market, she made time to meet and talk about issues that I was grappling with.

I also had the good fortune to have a reflective and constructive dissertation committee that included: Dr. Scott Fletcher, Dr. Susan Franzosa, Dr. Judy Sharkey, Dr. John Ernest, and Dr. Justus Ogembo. Each one of these scholars challenged me, at key points, to examine alternative perspectives, which illuminated deeper understandings of the identity issues so central to my inquiry. Scott has been instrumental throughout my coursework in helping me to better comprehend the critical frameworks that have informed and influenced all of my work. Susan's influence is apparent throughout my dissertation in the areas of knowledge construction and in the feminist perspectives that

v

she helped me develop in her classes. Judy has advised me in all aspects of ESOL with crucial guidance and assistance working out methodological intricacies; her knowledge of the field has been enormously helpful. John has explained and discussed critical theories of race in ways that have enabled me to connect them to the specific context of ESOL. And Justus has assisted me by sharing his anthropological lens on educational issues and aspects of racial identity.

There is also a group of friends who have showed a great deal of understanding toward my limited and sporadic ability to keep in touch over the past five years. I am grateful for their patience and for the unending support they have shown me along the way. These fine folks include: Vicki Banyard, Marla Brettschneider, Mary Clark, John Deziel, Jane Stapleton Deziel, Alexis Gallagher, Robin Hackett, Freda Hauser, Emily Hinnov, Dave Holland, Patti Palen, Carina Self, Jen Selwyn, Isabel Sokol, Donna Marie Sorrentino, Josh Wilson, and Tracy Wood. I would also like to thank my sage mentors, Ann Diller, Barbara Houston, and Tom Schram as well as the Education Departments' friendly and helpful office staff, Lisa Canfield and Micki Canfield.

A special thanks to my family Esther Macomber, Walter Liggett, Todd Liggett, Nikki Willis, and Greg Willis for their ever present patience, love, and acceptance. Their support and understanding throughout these years has been tremendous. Lastly, a gigantic thanks and appreciation to my very special friend Julie Newman, whose humor, caring, and faith in my ability to finish, never ceased.

LIST OF APPENDICES

ABSTRACT

The nature of my dissertation inquiry and my overall argument explore the role that white racial identity has in the teaching and pedagogy of new ESOL teachers. Throughout this dissertation I argue for better understandings of race to raise awareness of how knowledge systems are socially constructed to support a level of inequality that disadvantages ESOL students of color. As ESOL teachers begin their work, I question how their white racial identity and cultural positionality influence their perceptions of diverse groups of English language learners and how these perceptions influence their teaching.

I focus on the social construction of knowledge to examine how notions of race in society and institutions of schooling have contributed to categorizing ESOL students as "Other," which enables a shift from an individual acts of discrimination based on cultural difference to an institutional level analysis of relations of domination. This broader analysis facilitates an understanding of the underlying social structures that obscure racial inequality and white privilege. I look at how taken-for-granted knowledge systems are maintained in educational institutions to highlight the role that teachers unwittingly play in sustaining such structures. I also examine how ESOL policy and practice have been influenced by organizations and fields of research that shape how culture and teacher identity are addressed in ESOL education.

I use a qualitative research methodology to cross analyze teacher perspectives on racial identity. Through the transcripts of interviews and observations, I analyze teacher dialogue to understand the preconceptual elements involved in racialized discourse and

the factors that predetermine it. A grounded theory method of data collection allows me to develop theory based on teacher transcript data and to put forth propositions for a conceptualization of ESOL teacher education that considers the influence of white racial identity on teaching.

The thematic categories that emerged examine: 1) notions of race and white racial identity, 2) white racial identity in the ESOL classroom, and 3) marginalization of ESOL in the school community. Describing and further explaining these themes contributes to my argument by illustrating the ways in which the participants conceptualized issues of race and white racial identity, and how these conceptions linked to classroom practice.

Lastly, I discuss the implications that arise in the relationships between the thematic categories that emerged in this study. By analyzing the interconnectedness of these themes, I describe the elements important for an ESOL teacher education knowledge base. In so doing, I suggest ways to better prepare ESOL preservice teachers to enter their diverse classrooms with a heightened sense of how racial inequality and white racial identity play out in teaching.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE OF WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY FOR NEW ESOL TEACHERS

There are many influential factors that contribute to an individual's self-identity, such as race, ethnicity, culture, class, gender, sexual orientation, religion, physical ability, age, and so on. While individuals may identify more with one aspect of their identity than another, it has been documented in the fields of psychology and education that racial membership plays a significant role in perceptions of oneself and the environment in which they live (Helms, 1993; Kailin, 2002; Tatum, 1997). In studies of American mainstream teachers and the factors that influence their pedagogy, white racial membership and the cultural positionality that this inherently implies, has been shown to have implications for teacher/student interactions in ways that limit minority student academic achievement (Delpit, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 2001; Sleeter, 1996). For ESOL teachers, whose target student population consists entirely of minority students, there has been little inquiry into how teacher racial identity affects classroom pedagogy (Kubota, 2001). My concern is that white ESOL teachers could be disadvantaging the very students they seek to empower by not knowing the ways in which their racial and cultural membership informs the decisions they make about teaching. These decisions, in turn, could affect the ways they interpret and evaluate student academic work.

To address the issue of teacher racial identity, I ask my main research question: What role does white racial identity play in the teaching and pedagogy of new ESOL teachers? I argue that a better understanding of race and white racial identity is necessary

1

to raise awareness of how knowledge systems are socially constructed in ways that support a level of inequality that disadvantages ESOL students of color (Kailin, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 2001; Sleeter, 2001). Such an understanding, I believe, could foster a personal and institutional level analysis that would impel these teachers to actively promote issues of social justice in their teaching and empower them to advocate for the same with their colleagues.

My main research question stems from my experience as a teacher of ESOL students and ESOL preservice teachers. I have noticed in classroom discussions regarding issues of race and culture that white ESOL preservice teachers lack awareness about how their whiteness gives them unearned advantages in American society solely because of their race. This lack of awareness becomes evident when being white is not seen as a racial marker or when there is no realization of the extent to which knowledge structures are determined, constructed, and reinforced by dominant culture. Not being mindful of the aspects and assumptions of white culture as well as the influence that these factors have on the way certain knowledge systems are validated, could cause ESOL teachers to misinterpret their students' verbal and written responses to academic work, resulting in inaccurate evaluations. As these ESOL teachers begin to work, how will understandings of white race and cultural positionality influence their perceptions of diverse groups of English language learners? In what ways will these perceptions influence their teaching?

The perspectives that diverse students bring to their learning requires teachers to know how to foster academic success for them (Delpit, 1995; Igoa, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 2001; Sleeter, 2001). Throughout this dissertation, I argue that knowledge

2

about issues of race and white privilege could assist ESOL teachers in developing an awareness of the alternative knowledge structures that inform ESOL student work. This awareness could enable more accurate responses to student academic work and better understandings of how to advocate for their students when issues arise with mainstream teachers, students, and administrators.

There is a body of current literature on the importance of cultural strategies and techniques for ESOL teachers (Hinkel, 1999; Johnson, 2000b; Zamel, 2002). There remains, however, a lack of research regarding how these teachers negotiate the meaning of their white racial identity and how these understandings influence their perspectives and beliefs about teaching (Kubota, 2001; Pennycook, 1998). As McIntyre states, "...further research is needed in the area of how *white* teachers make meaning of racism, whiteness, multicultural education, and their racial identities and how that meaning-making is directly linked to their teaching practices (1997, 174)." In this research, I strive to determine the implications of this lack of attention by conducting a study to better understand the ESOL teacher participants' beliefs and practices in regards to race and culture.

Terms and Definitions

In this section, I lay out the terms and definitions that I use throughout my dissertation. The term English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) has recently replaced English as a Second Language (ESL) in the state of New Hampshire. This shift is due to the fact that many English language learners are learning English as their third or fourth language, not just as their second one. In this sense, ESOL more accurately describes this situation. I realize, however, that the widespread use of the terms ESL

3

(English as a Second Language), ELL (English Language Learners), non-native English speakers, English learners, and second language learners are often used synonymously. I prefer to use the term ESOL, which I believe most accurately conveys the language learning situation of many people who learn English not only as their second, but as their third, fourth, and so on, language.

I use the term 'race' in its socially constructed sense to refer to the imposed racial categories usually based on differences in skin color and physical characteristics (Kailin, 2002). While there is only one race, the human race, the concept of race as an ideology was developed with the expansion of Europe to justify the African slave trade and European colonialism (McIntyre, 1997). Goldberg maintains that race is "a fluid, transforming, historically specific concept parasitic on theoretic and social discourses for the meaning it assumes at any historical moment (Goldberg, 1993)." In contrast to the centuries old use of the term 'race', the term 'racism' is a recent construct that did not appear in Webster's New International Dictionary until 1961 (Kailin, 2002). Goldberg insists that there is no generic sense of racism, only historically specific notions structured by their own "sociotemporally specific causes (1993, 90)." He states,

> There is no single (set of) transcendental determinant(s) that inevitably causes the occurrence of racism--be it nature, or drive, or mode of production, or class formation. There are only the minutiae that make up the fabric of daily life and specific interests and values, the cultures out of which racialized discourse and racist expressions arise (1993, p. 90).

The gradual contextually and historically dependent influences that determine racism build upon everyday occurrences, which become normalized in institutions of schooling (McCarthy, 1990).

4

Although race is, at times, seen to come together with ethnicity, in this paper, I distinguish the two by using the term 'ethnicity' to refer specifically to populations within nations that differ culturally from the dominant mainstream culture of that area or region and who are generally understood to be either conquered peoples or immigrants (Helms, 1993). I use the term 'culture' to refer to a dynamic system of social values, cognitive codes, behavioral standards, worldviews, and beliefs used to give order and meaning to people's lives (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991). In this sense, one's culture is developed as a dynamic process through which everyday practices and events are interpreted, coded and assigned value (Spindler, 1990). The use of the term 'white culture' is problematic in several regards because of its interconnectivity to socioeconomic class as well as other identity markers such as gender, sexual orientation, profession, among others (Rothenberg, 2002). 'White culture' throughout this dissertation refers to people living in America that are considered by the dominant majority to be mainstream, of European-American descent, and of the middle-class.

While culture is often used synonymously with one's racial category, there are key distinctions that necessitate a specific targeting of racial discourse in order to address issues of racial advantage (white privilege) and relational domination (Howard, 1999; McIntyre, 1997). Throughout this proposal I distinguish between race and culture in order to address the implications of omitting race from the discourse of ESOL education.

The term 'racial identity' in my main research question refers to "a sense of group or collective identity based on one's *perceptions* that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group (Helms, 1993, 3)." While racial identity refers to how one perceives themselves within a racial group, the term 'whiteness' refers to "a

system and ideology of white dominance that marginalizes and oppresses people of color, ensuring existing privileges for white people in this country (McIntyre, 1997, 3). In the section on the invisibility of white racial identity in Chapter 2, I describe the ways in which personal perceptions of racial identity overlap with systemic practices and ideological beliefs of whiteness.

The term 'white privilege' is a concept that specifically addresses systemic level advantages that benefit Euro-American culture. Peggy McIntosh defines white privilege as,

> An invisible package of unearned assets which [one] can count on cashing in each day, but about which [one] was 'meant' to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurance, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks (McIntosh, 1988, p. 1).

The driving concepts of white privilege consist of two elements: the characteristics of the privileged group define the societal norm, which often benefits the members of this group, and secondly, members of this group can rely on their privilege to avoid objecting to oppressive outcomes (Wildman, 2002).

In addition, I use the terms 'Black' and 'African-American' to refer to people of African descent who live in the United States. I have borrowed Kailin's (2002) reasoning for the capitalization of the term 'Black' and the non-capitalization of the term 'white'. One of the reasons why people of the African diaspora may call themselves Black rather than a specific ethnicity is because their true ethnicity was robbed from them during slavery, when all attempts were made to erase the history and identity of the African peoples. In this sense, the use of Black is more characteristic of nationality and thus not comparable to white, which refers more to skin color of no particular or

6

specific national origin. Whites can and do refer to themselves by their ethnic heritages--Italian, Italian American, German, Irish, and so on... (Kailin, 2002, p. xxi). Given the racial or ethnic discrimination that people of color have experienced in the U.S., the capitalization of terms for identification is important for legitimization and recognition (Kailin, 2002).

Nature of inquiry

In this section, I explain the nature of my dissertation inquiry and how my overall argument progresses throughout each chapter. In Chapter I, "An examination of the role of white racial identity for new ESOL teachers," I explain my research question: What role does white racial identity play in the teaching and pedagogy of new ESOL teachers? I argue that a better understanding of race and white racial identity is necessary to raise awareness of the ways knowledge systems are socially constructed to support a level of inequality that disadvantages ESOL students of color (Kailin, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 2001; Sleeter, 2001). As ESOL teachers begin their work, I question how their white racial identity and cultural positionality influence their perceptions of diverse groups of English language learners and how these perceptions influence their teaching.

In Chapter II, "Theoretical framework," I focus on the social construction of knowledge. This chapter contributes to my argument by examining how notions of race in society and institutions of schooling have contributed to categorizing ESOL students as "Other." Establishing how ESOL students have been categorized as "Other" is important because it allows for a shift from cultural difference to relations of domination, and in effect, a broader analysis of power relationships and social stratification. An institutional level analysis of relationships rather than individual acts of discrimination aids in

7

understanding the underlying social structures that obscure racial inequality and white privilege. Focusing on how taken-for-granted knowledge systems are maintained in educational institutions assists in highlighting the role that teachers unwittingly play in sustaining such structures. I also examine how ESOL policy and practice have been influenced by organizations and fields of research that have shaped how culture and teacher identity are addressed in ESOL education.

In Chapter III, "Research procedures," I argue that a qualitative research methodology is most appropriate for this study because it enables me to cross analyze teacher perspectives on racial identity through interviews and observations and to put forth propositions that are informed by existing theory. Using a grounded theory method of data collection allowed me to connect theory based on teacher transcript data to classroom practice. Analyzing teacher dialogue and considering the factors that predetermine it are essential to understanding the "preconceptual elements of racialized discourse (Goldberg, 1993)," where participants' beliefs about race and white racial identity are regarded in relationship to their teaching. This chapter also describes the specific contexts of the schools and cities or towns where the participants' live and work.

Chapter IV "Teacher identity: Issues of race and culture in ESOL teaching," is divided into three sections that each examine one category of themes that emerged in this study. The first thematic section, "Notions of race and racial identity," includes four subsections that address: definitions of ESOL education, the minimization of the impact of racial comments made to ESOL students, the minimization of the influence of teaching context on teacher racial identity, and the avoidance and negativity in discourse about white racial identity. The purpose of this section is to describe how the participants

conceptualize and articulate their notions of race in general and whiteness in particular. The second section, "White racial identity in the ESOL classroom," looks at the ways in which the themes about racial identity tie to classroom practice. In this section, I draw from observation transcripts and notes to illustrate how participants' addressed issues of race when they arose in the classroom. The third section, "Marginalization of ESOL in the school community," examines the status of the ESOL teachers, students, and programs within the broader context of their school community. I discuss the physical and social marginalization of these teachers and their programs within the school.

In Chapter 5 "Implications," I discuss the relationship between the thematic categories that emerged in this study. By analyzing these themes, I describe the elements important for conceptualizing a knowledge base for ESOL teacher education that will better prepare preservice teachers to enter their diverse classrooms with a heightened awareness of racial inequality and white racial identity.

9

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides the theoretical framework that informs this research project and the literature review to support my overall argument. The theoretical framework focuses on the social construction of knowledge and contributes to my argument by examining how notions of race in society and institutions of schooling have contributed to categorizing ESOL students as "Other." Establishing how ESOL students have been categorized as "Other" is important because it allows for a shift of focus from cultural difference to relations of domination, and in effect, a broader analysis of power relationships and social stratification. An institutional level analysis of relationships rather than individual acts of discrimination aids in understanding the underlying social structures that obscure racial inequity and white privilege. Focusing on how taken-for-granted knowledge systems are maintained in educational institutions assists in highlighting the role that teachers unwittingly play in sustaining inequitable structures.

There are four main sections in this chapter: "Development of educational policy towards racial minorities," "Race, power, and identity," "ESOL policy and practice," and "Nature of inquiry." One purpose of this chapter is to briefly review the history of the development of educational policy towards racial minorities. Another is to delineate how beliefs about race are socially constructed and how individual identity reflects this construction. Lastly, I provide an analysis of the ways that race has been addressed in the field of ESOL in order to contextualize my overall inquiry. These sections contribute to my overall argument by examining the ways in which ESOL teachers can more

10

accurately address ESOL student work by developing better understandings of race and culture.

Development of educational policy towards racial minorities

In order to situate this study, I first consider the role that issues of race and culture have had in preparing teachers for diverse classrooms. Such consideration is important to my study because it highlights the ways that policy makers have understood the responsibility of education to address the needs of minority groups and bilingual programs, which influence ideological approaches to teaching. In this section, I give a brief history of the development of American educational policy towards racial minorities and the beginning of multicultural education in the 1960's. I discuss the general perspectives and ideological assumptions of multicultural policy towards racial inequality and how it is embodied in school curricula today.

For over one hundred years, a basic assimilationist model formed the core of educational and state policies toward ethnic difference in the U.S. (McCarthy, 1993). Institutions of education were viewed as the means for educational policymakers and the ruling elite to consciously attempt to cultivate norms of citizenship and a conformist American identity that bound together a population of diverse national origins (Kaestle, 1983). This assimilationist ideology was grounded in response to the waves of immigrants from southern Europe who came to work in urban factories around the turn of the 20th century; they were seen as a threat to the social order established by the previous European American citizenry (McCarthy, 1993).

In addition to promoting conformity to American customs and values, educational policymakers relied on coercive state legislation to control the flow of non-Anglo

11

immigrants into the U.S. (McCarthy, 1993). This included the exclusionary clauses of the U.S. Immigrant Acts of 1917 and 1924, which drastically limited the number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America (McCarthy, 1993). In educational institutions serving Hispanic, Native American, and Black youth, efforts were made to eliminate "ethnic traits" considered to be inimical to the dominant culture, resulting in institutions such as the Hampton Institute in the early 20th century designed to equip these youth with "the skills that would bring them to the level of the white middle class" (Kliebard, 1986, 126; McCarthy, 1993).

The cultural incorporation for minority groups such as Blacks and Native Americans, however, relegated members of these groups to the lowest social position in this new racial ordering. At the same time, the assimilationist ideals advocated by institutions of schooling and state agencies benefited white Americans, as well as white European ethnic groups by allowing them to enter middle class society and thus, increase their social status (McCarthy, 1993). By the 1950's and 1960's, assimilationist ideals came under attack by Black groups and the Civil Rights Movement, who raised particularly strong opposition in areas of education (McCarthy, 1993). Black and other minority groups contended that schools as they were organized in America were fundamentally racist and did not address the needs and aspirations of minorities (McCarthy, 1993). Minority groups demanded more control of institutions in their communities with greater minority representation in the administration and a radical redefinition of school curriculum to include Black Studies, which constituted a strategic challenge to the taken-for-granted Eurocentric foundations of school curriculum (McCarthy, 1993).

12

From this increased pressure by minority groups for equality and opportunity in education and society, multicultural education became one of the most powerful educational slogans in the 1970's and 1980's (McCarthy, 1993). Federal legislation for ethnic studies and bilingual programs signified ideological commitments to multicultural approaches as remedies to racial tension and differences in schooling (Grant & Sleeter, 1989). As these approaches developed within education, ideological differences emerged about how best to prepare teachers to address difference in their curriculum and teaching. The resulting struggles over interpretations of what was considered to be valid knowledge have shaped how issues of race and culture are taken up in teacher education today.

Race, power, and identity

In this section, I focus on the broad contextual influences that inform this research project. By analyzing the intersections of race and the underlying aspects of power that drive and determine what is considered valid knowledge, I illustrate how individual identity reflects the ways in which race has been conceptualized and articulated in an American context. In the first subsection "The social construction of knowledge," I examine how socially constructed knowledge frameworks reflect dominant culture views on race, ethnicity, and culture. By looking at how this knowledge is constructed and maintained in educational institutions, I illustrate how teachers can unwittingly sustain a level of inequity that maintains racist relationships. The second subsection, "Social construction: Notions of race," addresses how notions of race are influenced by designations of 'multicultural' and 'Otherness' that work to diminish social status for ESOL students. Explicating how these notions play into conceptualizations of race and culture contributes to my overall argument by highlighting how social constructions of

13

difference are determined and solidified. In the third subsection, "Social construction of racialized discourse," I examine how discourse on race has been socially constructed in ways that determine how it is articulated and how presumptions of race contribute to racial exclusion in schools. The last subsection, "Invisibility of white privilege," analyzes how normalized assumptions of dominant white culture can marginalize people of color. I argue that understanding the fundamental aspects of white privilege would assist ESOL teachers in broadening their notions of the alternative knowledge structures that inform ESOL students and thereby, can lead to more accurate evaluations of students' participation in class and their course work.

Social construction of knowledge

In this subsection, I establish how knowledge systems of the dominant culture are constructed and maintained in educational institutions to sustain a level of inequity that unwittingly makes teachers complicit in maintaining racist relationships. I focus on how mainstream and ESOL teacher knowledge mirrors and reflects these broader views on race and ethnicity.

Inquiry into knowledge systems is important to deconstruct the assumptions within society and institutions of schooling (Apple, 1979). Institutions of cultural preservation and distribution like schools create and recreate forms of consciousness that enable social control to be maintained without the necessity of dominant groups having to resort to overt mechanisms of domination (McCarthy, 2000). This social control is maintained by the knowledge taught in schools and the selection and organization of this knowledge (McCarthy, 1990). Understanding the concept of hegemony illuminates how power is constructed within society by focusing on the "organized assemblage of

14

meanings and practices, the central, effective and dominant system of meanings, values

and actions which are *lived* (Apple, 1979, p. 5)." Hegemony acts upon individuals in

society in ways that saturate their very consciousness, so that the educational, economic

and social world become the only world (McLaren, 1995; Robbins, 1999). Such

knowledge systems are unconsciously constructed by the specific activities,

contradictions, and relationships among people as they go about their daily lives within

the institutions which organize them (McCarthy, 2000). The gradual, subtle practices, and

the repeated performance of specific acts become so ingrained in peoples' lives that,

without notice, they are taken for granted to become a part of the "normal" and "natural"

(Foucault, 1977).

Foucault (1977) describes these unnoticed acts as being of eternal importance, for

these small details can emerge as a set of techniques, methods, plans and eventually

knowledge. Relations of domination take root when schools reinforce knowledge forms

that limit critical inquiry into those ideologies that are unquestioningly passed off as the

only conception of the good, such as a capitalist economic structure or a democratic

system of governance (McCarthy, 2000). Educational institutions play a significant role

in limiting critical inquiry into certain knowledge structures because of their ability to

maintain control over the presentation and reinforcement of certain forms of inquiry

(Lesko, 2000; Popkewitz, 1998). Unconscious knowledge construction plays out in the

hidden curriculum, exemplified in the curricula of social studies and science, which

promotes a consensus theory of science that under-emphasizes the role of disagreement

over methodology and the resulting expansion of knowledge that has come from such

disagreement (Apple, 1999). On an individual level, in studies of white racial identity, an

15

ideology of consensus emerges among white participants that glosses over conflict and disagreement about racial issues that result in maintaining a "culture of niceness" (Kailin, 2002; McIntyre, 1997). Ignoring the vital role that argumentation and controversy play in expanding dominant knowledge systems can result in limiting the direction inquiry can take.

The key to disrupting the cycle of consensus ideology is to address conflict in the classroom with the idea that conflict can foster a necessary part of progress (Kailin, 2002; McIntyre, 1997). "Conflicts are the systematic products of the changing structure of a society and by their very nature tend to lead to progress...conflicts must be looked at as a basic and often beneficial dimension of the dialectic of activity we label society (Apple, 1979, p. 97)." When a teacher works to dispel notions of consensus that create images of harmonious unity, dissenters are not placed outside of the 'norm' or marked as 'Other' (McIntyre, 1997). Teaching and pedagogy that includes conflict and the progress stemming from it, promote debate and ways of working through disagreement to make evident the ways in which conflict can illuminate the complexity of lived experience and thus, reduce the tendency to normalize knowledge systems that place minority students as "Other". In turn, addressing ways to disrupt an ideology of consensus could facilitate an understanding for ESOL teachers about alternative knowledge systems, which would problematize beliefs that, to them, are "normal" and "natural."

In addition to following a consensus ideology, schools also reinforce unconscious knowledge construction through the concept of selective tradition (Apple, 1979). Under this concept, schools determine the extent to which critical inquiry can occur by selecting

16

those historical events deemed most important or noteworthy; the point of view advanced

is often that of the most powerful group (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; McCarthy, 1990).

> Educators need to take up the task of redefining educational leadership through
> forms of social criticism, civic courage, and public engagement that allow them to
> expand oppositional spaces--both within and outside of schools--which
> increasingly challenge the ideological representations and relations of power that
> undermine democratic public life (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991, p. 89).

Selective tradition is promoted to solidify the position of the dominant culture in society

by limiting the boundaries of critical inquiry (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; Lesko &

Bloom, 2000). For ESOL teachers unaware of how tradition selectively supports

dominant constructs, positive evaluations based on student conformity to these constructs

could unwittingly impose an assimilationist ideology on ESOL students. For example, if

an ESOL student of color were to respond to an assignment by bringing up issues of race

which were then dismissed or passed over as irrelevant by the teacher, the student might

conclude that such topics are not valid or appropriate to bring up in school, making them

less likely to question dominant standards of whiteness. Similarly, if a Japanese ESOL

student was unfamiliar with the American ideology of individualism, they could be

evaluated negatively by not raising their hand to participate in class discussions because

of the way they were taught not to stand out within a group. Without an awareness of the

dominant knowledge systems that inform and guide teaching practices, educators could

negatively evaluate ESOL students according to compliance to such practices.

The research in this section suggests that institutions of schooling contribute to

the reproduction of unconscious knowledge forms to solidify ideologies that advantage

the dominant culture and establish hegemonic relationships. This occurs through an

ideology of consensus and selected tradition. Analyzing the ways that conflict constructs

notions of "Other" fosters an examination of how socially constructed knowledge

systems can sustain a level of inequity that unwittingly validates conformity to dominant

knowledge systems and makes ESOL teachers complicit in maintaining racist

relationships. This inequity can be sustained when teachers are unaware of how dominant

culture structures and influences their own existing knowledge base.

Social construction: Notions of race

In this section, I examine how notions of race are impacted by designations of

'multicultural' and 'Otherness' in ways that diminish the social status of ESOL students.

This analysis contributes to my overall argument by highlighting how social

constructions of difference are determined and solidified in ways that not only affect

ESOL students but also how ESOL teachers respond to these students.

The contested grounds of socio-cultural definitions and political agencies drive

the designation of 'multicultural' (Bannerji, 2000; Benhabib, 2002). When cultural

identity is assigned by dominant culture, an identifiable margin emerges where claims for

marginality are ensured because of their validation by the center (Spivak, 1993). Spivak

maintains that such designations negotiate "not even a 'race or a social type'...but an

economic principle of identification through separation (1993, p. 55)." For ESOL

students, this separation results from reinforcement of pre-cast designations by teachers

and administrators who use such broad terms as "Hispanic" or "Asian" instead of

Mexican or Korean without realizing that each culture's history and unique tradition can

be so dissimilar from each other that the perceived overlap is considered to be minimal in

the eyes of the designated ethnic "community" (Benhabib, 2002). These broad terms

explain notions of "Otherness" in terms of social position and could contribute to a

18

diminished social status for ESOL students that further alienates them from not only the

teaching and administrative staff within the school, but also from their dominant group

peers. This alienation would be the result of teachers not understanding the salient issues

within the students' multicultural communities where alternative knowledge systems

inform notions of behavior and academic achievement.

Seyla Benhabib maintains that cultural assumptions form a "reductionist

sociology of culture" that, as Kubota articulates, reify boundedness and internal

homogeneity (2002, p. 4). As a result, the positions of observer and observed emerge,

where the social observer (e.g. a teacher) imposes, along with those in local positions of

power and influence, a sense of unity and cohesion for the purposes of understanding and

control (Benhabib, 2002). In schools, English language-learners become the observed and

certain characteristics are attached to them regardless of their native culture; they become

part of the "ESOL student" group conceptualized as "Other" and placed apart from the

mainstream. Benhabib states,

> Struggles for recognition among individuals and groups are really efforts to
> negate the status of "otherness," insofar as otherness is taken to entail disrespect,
> domination, and inequality. Individuals and groups struggle to attain respect, self-
> worth, freedom, and equality while also retaining some sense of selfhood (2002,
> p. 8).

Within this context, classrooms can be seen as sites of struggle where knowledge,

experiences, discourse practices and ways of using language and literacy represent larger

struggles (Auerbach, 1995). The interests of ESOL learners cannot be separated from

their need to challenge the marginalization they feel due to the educational content and

school process (Auerbach, 1995). When the dominant group shapes the educational

agenda with the goal of reproducing existing social relationships, resistance becomes

19

apparent and visible in overt rejection of teacher authority, refusal to learn in prescribed ways, or quitting school altogether (Giroux, 1983; Ogbu, 1991). These forms of resistance display ideological clarity and commitment to collective action toward social transformation, rather than merely oppositional, unclear, ambivalent, and largely passive behavior (Giroux, 1983). ." Such struggles can play out in ESOL classrooms with student claims of not understanding a language component of teacher instruction in order to interrupt or postpone work. Understanding the social and political influences that contribute to marking ESOL students as "Other" could assist ESOL teachers in recognizing how resistant behavior could stem from feelings of marginalization and a need to gain status. In turn, teachers might misinterpret student actions as the result of difficult assignments, lack of initiative, or low proficiency level, which could cause them to assign work that was not challenging enough or no homework at all. An increased awareness of how society and institutions of schooling designate cultural difference could impel ESOL teachers to incorporate strategies that emphasize not only language building skills but also skills that work to rebuild students' diminished social status.

Teachers interested in moving beyond positioning diverse students as "Other" do so by shifting the focus of their teaching from cultural difference to relations of domination (Kailin, 2002). Bringing student awareness to the dynamics of social relationships rather than individual acts of discrimination, allows for better understandings of how underlying social structures develop, which can facilitate more substantive discussion on issues of inequality. Such a shift expands individual-level attention toward broader group and institutional level analyses that examine cultural group domination to reveal how systemic level inequality is sustained. Through such an

20

expansion, the core knowledge base of English language teaching includes a critical and reflective framework that impels ESOL teachers to pay attention to the ways white racial identity defines not only their perspectives, but also the institutional contexts wherein they teach.

Institutional practices portrayed as universal carry an ideological power that extends through and into discourse practices that maintain control through language purpose and use (Fairclough, 1989). These practices become an everyday part of institutions and weave through the fabric of society, contributing to a climate of expectations (or lack thereof) for ESOL students. Validating and recognizing the culturally specific literary practices of the dominant culture in a way that normalizes their usage inherently provides differential access for ESOL students (Walsh, 1991). For example, following a linear argument in American research papers with a conclusion that summarizes the main points in the paper are standard expectations that American teachers have of their students. However, ESOL students may approach the writing task according to their own culturally determined conceptions of standard writing practice which may include expounding in a non-linear structure as a way to illustrate knowledge of the subject or by having a conclusion that introduces new information (Harklau, 1999). "To the extent that it is the knowledge, life experience, language and discourse of the dominant class that are valued in educational institutions, it is their power that is perpetuated (Auerbach, 1995, p. 11)." Without the acknowledgement and awareness that teaching practices produce nuanced knowledge structures, legitimized forms of language and literacy continue to represent the cultural capital of white, mostly male, English-

21

speaking middle classes in ways that exacerbate race, class, ethnic and gender stratifications (Walsh, 1991).

In this section, I have explained how notions of "Otherness" determined by sociopolitical influences and maintained by teachers and institutions of schooling contribute to the diminished social status of ESOL students. By understanding how social constructions of difference are determined and solidified, ESOL teachers can be more aware of how relations of domination maintain inequality for their ESOL students. Recognizing these influences could assist ESOL teachers in better understanding the behavior and alternative knowledge systems that inform their students, and to incorporate strategies to counteract this stratification.

Social construction of racialized discourse

The purpose of this section is to articulate how racial discourse has been conceptualized and expressed in an American context. I examine how such an articulation has resulted from the merging of material and conceptual conditions over time to result in a socially and historically specific discourse that has determined the expressibility of race. By analyzing how and when race enters a conversation, beliefs about racial and cultural groups can be revealed, not only in statements about potential ability, but also in expectations about academic achievement. This section contributes to my larger argument about the pedagogical influence of teacher racial identity by analyzing how presumptions of race can lead to unintended outcomes around general diversity initiatives and contribute to racial exclusion in society and schools.

Theoretically constructed, the discursive field is made up of all racialized expressions and incorporates the various expressions constitutive of racialized discourse

22

(Goldberg, 1993). These expressions include verbal outbursts such as epithets and slurs, as well as beliefs, actions and their consequences, and institutional principles upon which racialized expressions are based (Goldberg, 1993). Goldberg (1993) believes that a set of discursive or expressive objects have emerged in the establishment of racialized discourse where rules of implication define the objects(s) of discursive expression with racism being one of those objects among possible others in the emergence and elaboration of racialized discourse.

> As the formative rules are historically specific and thus subject to change, so, too, is the discursive object in question. Racism is not a singular transhistorical expression but transforms in relation to significant changes in the field of discourse (Goldberg, 1993, p. 42).

At the most general level of description, Goldberg argues that the field of racialized discourse is populated by two sets of texts: the enunciative and the analytic (1993). The enunciative expressions expand a wide range of forms to include the scientific, linguistic, economic, bureaucratic, legal, philosophical, and religious, which can be contrasted conceptually with those expressions that indicate ascribed or self-assumed social identities predicated on racialized group membership (Goldberg, 1993).

> It follows that *race* is a discursive object of racialized discourse that differs from *racism. Race,* nevertheless, creates the conceptual conditions of possibility, in some conjunctural conditions, for racist expression to be formulated (Goldberg, 1993, p. 42).

The merging of material and conceptual conditions over time results in a sociohistorical conjuncture that facilitates the development of a historically specific discourse (Goldberg, 1993). The changes and transformations from one form of racism to another are intimately tied to the macrosocial conditions that allow racialized expression to

23

emerge so forcefully so as to pervade the terms of social and personal identity throughout

the course of modernity (Goldberg, 1993).

The material and conceptual conditions that have enabled the emergence of

racialized discourse have been shaped by social constructions based on values and beliefs

from before the colonization of America. Voyages of discovery in the late 15th century

began a series of events that eventually led to the spread of capitalist industrialization to

create a demand for cheap labor, raw materials, and slavery (Goldberg, 1993). A

capitalist ideology emerged where profit driven interests fueled an emphasis on

autonomy; individual wealth became the measure of self worth and "print capitalism"

expanded markets to make books and newspapers more readily available (Goldberg,

1993).

> Thus, anonymous individualism came to be circumscribed by the cultural
> homogeneity and commonality of popular textual (and more lately electronic)
> consumption; and the increasing hegemony of racialized identity and
> identification in popular and intellectual culture assumed through the eighteenth
> and nineteenth centuries the authoritative endorsement of biological science,
> natural history, anthropology, and psychology (Goldberg, 1993, p. 44).

Utilizing the scientific and technological developments, the dynamics of colonialism

were internalized in the forces of state and the political bureaucracy to "institute and

maintain the intersection of clear class lines and racialized metropolitan ghettoes

(Goldberg, 1993, p. 44)." While these social conditions evolved, so too did the

parameters and language used to discuss race, which made possible the expressibility of

racialized discourse in general, and racism, in particular (Goldberg, 1993). While school

culture is a significantly influential factor in how racialized discourse is revealed,

historical events and the ways they have been talked about have determined the extent to

which this discourse can change over time. School localities can modify a shift, but they

24

are only able to transgress the already predetermined formations of racialized discourse; sociohistorical conditions work to maintain verbalizations of race specifically interwoven within the context of America (Goldberg, 1993).

> racialized discourse does not consist simply in descriptive representations of others. It includes a set of hypothetical premises about human kinds (e.g., the 'great chain of being,' classificatory hierarchies, etc.) and about the differences between them (both mental and physical). It involves a class of ethical choices (e.g., domination and subjugation, entitlement and restriction, disrespect and abuse). And it incorporates a set of institutional regulations, directions, and pedagogic models (e.g., *apartheid*, separate development, educational institutions, choice of educational and bureaucratic language, etc.) (Goldberg, 1993, p. 47).

The underlying set of factors that directly generate the discursive field take place at what Foucault calls the preconceptual level (1972). Goldberg describes this preconceptual level as "manifestations of power relations vested in and between historically located subjects, and they are effects of a determinate social history...They generate the concepts and categories in terms of which racism is actually expressed and comprehended (1993, p. 48)." One consequence of this ordering was the establishment of a hierarchy of humankind where racial classification--the ordering of human groups on the basis of inherited or environmental differences--implied that certain races were superior to others (Goldberg, 1993). While hierarchy may not be conceptually implicit in the notion of racial classification, the concept of difference is, "born out by the synonym *racial differentiation...* [where]...Difference and identity inhere in the concept of race, furnishing whatever grounds can be claimed for racial classification (Goldberg, 1993, p. 51)."

> ...racial identity, even when externally ascribed, implies unity--at least conceptually. When this identity is internalized it prompts identification, a social sense of belonging together. It is then that racial differentiation begins to define otherness, and discrimination against the racially defined other becomes at once *exclusion* of the different (Goldberg, 1993, p. 51).

Goldberg argues that differential exclusion is the most fundamental base underlying racist expression where racist desires, dispositions, beliefs, hypotheses, and assertions (including acts, laws, and institutions) establish entitlement and restriction, endowment and appropriation (1993). As such, racial exclusion serves firstly, as a *presumption* for which rules and rationalizations may be formulated, and the second less acknowledged element, is that racial exclusion may be the *outcome* of deliberation in such domains as pedagogy or legislation (Goldberg, 1993). In other words, racial exclusion can be the unintended outcome in schools for deliberations about race, and more likely, about general initiatives around diversity and multicultural education.

In this section, I have outlined how articulations of race are reflective of the social and historical context that has determined its expressibility. By analyzing racialized discourse, beliefs about potential ability and academic achievement of students of color are evident in ways that illustrate how presumptions of race can contribute to racial exclusion in schools. In addition, the preconceptual and presumptive aspects of racial discourse make it difficult to dispel notions of racial superiority where macrosocial conditions strongly pervade social and personal identity to influence how ESOL teachers approach ESOL students of color.

Invisibility of white privilege

The purpose of this section is to establish the invisibility of white privilege and the ways it is maintained to ultimately marginalize racial and cultural groups outside of the dominant group. I argue that an understanding of the underlying aspects of white privilege would enable ESOL teachers to reconsider the established dominant racial and cultural norms by recognizing taken-for-granted assumptions and how these assumptions

26

inform validated knowledge systems in society and institutions of schooling. Such reconsideration is important to broaden teachers' notions of alternative knowledge systems, such as discourse and written structures, in order to better understand student behavior and intentions, as well as to base evaluations on content rather than nonconformity to dominant culture standards. I explicate the main aspects of white privilege, which include: 1) defining societal norms, 2) avoiding discourse about white privilege, and 3) challenging the dominant ideology of meritocracy. By illustrating how individual and institutional levels inform one another, I seek to establish how white ESOL teachers and institutions of schooling benefit, often unconsciously, from their dominant racial and cultural membership.

White racial identity and white privilege are concepts that specifically address systemic level advantages that benefit the Euro-American culture (Kailin, 2002; Rothenberg, 2002). One of the main aspects of white privilege is that the characteristics of the privileged group define the societal norm, which often benefits the members of this group (Wildman, 2002). Louis Wirth states,

> The most important things…we can know about a [person] is what [they] take for granted, and the most elemental and important facts about a society are those that are seldom debated and generally regarded as 'settled'. That is, to gain insight, to understand, the activity of men and women of a specific historical period, one must start out by questioning what to them is unquestionable (Wirth, 1936, p. xxi-xxii).

It is the taken for granted 'norms' and assumptions in society that enable those with the highest status to maintain their position because it is unquestioned and seemingly natural, not only to whites, but to all groups in society (Rothenberg, 2002; Wildman & Davis, 2002).

27

A key factor in maintaining societal norms in schools is the belief that teachers are neutral agents within the educational system (Apple, 1979; Aronowitz, 1991; Gay, 1995; McLaren, 1995). People can employ frameworks to assist in organizing their world and to enable themselves to believe they are neutral participants in the neutral instrumentation of schooling; however, simultaneously these frameworks serve particular ideological interests, which are hidden from them (Apple, 1979; McCarthy, 2000).

Another aspect of white privilege is the difficulty of having dominant members address their racial advantage. Avoidance behaviors play out in several different ways each of which I will discuss in more detail below: through "white talk", by not recognizing one's own racial identity, by minimizing the importance of racial identity, and by choosing to reject oppression or ignore it.

McIntyre defines "white talk" as "talk that serves to insulate white people from examining their/our individual and collective role(s) in the perpetuation of racism (1997, p. 45)."In McIntyre's (1997) study of white, undergraduate, middle-class, female preservice teachers, speech tactics were used to create a "culture of niceness" that worked to distance individuals from the difficult task of addressing racism and white privilege.

> The language of the participants' white talk, whether it was intentional or not, consciously articulated or unconsciously spoken, resisted interrogation. Interruptions, silences, switching topics, tacitly accepting racist assumptions, talking over one another, joining in collective laughter that served to ease the tension, hiding under the canopy of camaraderie--these maneuverings repelled critical conversations (McIntyre, 1997, p. 47).

Discourse among these participants focused on maintaining a sense of "camaraderie" in order to maneuver around the difficult topic of whiteness.

28

In addition to "white talk", most white people do not consider themselves members of a racial group (Helms, 1993; Katz, 1978; Wellman, 1993). Katz maintains that,

> Because United States culture is centered around White norms, White people rarely have to come to terms with that part of their identity. Ask a White person his or her race, and you may get the response 'Italian', 'Jewish', 'Irish', 'English', and so on. White people do not see themselves as White (1978, p. 13).

Not seeing 'white' as a race results from being in a position where other races and cultures are held up to the standard of whiteness (McIntosh, 1992; Rothenberg, 2002). McIntosh believes that "whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege" and that "many, perhaps most, of our students in the United States think that racism doesn't affect them because they are not people of color; they do not see 'whiteness' as a racial identity (1992, 79)."

By not recognizing "white" as a race, it is easier to dismiss or minimize the importance of racial identity (Delpit, 1995; Jensen, 2002). If white teachers minimize racial identity, they could view racial membership as insignificant and thus, choose not to acknowledge alternative knowledge systems that run counter to normalized standards. Doing so implies that one's knowledge system is "right", while the "Other" is wrong.

> Dominant groups tend to claim truth as their private domain. For the most part, hegemonic groups do not consider their beliefs, attitudes, and actions to be determined by cultural conditioning or the influences of group membership. As Whites, we usually don't even think of ourselves as having culture; we're simply 'right' (Howard, 1999, p. 50).

The assumption of rightness has been a powerful force in establishing relations of domination by whites (Howard, 1999).

Additionally, when white is not seen as a race, members can rely on their privilege to choose whether they object to oppression or ignore it (Jensen, 2002;

29

McIntosh, 1988; Wildman & Davis, 2002). To move through the world without having to be aware of one's skin color, where one's race is considered the 'norm', is to be able to opt out of calling attention to the fact that people of color aren't receiving equitable treatment on a systemic level (McIntosh, 1988). Being white means having the choice to remain silent about oppressive practices without being directly or immediately affected (Howard, 1999). The conflation of privilege with the societal norm combined with being in a position to ignore oppression means that privilege is rarely recognized by the holder of it (Wildman & Davis, 2002). This silence keeps the thinking about equality incomplete and protects unearned advantage and conferred dominance by making these subjects taboo (McIntosh, 1988). The implications this can have for ESOL teachers is discussed in the next section "ESOL policy and practice."

The third aspect of white privilege directly challenges the dominant ideology of meritocracy. White privilege is hard to come to terms with because people want to believe that their success is due solely to their individual hard work. Jensen states,

> I know I did not get where I am by merit alone, I benefited from, among other things, white privilege. That doesn't mean that I don't deserve my job, or that if I weren't white I would never have gotten the job. It means simply that all through my life, I have soaked up benefits for being white (2002, p. 104-105).

To think that one has benefited throughout life from an unearned privilege goes against the traditional work ethic inherent in the foundation of America (Howard, 1999). To accept one's white privilege means to compromise the belief in one's own meritocracy.

> The assumption, moreover, is that American society actually operates according to principles of fairness and merit, that the 'deserving' are rewarded for their efforts, and that the 'underserving' are left out. Thus, these formulations allow students to see themselves as the rightful recipients of rewards based on individual achievement, *and* to defend a process that advantages them as a group, *without* ever having to justify their location in the organization of racial advantage (Wellman, 1993, p. 233).

30

One of the reasons it is difficult to accept the systemic nature of white privilege lies in the overwhelming reality it implies: with little or no knowledge, people of color have been made to feel oppressed by a system that whites have implemented and continue to reinforce daily (Jensen, 2002; Kailin, 2002; McIntosh, 1988). Believing that white privilege exists means believing that whites have retained the inequities between races and that little has changed in the covert systems of racism since the Civil Rights Movement (Helms, 1993; Kailin, 2002; McIntyre, 1997). If whites choose to acknowledge their privilege, they must also take responsibility for it—a difficult task many aren't willing to accept, or to further epitomize the sense of privilege, don't feel it is their burden to bear.

In light of the previous discussion on racialized discourse, I argue that the combination of the aspects that underlie white privilege play a role that is significant enough to influence how ESOL teachers think about teaching and how they perceive their ESOL students of color. Based on her study, McIntyre states,

> By examining our [whites] racial locations within this society, the participants and I began to recognize the importance of our own racial identities as *determinants* in how and what we teach, especially within the framework of multicultural antiracist education (1997, p. 5, emphasis added).

Given the importance that racial identity had in the context of this study, it seems likely that it could not only be applicable to mainstream preservice teachers, but could also have implications for ESOL teachers who are similarly socialized in the context of American education. One key aspect of white privilege that could have similar influences on ESOL teacher perceptions is by seeing themselves as neutral agents. Without an awareness of how societal norms maintain racial hierarchy, ESOL teachers could inaccurately believe,

31

for example, that the often advocated ideals of individualism and equal opportunity in educational textbooks and institutions of schooling can be lived out in similar ways for all people, including their ESOL students of color. The ramifications of such thinking could cause these teachers to negatively evaluate students who adhere to alternative knowledge systems with values that differ from those of dominant culture. In this sense, being aware of dominant culture norms and examining how they become solidified and taken-for-granted, could decrease teacher/student misinterpretations and misunderstandings on the part of the ESOL teacher.

As in the research of mainstream preservice teachers, ESOL teachers could also sustain what McIntyre (1997) calls a "culture of niceness" by exhibiting behaviors that seek to avoid discourse about white privilege while maintaining discussions that are free of conflict. When ESOL students talk about their alternative belief systems, ESOL teachers may be more apt to explore these in ways that facilitate understanding for those students who may be trying to reconcile native beliefs with new dominant culture ones. If ESOL teachers assume that dominant standards are "right," they impose conformity or assimilation to them, rather than facilitating an exploration of ways to acculturate or negotiate the conflicting ideologies their students may be trying to sort out. The implications of not knowing the stratifying effects that come to light in an analysis of whiteness could cause ESOL teachers to formulate depictions of culture that are reductionist or one-dimensional in ways that inaccurately represent or offend students, leading to student discomfort, perplexity, or frustration (Harklau, 1994).

In this section, I have laid out the underlying aspects of white privilege and the ways that its invisibility influences ESOL teachers and the knowledge systems that guide

32

their thinking and behavior. In addition, while these knowledge systems are representative of the dominant culture, they work to socialize all groups to accept the resulting standards in ways that solidify a hierarchical ordering that benefits the dominant culture. Explicating the conditions that maintain white privilege can reveal the ways in which dominant culture and educational institutions benefit, which in turn illustrates the role that ESOL teachers could inadvertently play in perpetuating socially constructed norms that contribute to minority student marginalization.

ESOL policy and practice

The purpose of this section is to articulate how race has been conceptualized in English language teaching and to establish the need for further inquiry into the subject of race and ESOL teacher identity. I explain the conceptual shift that has occurred in ESOL education since the 1990s and examine the role that teacher identity and notions of race and culture have played in this shift. I situate my inquiry within an analysis of the prominent organization of TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and research in the field of applied linguistics, both of which have had influential roles in determining the knowledge base, foci, and approaches to teaching ESOL. I examine how language education has been discussed and argue that there has not been sufficient analysis of teacher identity within the knowledge base of language teaching, nor has there been adequate consideration of the influence this has on teaching ESOL students of color. I begin with a discussion of teacher education and its development within TESOL and then within applied linguistics.

33

Background and emerging tensions

Concerns about a lack of a theoretical framework(s) as the basis for language teacher education programs were raised more than a decade ago (Bernhardt, 1987; Freeman, 1989; Richards, 1987; Richards, 1990). During this time, classroom-based research on ESOL largely described effective teaching behaviors, positive learner outcomes, and teacher-student interactions that were believed to lead to successful L2 (second language) learning (Freeman, 1998). As with mainstream teacher education, the traditional, scientific model of gathering empirical evidence was used to operationalize learning principles, specific teaching skills, and effective teaching behaviors (Johnson, 2000b). During this time, second language teacher education largely followed the direction and focus of mainstream teacher education research. While this era of research helped improve teaching in some ways, many would argue that it ignored and invalidated the individual experiences of teachers (Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 2001; Pinar, et al, 2000; Sleeter, 1996).

By the mid-1970's, research on ESOL shifted focus from observations of teacher behavior to inquiry into what motivated this behavior, such as the influence of contextual information and various principles of learning and teaching; however, the individual perspectives and experiences of teachers themselves remained secondary to the overall research process (Freeman, 1998). In the late 1970's the focus shifted to an exploration of the actual thought processes that teachers engaged in when planning and enacting lessons (Freeman & Johnson, 1998). This led researchers to realize that teaching could not be described and measured as distinct sets of behaviors, but rather that the process of teaching was influenced by a complex set of mental processes in context.

34

By mid-1980, researchers of both ESOL and mainstream teacher education began to acknowledge that individual knowledge is shaped by previous experiences of students, as well as one's personal values and beliefs (Connelly, 1988; Freeman, 1998; Pajares, 1992). The majority of this research (Bullough, 1989; Clandinin, 1986; Grossman, 1990) argues that teacher knowledge is

> socially constructed out of the experiences and classrooms from which teachers have come...how teachers actually use their knowledge in classrooms is highly interpretive, socially negotiated, and continually restructured within the classrooms and schools where teachers work (Freeman & Johnson, 1998, p. 400).

Distinct from the concern over what content to deliver and how to deliver it, this new direction of analyzing the process of teaching provided a broader and more complex look at how language teaching is learned and how it can most effectively be taught (Freeman, 1998). Despite this increased awareness, however, the peripheral importance paid to ESOL teacher preparation resulted in areas within the field that have been left unexamined (Kubota, 2001; Freeman & Johnson, 1998). Freeman and Johnson (1998) maintain that this is a result of not actively pursuing and defining forms of knowledge specific to ESOL and language teaching in general.

Increased concern over social and cultural aspects of second language teaching has caused a "quiet revolution" in the field of ESOL teacher education (Freeman & Johnson, 1998)." This "revolution" has put into question the language skill based core of ESOL teacher education by including the activities, experiences, and thoughts of individual teacher educators (Freeman & Johnson, 1998). These core aspects have long been based on the subject matter of language teaching and less on cultural influences of teaching (Johnson, 2000a; Freeman & Johnson, 1998). This reconceptualization of ESOL teacher knowledge places new emphasis on the cultural aspects that influence teachers

35

and their pedagogy. The new cultural emphasis has shifted to the foreground of the teacher education experience with proponents advocating for a reflective component that allows educators to draw from their own experiences as they teach (Johnson, 2000a; Richards, 1998; Kubota, 2001). This controversial shift, in turn, deemphasizes the cognitively based subject areas of language teaching, such as second language acquisition, syntax structure and phonetics, which have traditionally been considered essential to second language teaching (Yates & Muchisky, 2003). While the traditional language teaching focus has been overshadowed by more recent validation of a reflective process in teacher learning (Kubota, 2001), critics of this move maintain that encouraging reflection on factors other than language make language teacher education incomplete and misguided (Celce-Murcia, 2001; Yates & Muchisky, 2003).

In addition to organizations such as TESOL, MLA (Modern Language Association), and AERA (American Educational Research Association), as well as disciplines such as applied linguistics, bilingual education, and foreign language study, have accounted for broadly conceptualized notions of language teaching. All have contributed to language learning conversations in ways that have expanded the cultural aspects involved in language teaching. Applied linguistics as a field, in particular, implements a comprehensive disciplinary focus on various aspects of language learning such as language use in professional settings, translation, speech pathology, literacy, and language education (Pennycook, 2001). While applied linguistics addresses various aspects of language learning, it does not pursue critical lines of inquiry that seek to promote social change and equality, nor does it question existing power structures within society. Thus, to make connections between language teaching and these broader social,

36

historical, and political domains essential to any analysis of race and culture, a critical

applied linguistics lens is needed. This involves,

> a constant questioning of the normative assumptions of applied linguistics. It
> demands a restive problematization of the givens of applied linguistics and
> presents a way of doing applied linguistics that seeks to connect it to questions of
> gender, class, sexuality, race, ethnicity, culture, identity, politics, ideology, and
> discourse (Pennycook, 2001, p. 10).

Because of the connections made between linguistics and other social identity factors

including race, a critical applied linguistics lens allows for a more complex examination

of the dominant knowledge systems that influence ESOL teacher identity, as well as a

framework for understanding how these influences play out in multilingual classrooms.

Critical applied linguistics not only adds a dimension to applied linguistics that views

dominant knowledge systems as political and historically determined, it incorporates an

interdisciplinary domain informed by sociology, education, anthropology, cultural

studies, and psychology. This, I believe, enables a more accurate and contextualized

account of the aspects that form one's individual identity as a teacher.

ESOL as "Other"

Rosaldo (1984) maintains that culture is much more than a mere catalogue of

rituals and beliefs; the cultural world, including its social order and constraints, acts as

the basis for the formation and expression of individual subjectivities. Such a conception

implies that the impact of one's race and culture on their individual perspectives and

beliefs would inevitably influence their approaches to teaching and pedagogy. When

issues of race and culture are given peripheral importance in ESOL education, critical

reflection on aspects of self-identity that motivate individual behavior and beliefs are

reduced to "the four F's" what Kramsch (1991) categorizes as "foods, fairs, folklore, and

37

statistical facts." Addressing the relatively unexamined culture of the self is important in addressing underlying issues of power that work to sustain certain knowledge forms and solidify the positionality of the white race in the context of English language learning (Kubota, 2001).

While the relationship between language and culture has been the focus of much disciplinary research, the influence of cultural factors on language teaching and learning has received only rudimentary analysis (Hinkel, 1999). The role of culture in teaching ESOL has been a topic of inquiry in research and pedagogy where the perceived differences between the cultures of ESOL students and mainstream culture have tried to be explained and demystified by teacher educators (Kubota, 2001). The focus of these explanations revolve around not only textual rhetoric and speech acts, but also on the manifestation of cultural values and beliefs in teaching, learning, classroom interaction, and teaching materials (Hinkel, 1999). Ryuko Kubota maintains that these attempts at demystification, while well-meaning in their attempt to understand, assess, and teach ESOL students more effectively, actually result in essentializing both the culture of ESOL students and the culture of English-speaking countries (Kubota, 2001; Pennycook, 1998).

> The Othering of ESL…students by essentializing their culture and language presupposes the existence of the unproblematic Self as a monolithic, normative category…the construction of the dichotomous images of the Self and the Other reflects a past-present continuity of the discourses of colonialism. (Kubota, 2001, p. 10-12).

While it is important to address the relationship between language and culture as well as attitudes toward cultural difference, Kubota's concern is that these areas of inquiry may

38

not incorporate aspects that problematize self-identity and result in fixed notions of the "Other."

Cultural communities designated as "Other" are most often formed through the pressures of external forces rather than to solidify cultural expression; inhabitants of a region don't necessarily feel the need to form a collective identity unless there is a dominant group ascribing identity markers onto them (Bannerji, 2000). The contradictory processes of cultural designation create an environment that delineates a specified "us" and "them" with "mini-hegemonies" conforming to a larger national (Western) ideological hegemony (Bannerji, 2000). These boundaries categorize cultural groups into fixed entities that inaccurately represent and sustain monolithic notions of ethnicity to stratify group status.

> This boundary, invisible though inexorable, is the outer wall of the community...and it not only keeps others 'out', but us 'in'. From this point of view community is not only an ideological and social category, but also a category of the state (Bannerji, 2000, p. 158).

Members of the dominant political organizations determine multicultural group distinction by consolidating ethnic groups into one general category (e.g. Asian, Hispanic, Indian) according to limited knowledge of the historical and social traditions that orient each group. Such limitations can create a closed socio-cultural space and a highly fragmented sense of political agency, so that while there is a multicultural community, there is in fact little commonality or room for cultures to unite beyond region, religion, and at times, language (Bannerji, 2000). The relationship between the dominant culture ascribing group designation and the multicultural community placed into it carries over into institutions of schooling in ways that superficially address the socio-cultural issues that ESOL students face. Racial and cultural assumptions are so

39

embedded in one's identity that it is difficult for teachers to know the extent to which their own ideologies are influenced by these assumptions. "... one of the prominent qualities of cultural values, assumptions, and norms acquired in the socialization process is that they are presupposed and not readily available for intellectual scrutiny... (Hinkel, 1999, p. 5)." For ESOL teachers, being unaware of how dominant culture validates ideologies such as written and spoken discourse, could cause misinterpretations of ESOL students' alternative conceptions to risk disadvantaging, rather than empowering them.

In this section, I have discussed how language teacher education has been addressed in prominent organizations and fields of disciplines involved in non-native English language teaching. I have also described the shift from a skills oriented knowledge base to a reflective one that considers and validates the socio-cultural experiences that ESOL teachers bring to their teaching. This validation acknowledges that individual teacher identity is socially constructed to influence teaching and pedagogy.

Throughout this chapter I have explained the theoretical framework and literature that informs this study. I gave a brief history of the development of American educational policy towards racial minorities and described how ideological assumptions of such policy are embodied in school curricula today. I also analyzed the intersections of race and the underlying aspects of power that drive and determine what is considered valid knowledge. By looking at knowledge structures, I illustrated how individual identity reflects the way race has been conceptualized and articulated in an American context. I also examined how designations of 'multicultural' and 'Otherness' impact perceptions of race and that social constructions of difference are determined and solidified in ways that

40

affect how ESOL teachers respond to their students. In addition, I described how racial

discourse is reflective of the merging of material and conceptual conditions over time,

which have resulted in a socially and historically specific expressibility of race. Lastly, I

discussed the main aspects of white privilege to illustrate how dominant racial and

cultural membership often benefits teachers and institutions of schooling that are part of

this group.

41

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Objective of research

In this chapter, I argue that a qualitative research methodology is most appropriate for this study because it enables a cross analysis of teacher perspectives on racial identity through interviews and observations that directly connect theory to classroom teaching and pedagogy. Analyzing dialogue and considering the factors that predetermine it is essential to understanding the "preconceptual elements of racialized discourse (Goldberg, 1993)." Identifying the preconceived notions of race that are revealed in discourse is necessary to address the ways in which such prejudice remains unnoticed. Using a grounded theory method of data analysis allows me to put forth propositions grounded in ESOL teacher responses that will lead to relevant and useful theory for ESOL teacher educators. I also describe the specific teaching context of each participant.

The purpose of this dissertation research is to understand the role that white racial identity has on the teaching and pedagogy of new ESOL teachers. Within this context, I attempt to better understand how being white influences the participants' beliefs about teaching and how these beliefs play out in the classroom. My concern is that a lack of analysis regarding race and white privilege could cause ESOL teachers to inaccurately evaluate the academic performance of their ESOL students of color.

Qualitative research methodology

Strauss (1998) refers to qualitative research as "any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification". While

42

this broad definition includes various approaches to qualitative research, there are three components that most qualitative researchers agree are essential for conducting research in this tradition: 1) research is conducted in a natural setting (field focused) as a source of data, 2) the analysis of data pays attention to particulars, and 3) the focus is on the participants' perspectives and the meanings they bring to the research (Eisner, 1998; Merriam, 1998). Using a qualitative approach to address my research inquiry allows me to obtain intricate details about phenomena such as feelings, thought processes, and emotions that are difficult to extract or learn about through more conventional research methods (Strauss, 1998).

A qualitative research methodology is appropriate for this project for two important reasons. First, it logically fits with my research goal of understanding how participants construct their notions of race and white racial identity and how these notions play out in the classroom. The cross analysis of both interview and observation data enables me to connect the theoretical aspects of racial identity to teacher practice. This connection is possible because my data collection is from multiple sources (Creswell, 1998; Stake, 1995), allowing for a detailed description to emerge that takes into consideration the social and historical factors that influence how racial enunciations have been determined in America. Foucault (1972) refers to these enunciations as "the preconceptual elements of racialized discourse." Analyzing the preconceptual influences of speech considers language as constituting meaning not just reflecting it (Goldberg, 1993). Because qualitative research allows for multi-faceted analyses of dialogue, as well as consideration of the factors that predetermine it, I can attempt to understand the underlying "preconceptual elements of racialized discourse" and the social conditions that

43

contribute to its expressibility. Understanding this relationship is important to

recognizing the dominant values that enable and maintain racialized expression.

Secondly, a qualitative research methodology is appropriate for this study because

it allows for the interpretation and organization of data by reducing it into themes,

elaborating the categories that emerge in terms of their properties and dimensions, then

relating these categories into concepts that allow for a series of propositions to be put

forth as low-level theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This form of theory can be considered

relationally to the existing concepts/theories that inform this research project such as: the

social construction of knowledge, critical race theory, multicultural theory, and white

privilege.

Inherent in qualitative inquiry are assumptions about the social world, which have

implications for the forms of field-based research that stem from it (Schram, 2002).

These assumptions include:

> *We gain understanding of the social world through direct personal experiences
> in real-world settings.
> *In pursuing inquiry into the social world we need to acknowledge the
> quintessentially interactive and intersubjective nature of constructing knowledge.
> *Inquiry into the social world calls for sensitivity to context.
> *Inquiry into the social world calls for attentiveness to particulars.
> *Qualitative inquiry is fundamentally interpretive (Schram, 2002).

Interpretation in qualitative research involves building upon assumptions and

incorporating them into a line of reasoning (Schram, 2002). As a qualitative researcher, I

take on these assumptions, along with my personal beliefs and opinions, which have

influenced the way I constructed interview questions and the way I have interpreted the

data.

44

My role as researcher

My perspectives as a researcher are informed and influenced by antiracist and feminist literature. An underlying premise of both bodies of literature is that aspects of one's identity such as race, gender, sexual orientation, culture, religion, physical ability, age, amongst others, do not operate in isolation, but are interconnected, and socially and historically situated. An antiracist feminist pedagogical perspective holds as its central principles, empowerment, oppositional pedagogy, and activism with concerns of power at the core of inquiry. One assumption I make from holding such a perspective is that once teachers learn about antiracist pedagogy and the unfair advantages that whites have in society and institutions of schooling, they will make efforts in their own pedagogy and teaching practices to remedy this inequity.

Another assumption that I bring to this study is that my position as researcher created a power dynamic that influenced, to some degree, how the participants' responded as well as what they included in these responses. In this regard, I realize that my positionality as a white researcher could have, at times, reinforced aspects of whiteness by not pointing out to the participants the ways in which I believed their teaching practices to be racially influenced. The purpose of this study, however, was to describe how the ESOL teacher participants understood their white racial membership in regards to their teaching and beliefs about teaching. In this sense, my goal was to explain what I heard and observed in relation to my guiding research questions rather than to point out ways for participants to improve upon their existing practices. A follow up study involving a participatory research method could address ways in which to identify or disrupt teaching practices that maintained whiteness, but this was not my purpose in

45

this study. I acknowledge that the tension in my methodological approach could contribute to sustaining characteristics of whiteness or a "culture of niceness (McIntyre, 1997)," which I have attempted to address through a critical race theory framework that I developed based on the work of David Theo Goldberg (1993) (See Appendix B).

I followed three techniques developed by Strauss and Corbin (1998) designed to increase researcher awareness and help control bias while retaining sensitivity to what was being said in the data (1998). The first technique I used was to "think comparatively" among incidents in the data. Comparing one incident to another was a way for me to be more sensitive and to recognize when similar properties were occurring in the data, as well as to influence an examination of the data on a broader dimensional level (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The second technique I used was triangulation by having multiple sources for data collection, as described above (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The third technique was to regard all theoretical explanations, categories, hypotheses, and questions about the data as provisional, to be validated against subsequent interview or observation data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Recognizing that initial categories and themes were likely to change as additional data was collected and the "saturation point" was reached helped me to remain open to emerging patterns and avoid prematurely determining themes and categories. When I felt that no new relevant information for my study was emerging from the interviews and classroom observations, I assumed that the saturation point had been reached. Adhering to these three techniques helped me to be more mindful and sensitive to the participants' perspectives and the ways they gave meaning to the questions I raised.

46

Grounded theory approach to qualitative research

A grounded theory approach has the explicit purpose of developing a substantive theory derived from and grounded in data (Schram, 2002). While there are different levels of theory that researchers can develop, I am interested in developing "substantive theory," theory that stays close to the data and explains each case at hand, rather than higher-level "grand" theory that is generalizable to larger populations (Schram, 2002). This lower-level theory development is especially notable of grounded theory research in that the theory generated is always traceable to the data, is fluid and provisional, and includes a reexamination of its relevance in relation to emerging situations and new data (Schram, 2002). Being able to put forth theories grounded in data from ESOL teachers is important to documenting how ESOL teachers view themselves and their students with regard to race and then seeing how those views are enacted in the classroom.

The three essential principles of grounded theory research that I incorporated into my data analysis and data collection consisted of building theory, having conceptual density, and practicing constant comparison. Building theory consisted of looking for plausible and provisional relationships among concepts and sets of concepts (Schram, 2002). For my study this meant analyzing the interview and observation transcripts along with my notes to discern associations, patterns and/or trends. Secondly, conceptual density refers to the construction of theory that contains many relationships among concepts where evolving patterns of action and interaction among events capture the process analytically (Schram, 2002). This was particularly appropriate for my research in that conceptualizations of critical race theory, antiracist education, multicultural theory, and ESOL education were considered in relation to emerging themes. Lastly, constant

47

comparison refers to continually questioning what is happening in the data and how it differs from previous data (Schram, 2002). This principle aids in locating indicators or incidents from the data to identify underlying uniformities in which to construct preliminary categories or concepts; these categories can then be compared to additional indicators in the data to further define a concept (Schram, 2002). The aspects of each principle allowed for the development of theories that propose plausible relationships among the identified concepts.

There are several different interpretations of grounded theory research, but I oriented my research toward the constructivist approach developed by Charmaz (2000), which has a subjective focus on participants' beliefs, feelings, and how they make meaning of the issues at hand. This approach relies on categorizing data as it emerges from the study to reflect participant conceptualizations and articulations of the subject matter. A constructivist approach differs from other forms of grounded theory research by avoiding predetermined categories or frameworks assigned by the researcher. The categories that I used to organize my data were based on the topics that emerged from it and were then delineated into more specific themes. For example, the broad category "ESOL education" was divided into several themes that included: choosing ESOL material, lack of clear conception of ESOL, need to assimilate, obstacles to student academic achievement, among others (See Appendix E).

In addition to the subjectivity, I assumed as a qualitative researcher, using a grounded theory method of data analysis added another set of assumptions to my inquiry, which included:

48

- Human beings are purposive agents who take an active role in interpreting and responding to problematic situations rather than simply reacting to experiences and stimuli.
- Persons act on the basis of meaning, and this meaning is defined and redefined through interaction.
- Reality is negotiated between people (socially constructed) and is constantly changing and evolving.
- Central to understanding the evolving nature of events is an awareness of the interrelationships among causes, conditions, and consequences.
- A theory is not the formulation of some discovered aspect of a reality that already exists "out there." Rather, theories are provisional and fallible interpretations, limited in time (historically embedded) and constantly in need of qualification.
- Generating theory and doing social research are part of the same process (Schram, 2003).

For my inquiry, these assumptions served as a framework to remind myself of the provisional, causal, and relational nature of building theory.

Strategies for conducting research: Structured interviews and observations

The purpose of structured interviews is to understand the experience of other people and the meaning that they make of their experiences (Seidman, 1998). For my research, structured interviews provided opportunities for the participants to view their racial identity and to view their positionalities as white teachers. These interviews were based on questions stemming from my main research inquiry. The interviews focused on having participants share their experiences, beliefs, and assumptions about race and whiteness, and examining this data for implications for teaching. I conducted three structured interviews with six, K-12, urban and rural ESOL public school teachers throughout the spring semester of 2004. The profiles of these teachers are explained in more detail later in this chapter.

I followed Seidman's three interview structure (1998) as a way to provide an in-depth contextualization of the aspects that influence participants' conceptualizations and articulations of race and teaching. Given the complex topics of race and white privilege

49

that this dissertation addresses, the extended time period of a three interview format allowed me to convey a broader understanding of how participants make meaning of race and white racial identity.

To assist me in formulating the structured interview questions for this research, I developed a question matrix from the critical race theory of Goldberg (Appendix B). These questions helped me to be more aware of my own white racial bias as well as to know when to pursue certain lines of inquiry and how to recognize rhetorical moves within racial discourse. I also used these questions as a way to examine how racialized discourse might be enunciated in different contexts. Based on my previous readings of race and culture throughout my doctoral work and my previous experiences teaching antiracist education, I believe Goldberg's analysis of racialized discourse accurately addresses factors that have influenced certain articulations of race throughout history. Bringing Goldberg's examination of racialized discourse to the context of my research project enabled me to problematize the dominant white knowledge systems that inform my own white racial identity, as well as those of the participants. In this sense, I was able to analyze the interview and observation transcripts with a heightened awareness of how conceptualizations of race are reflected in discourse by asking such questions as:

- Is there a noticeable shift in teaching strategy when race enters the discussion?
- How are issues of race taken up in the curriculum and in classroom discussions?
- How are issues of race framed?

Locating these discourse patterns and rhetorical moves facilitated an examination of how beliefs about race and white racial identity could influence teaching practice.

In addition to using a structured interview approach to understand how white racial identity influenced participants' beliefs about teaching, I conducted classroom observations to see how these beliefs linked to teaching. These observations were approximately 45 minutes each and I was in each teacher's classroom an average of five times over a six-month period. I observed the rural participants' one-on-one and small group (3-4 students) tutoring sessions in literacy, history, grammar, and vocabulary building. The urban participants had an average of eight students per class and I observed classes in language arts, reading, writing, social studies, and math. I discuss the teachers and their classrooms in more detail later in this chapter.

Data coding and analysis plan

I used a grounded theory method of coding because it offered analytical techniques for handling data, considering alternative meanings for phenomena, and systematically relating concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The procedures that I used for my data analysis consisted of developing categories of information (open coding), interconnecting the categories (axial coding), building a "story" that connects the categories (selective coding), and ending with a discursive set of theoretical propositions (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

In the initial phase, open coding, I examined the data and divided it into short sections that reflected broad categories as a way to organize the data into topics such as "ESOL education" and "Marginalization within school culture." Once these broad categories were identified in the interview transcripts, I began the axial coding phase where I went through the data again to find more specific themes within each category and created a list of more refined codes that reflected the trends or patterns I was seeing. I

then began the selective coding phase where I examined the relationship between categories and themes to identify interrelated phenomena or concepts as a way to begin building theory. In this phase, I did frequency counts of all the themes that emerged in order to highlight those that occurred most often. Counting how many times a certain theme occurred was helpful to further establish connections because it drew my attention to associations I might not have made. I also drew visual diagrams to "fit the pieces of the data puzzle together" to more clearly convey and understand the data itself (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 229).

During the coding process, the question framework I developed from Goldberg (Appendix B) helped me to make connections between the underlying structures of discourse and the data. For example, when the theme "perceptions of ESOL students" emerged, I referred to this question framework as a way to examine how connotations of people of color have been expressed within the social and historical context of America. In this way, a connection between the theoretical underpinnings of racialized discourse could be made to the context of ESOL teaching and pedagogy. Using the existing critical race theory of Goldberg aided in checking my own white racial bias because it raised my awareness about how discourse practices reflect the ways people think about race. For example, questions such as, "What objects or styles are referred to when discussing race?" and "When does race enter the conversation?" (Appendix B) problematized aspects of discourse that helped me to be mindful of the subtle ways that race was represented.

As themes emerged from the interview transcript data, I compared them with my classroom observation notes and the observation transcripts to determine how the

interview themes related to what I saw in the classroom. In this way, I was able to see if

the themes were apparent in teaching and whether these themes were similar or different

from interview responses. This comparison helped me to make connections between the

participants' conceptual understandings of the interview questions and their actual

teaching practice, which enabled me to put forth theoretical propositions grounded in

participant data.

Establishing credibility and trustworthiness

Most indicators of validity and reliability refer to quantitative research rather than

qualitative research. Validity is used in terms of how closely a study reflects the world

being described in it, and reliability in a study is achieved if two researchers studying the

same project end up with similar results (Seidman, 1998). However, neither is accurate

for the scope and purpose of qualitative research, which is judged for its credibility in

terms of transparency, consistency-coherence, and communicability (Seidman, 1998).

Transparency refers to the readability of the research report so that it can be assessed for

its strengths, weaknesses, biases, and the conscientiousness of the interviewer (Seidman,

1998). For my study, this entailed keeping careful records of notes and memos I took

during observations and interviews, as well as personally transcribing the interviews.

Consistency-coherence means checking out inconsistencies in participant responses and

attempting to understand them by pursuing this line of inquiry in subsequent interviews

so that, as the researcher, I can explain contradictions and better understand why they

may have occurred (Seidman, 1998). For example, in reviewing the transcripts from the

first interviews, I noticed that responses to "What race and culture do you identify with?"

(question #7) touched upon aspects of American culture that seemed to contradict

53

responses to question #8 "What aspects of your racial and cultural identity, do you feel, are evident in your everyday life?" For this reason, in the second interview I asked three questions about American culture (interview 2, questions 1-3) to more accurately construct the participants' conceptualizations of their identity.

The last aspect of establishing my credibility as a qualitative researcher refers to communicability, the ability to write a final analysis that conveys a detailed account of the study that also utilizes quotes from participants as a way to illustrate thoroughness (Seidman, 1998). The analysis in Chapter 4 incorporates and draws upon participant responses that support and illustrate how the themes that emerged from this study contribute to and determine the conclusions I make in Chapter 5.

Choosing ESOL teacher participants

I identified new ESOL teachers who had been teaching and/or tutoring in their own classrooms for two to three years. I chose new teachers because I was interested in the ways in which their teacher education courses informed their perspectives of ESOL education regarding issues of race and culture. I also believed that relatively new teachers would have developed some experience with these issues and formulated some notions about how to address them in their curriculum and teaching. I selected these participants from different school districts with a range that included at least one from elementary, middle school, and high school to provide a variation in the sampling.

To address the ethical considerations of choosing the participant pool, I did not choose participants that I already knew, had supervised, or who had been students in my classes. My main concern in choosing participants was for both of us to come to the process with enough distance so that we took nothing for granted and had no pre-existing

54

expectations of each other (Seidman, 1998). In choosing participants that I didn't know, I felt I could more easily avoid skewing the interview process out of concern for a previously established relationship to avoid incomplete or distorted information (Seidman, 1998).

Lastly, the names of the participants and the institutions where they teach are anonymous; each participant and school has been assigned an alias. To retain this anonymity, I used only the initials of the participants in the transcriptions.

The school environment

This section provides a demographic description of the urban city, rural towns, and school districts in which the participants in this study live and work. In this section, I describe each teacher's school(s), the ESOL program within these schools, teacher schedules, ESOL student populations, and the physical details of their classroom or tutoring space. The purpose of this section is to locate the teachers' within their specific teaching contexts and to provide background information that can help a reader understand why a teacher may focus on specific curriculum, materials, or ways of teaching their diverse student populations.

Urban setting and participants

Three teachers, Maureen, Hannah, and Bridget, teach within one mile of each other in an urban[1] New England city that I call Milltown. With a total population of 107,006 people, Milltown's racial breakdown is as follows: White 91.7%, Black or

---

[1] Urban is defined as "All territory, population and housing units in urbanized areas and in places of more than 2,500 persons outside of urbanized area. 'Urban' classification cuts across other hierarchies and can be in metropolitan or non-metropolitan areas." U.S. Census Bureau, 2000. (9/28/04) http://www.census.gov/dmd/www/glossary/glossary_u.html

55

African American 2.1%, Asian 2.3%, Hispanic 4.6%, and "Some other race"1.2%[2]. These

numbers add up to more than 100% because some individuals reported more than one

race. Of the total population, 80.4% of the households speak English only compared to

91.7% in the state and 82.1% in the country[3]. In Milltown, 4.0% speak Spanish, 13.3%

Indo-European languages, 1.7% Asian and Pacific Island languages, and 0.6% other

languages[4]. District-wide, 7.3% of the student population is considered limited English

proficient (LEP)[5]. LEP students are defined as "students in any grade currently enrolled

in programs that provide specific English language assistance for a minimum of one class

period a day or a minimum of 5 hours per week."[6]

Milltown has an unemployment rate of 2.6%[7]. The top three industries within the

city are manufacturing (18.2%), education, health, and social services (17.3%), and retail

trade (13.6%)[8]. The median household[9] income is $40, 774 compared to $49,830 for the

state and $41,994 for the country[10]. Of the household income 45.8% in Milltown earn

between $15,000-$49,999[11], which is reflected in the school district where 28.9%[12] of all

students are eligible for free or reduced lunch, exceeding the state average of 17.3%[13].

The high number of limited English proficient students in this urban setting, 1,296

of the state total 2,755[14], make it necessary to have multiple level classes within the

---

[2] Census 2000
[3] Census 2000
[4] Census 2000
[5] Department of Education, 2003-2004. (9/13/04) http:www.measuredprogress.org/profile/SchEnroll.cfm
[6] DE, 03-04
[7] Census 2000
[8] Census 2000
[9] Household "includes all the people who occupy a housing unit as their usual place of residence." U.S.
Census Bureau, 2000. (10/21/04). http://www.census.gov/dmd/www/glossary/glossary_h.html
[10] Census 2000
[11] Census 2000
[12] DE 03-04
[13] DE 03-04
[14] DE, 03-04

ESOL programs at the schools where two of the participants teach. These classes contain students with a broad range of skills and gaps in their education, which the teachers try to identify early on and adjust their lessons accordingly.

Two of the urban teachers, Maureen and Hannah, have their own classrooms populated with immigrant and refugee students. They both teach content area courses such as math, social studies, language arts, reading, writing, and civics to ESOL students who are grouped according to age and ability. Students take their classes within the ESOL program until they are able to test out. With the exception of gym or vocational education where they join mainstream students, ESOL students initially take all of their classes with other ESOL students, making these their only academic interactions with mainstream students outside of the lunchroom or hallways.

Once students have gone through the levels of ESOL classes sequentially and/or have tested out, they enter content area classes with their mainstream peers. This process varies depending on the student's academic background prior to arrival in Milltown schools. For example, if a student excels in math, she could be placed in a mainstream math class, but continue taking language arts in the ESOL program. This situation may be more likely to occur in Hannah's classroom because of the higher number of immigrant students who have had previous schooling. In Maureen's case, however, most of her students are refugees with little or no educational background. It is not uncommon for her students to go through their coursework entirely within the school's ESOL program being exposed to mainstream students only during lunch, gym and possibly art.

Bridget, the other urban teacher, has a different teaching context. She teaches ESOL kindergartners in groups of three to five based on the mainstream classes they

57

attend, rather than their ability. She meets with them every weekday except Friday, when the school schedule changes to provide specialized classes such as art, music, and physical education. Bridget's tutoring sessions are approximately 30 minutes long and Bridget uses them to reinforce the literacy skills covered in mainstream classes. Although she plans and organizes her lessons independently of the topic areas being addressed in the regular classrooms, her focus is always on reinforcing and supporting the skills that the children are learning in their mainstream classrooms. She addresses the discrepancies in abilities within her small groups by adjusting the difficulty level of the questions she asks to individual students and by assigning different skill level tasks. If there is a big group of ESOL students in one mainstream classroom, she will divide them into groups based on their level; otherwise, she meets them together. In the following pages, I explain in further detail the specific contexts where each urban participant teaches.

Maureen

During this study, Maureen was in her third year of teaching ESOL at Mountain View High School, a magnet school serving students in grades 9-12, in the heart of Milltown's large working class neighborhood. The designation "magnet" signifies that all high school ESOL students in the Milltown School District attend Mountain View's ESOL program. This school has 2,381 students of which 0.50% are Native American, 2.31% Asian, 7.52% Hispanic, 4.24% Black, non-Hispanic, and 85.43% White, non-Hispanic[15]. Of the total school population 9.6% are considered limited English proficient

---

[15] Department of Education, 2002-2003. (9/13/04) http://www.measuredprogress.org/profile/SchEnroll.cfm

and 12% are eligible for free or reduced lunch[16]. As a magnet school, the 9.6% of LEP students is above the district average of 7.6% and well above the state average of 1.6%[17].

Maureen, a woman in her early 50's, grew up on Long Island in an all white neighborhood with mixed ethnicities and religions, most notably Italian, Irish, and Jewish. Her father was Italian and her mother Irish, but she identifies most strongly with her father's Italian side and is saddened by the fact that she didn't continue to speak and study the language. The schools that she attended until she was eighteen years old and moved into New York City to the Lower East Side where she was "the only white." She became interested in teaching ESOL after discovering that she didn't want to teach mainstream social studies at the secondary level. So, she began volunteering to teach literacy courses to adults where she was asked to tutor a man from Bosnia so that he could get his GED. She eventually was hired as an ESL aid and enjoyed it so much that she decided to go back to school to get her M.A.T in ESL. During her internship at the high school, she "fell in love" with teaching at the secondary level and decided that was what she wanted to do. She was hired at this same high school to teach beginning literacy students. Maureen emphasizes a strict and orderly classroom, which she feels is necessary for her majority refugee students to learn how schools operate and to move to the next level in the high school ESOL program.

Maureen teaches ESL1, the lowest of four levels in the program. She is one of two first level teachers on a team of eight ESOL teachers within the high school. Her day is divided into seven 45-minute class periods that correspond with the rest of the high school. She teaches math, social studies, civics, reading, and writing. The majority of her

_____

[16] DE 02-03
[17] DE 02-03

59

students are refugees from Bosnia, Sudan, Somalia, Egypt, and Afghanistan who have had very little formal schooling. For many of these students, English was learned in refugee camps or through sporadic attendance in war-torn countries.

These students have lunch and one period of gym with mainstream students; the rest of their classes are with Maureen and Jim, the other level one teacher, in a modular classroom outside the main school building. The "mod" sits on a narrow strip of land between the main building and the sidewalk in front of the school. It is divided into two classrooms, one for Maureen, the other for Jim, with a connecting door that is opened between classes for students to shuffle back and forth, some staying for two or three classes in a row with Maureen. Since space is an issue in this school, this modular unit was rented, along with another that sits beside it, as temporary classroom space until school construction is finished. The other six ESOL classrooms are located in the main building.

Maureen's classroom is organized with rows of desks facing a long whiteboard in the front of the room. There is a history timeline above the whiteboard with an American flag and the words to the Star Spangled Banner hanging to the side of it. Throughout the room there are posters, three world maps, one U.S. map, and a stand-up revolving bookrack. Maureen's desk is in the back of the room behind the student desks, along with a small table, an unused computer, and a small shelf of books with two English dictionaries. This area is where she keeps her teaching and reference materials.

Hannah

Hannah was in her third year of teaching ESOL in Milltown at Pine Ridge Middle School to students in grades 6-8 when I began my data collection. Pine Ridge is located

about a mile from Mountain View High School and is similarly designated as a "magnet" middle school for ESOL students. Pine Ridge has an enrollment of 1,070 students, of which 0.09% are Native American, 2.15% Asian, 9.91% Hispanic, 3.83% Black, non-Hispanic, and 84.02% White, non-Hispanic[18]. Of the total school population, 6.6% are limited English proficient and 29.3% are eligible for free or reduced lunch, well above the state average of 16.4%[19].

Hannah, a young woman in her mid 20's, grew up in a small town that was almost all white. Hannah remembers there were "two black kids in my school, possibly." However, she went away to a private high school where there were "people from all over the world." Hannah became interested in teaching ESOL after traveling in Mexico and Guatemala learning Spanish. She thought her Spanish might be useful in teaching ESOL, so when she saw the different cultures and languages represented at the high school where her first teacher education class was held, she was "really surprised and intrigued." She decided to combine her interest in ESOL with her interest in social studies to pursue a dual certification. When she completed her MAT, she was hired at this same middle school. Hannah strives to get her students to focus on their studies and not waste time because, as she occasionally reminds them, they have a lot of catching up to do in order to reach the level of work that their mainstream peers are doing.

Hannah is one of five teachers in the ESOL program who teach sixth, seventh, and eighth grade at levels one (beginners), two (intermediate), and three (advanced). She teaches social studies, math, and language arts at levels one and two. These subject area courses are divided according to grade level, academic ability, and number of students.

---

[18] DE 02-03
[19] DE 02-03

Sometimes, if numbers warrant there are split classes with students from two different grades.

Hannah's course schedule is divided into seven 45-minute class periods with 20 minutes for lunch. The majority of her students are Spanish speakers from Puerto Rico, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, and Columbia. She also has immigrant students from Korea and China, and refugee students from Bosnia, Sudan, and Somalia some of whom have came to her class with no educational experience or English background. All ESOL students have lunch and two periods of Integrated Studies with mainstream students. Integrated Studies includes classes in art, computers, family and consumer science, foreign languages, industrial arts and technological education, music, and physical education. These classes are the ESOL students' first exposure to mainstream students in a classroom setting.

Hannah teaches in a room located in the back corner of the school, furthest from the main entrance and the main office. Her room is at the end of a long hall of lockers and other classrooms. This space was originally one large classroom, but has been divided in two by a petitioned wall. Since no intercom or speaker unit was hooked up when the room was divided, a doorway to the adjacent classroom is opened every day during school announcements so that Hannah's students can try to hear them. In addition, if she needs to call to the main office for disciplinary support, she must interrupt the other class to use the intercom.

Hannah's classroom is arranged with desks in rows facing a whiteboard. A long rectangular table has been placed in the middle of these rows and a counter extends along the length of the wall opposite the whiteboard with cupboards above and below. Piles of

62

books and student projects cover the counter now. Posters including alphabet letters, days of the week, a calendar, and math equations line the walls. A poster by Hannah's desk in the corner reminds students to, "Be prepared, Be on time, Show RESPECT, Try your best."

Bridget

Bridget was in her second year as an ESOL teacher at the time of my data collection. In her first year she taught 4th grade ESOL; however, due to changes in the ESOL population, her second year placement was with ESOL kindergartners at Milltown Elementary School. Crowding in the elementary school, led the district to move the kindergarten to what was previously a non-school building located 1/4 mile from the Milltown Elementary school building, approximately one mile from the two urban schools where Maureen and Hannah teach. The population of Milltown Elementary is 422, including 99 kindergarten students[20]. Of this, 0.19% are Native American, 2.30% Asian, 23.61% Hispanic, 6.33% Black, non-Hispanic, and 67.56% are White, non-Hispanic[21]. The large Hispanic population at this school stands in stark contrast to the state average of 2.23%, as does the relatively small percentage of White students, which is far below the state average of 94.57%[22]. ESOL students comprise 17.1% of the total school population and 70.4% of the students at Riverside Elementary are eligible for free or reduced lunch, well above the district average of 28.9% and the state average of 17.3%.

Bridget, an energetic young woman in her early 20's, grew up in white, middle-class towns that had very little diversity in comparison to the setting in which she now

---

[20] DE 02-03
[21] DE 02-03
[22] DE 02-03

63

teaches. She got interested in ESOL through a friend who was taking a free (grant subsidized) ESOL course at the university and asked her if she was interested in taking it too. She remembers, "I just had a fascination with other cultures and I'd always wanted to travel to different countries and it sounded really nice, so I took a course." After she started working with ESOL students in the schools, she decided that was what she really wanted to teach, despite her dual certification in mainstream elementary. When she finished her MAT, she began teaching in an ESOL 4th grade magnet classroom. The following year she was moved to a team taught 1st and 2nd grade ESOL and this year she began teaching ESOL kindergarten. Although she was not happy switching grade levels every year, she recognizes the difficulty that the administration faces in providing services to such a vastly changing ESOL population. Bridget focuses on creating a relaxed, polite, and fun setting for her small classroom. She wants her students to feel comfortable so that they will begin to participate in the on-going dialogue that is at the center of her instruction.

Bridget, the only ESOL teacher in the kindergarten building, meets with her students in "pull-out" sessions. In these sessions, students leave their mainstream classrooms to work with Bridget one-on-one or in small groups. Students meet with her every day in groups of 3 to 5 for approximately 30 minutes each time. Many of the students are Hispanic, from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, others are from Albania, Russia, and Liberia.

In the beginning of the year, Bridget's classroom was an 8' x 8' space that doubled as the school "time-out" room. Students who were physically out of control were brought, as needed, throughout the day causing Bridget to have to vacate her classroom at a

64

moment's notice. To address this situation, she made portable, cardboard-backed posters which she could quickly grab on her way out when her class had to leave. After two months, she was given a permanent classroom, another windowless, though slightly bigger 10' x 10' room, off the kitchen area in the teachers' lunchroom. Students walk through lunchroom smells of microwaved leftovers and toaster oven reheatings to enter Bridget's class. Bridget says her students have eventually become accustomed to arms reaching through her slightly open door into one of two upright refrigerators located along one wall of her room. These refrigerators hold lunches and snacks for teachers and staff throughout the building.

Along with the refrigerators, the room contains one child-sized table with four to five small chairs, a portable white board, and plastic crates that hold Bridget's teaching materials. Posters line the walls with days of the week, a calendar, adjectives for weather, alphabet letters, pictures of her students wearing goggles and sunglasses from their beach unit, and a poster of the sea floor, fish, and shells.

Rural setting and participants

Three participants in this study, Carly, Allie, and Beth, teach in rural school districts within the state[23]. In these rural school settings, these teachers often support the curriculum of the mainstream teacher. They use flashcards, word games, and strategies to reinforce the mainstream curriculum. By frequently meeting with the mainstream teachers, these ESOL teachers know where the class is in any particular subject as well as what terminology to use while tutoring students. Given that each school may take a different approach to literacy, part of the ESOL teacher's job is to familiarize herself with

---

[23] Rural is defined as "Territory, population and housing units not classified as urban. 'Rural' classification cuts across other hierarchies and can be in metropolitan or non-metropolitan areas." Census 2000

the approach in each school in order to effectively reinforce classroom skills for her students. The ability of the ESOL teacher to do an effective job in a rural environment largely hinges on the quality of the communication with classroom teachers.

Allie and Beth teach in districts with lower numbers of ESOL students than Carly, which makes it necessary for them to travel from school to school according to student location. They teach K-12 providing services in pull-out tutorial sessions or as support in mainstream classrooms. For in-class support, they work beside the ESOL student in the mainstream class during a lesson in which a student needs extra help. Sitting beside an ESOL student, the teacher gives assistance to both ESOL and mainstream students. This happens more frequently at the elementary level where reading and special education teachers, in addition to ESOL teachers, often work with students in the classroom. At the middle school or high school level, ESOL tutorials usually occur outside of the classroom. In the following pages, I describe the contexts of each teacher in more detail.

Carly

Carly teaches in the university town of Rockfield. During this study, Carly was in her third year of ESOL teaching at Rockfield High School and in the process of becoming a state certified ESOL teacher. This high school enrolls 738 students, of whom 1.22% Asian, 1.08% Hispanic, 0.68% Black, non-Hispanic, and 97.02% White, non-Hispanic, above the state average of 94.57%[24]. Of the total school population, 1.8% are considered limited English proficient and 2.0% are eligible for free or reduced lunch, unlike other schools in this study, this is far below the state average of 16.4%. The

---

[24] DE 02-03

66

median household income in the county where Carly teaches is $44,198 below the state median of $49,830[25].

When I asked Carly, who is in her early 50's, where she grew up, she laughed and replied "honkyville" then further described it as "a heavily Caucasion environment" in a large suburb of New England. She remembers that her high school was a little more diverse than her elementary and middle school, yet still predominantly white. Teaching ESOL interested her because she wanted to work abroad and her previous MBA seemed to offer few promising possibilities, so she decided to pursue a new career that involved an international living experience. Once she began working on her K-12 ESOL certification with ESOL high school students, she found it challenging and enjoyable. Her position at the high school is a year-to-year contracted one, which she is arguing to make a regular, salaried position. She is a strong advocate for her students and strives to get them involved in the social life of the school so that they can feel like they belong.

Carly is the only ESOL teacher in the high school. She meets with students in three settings: one-on-one, small group lessons, and in mainstream classrooms. The majority of her time is spent in one-on-one and small group tutorial sessions with students who come to her room for additional support of their mainstream course work. She divides her time among the 12 ESOL students according to the amount of support needed as well as their schedule of up-coming tests and quizzes. She meets with a small group of high proficiency students for one 45-minute period each day; approximately five others come to her classroom throughout the day during their study halls for tutoring; and

---

[25] Census 2000

the remaining five are monitored periodically by checking in with their mainstream teachers.

Carly's ESOL classroom is noticeably different from those of the other teachers in this study. It is a spacious 2nd floor room with windows lining one wall and another half glass wall on the opposite side overlooking the library below. There are three computers with internet access, comfortable chairs, a few desks, a small table for tutoring, and several plants. The bookshelves are filled with many new content area books as well as a variety of language dictionaries from beginning to advanced levels of proficiency. Posters decorate the walls with images ranging from Bob Marley to John Wayne. On one end of the room, chairs are arranged in a half-circle facing a whiteboard. There is a CD player with stacks of music from the students' native countries. Another small table near the entryway often has flowers and snacks or cookies to munch on. Students frequently stop by between classes or during lunch to hang out with the other ESOL students, check their e-mail or talk to Carly. This bright, inviting space, however, is temporary. The large construction project taking place throughout the school during my interviewing has placed Carly in this room. Next year will find her in another, as yet unknown, location.

Allie

Allie was in her second year as a certified ESOL teacher, but her fourth year overall teaching ESOL students during this study. She taught as an uncertified tutor for two years because the district had difficulty finding someone certified in ESOL. Once she got her certification, she began as a regular ESOL teacher. The student enrollment in her district is 2,088[26]. Of this number, Native Americans make up 1.25%, Asians 0.67%,

---

[26] DE 02-03

Hispanics 1.05%, Black, non-Hispanic 0.34%, and White, non-Hispanic 96.70%[27].

Within the total district population, 0.4% are considered limited English proficient and

10.4% are eligible for free or reduced lunch, below the state average of 16.4%[28]. The

median household income in the county that Allie teaches in is $48,875 slightly below

the state median of $49, 830[29].

Allie is in her late 40's and was born in Cuba where she lived until she was 11

then immigrated to the United States. While living in Cuba, she attended American

schools so that she could learn English. She went to private schools most of her life that

were "mostly white" with "some Black students and some white students and the

Hispanic students were mostly Cubans, so there was some diversity, but not a whole lot."

Allie got into teaching ESOL while she was working as a substitute Spanish language

teacher and her school enrolled a boy from Guatemala who spoke no English. So, the

principal asked if she would work with him. The next year the school district enrolled

several more ESOL students and asked her to consider getting certified. She completed

her MAT in K-12 ESOL while tutoring throughout this same district for a growing

population of ESOL students.

The rural, mountainous area of the state where Allie works attracts vacationing

hikers, skiers, and outdoor people year round. Within these picturesque New England

towns, Allie spends about one hour "on the road" each day traveling to three elementary

schools and one high school to provide ESOL service to 12 students. She uses a cart with

wheels to transport boxes of markers, reading books, workbooks, flashcards, and other

materials she uses with her students. Her tutoring sessions with ESOL students reinforce

---

[27] DE 02-03
[28] DE 02-03
[29] Census 2000

69

content area skills that are covered in mainstream classrooms and are determined through collaboration with mainstream teachers on how best to address student needs. Her schedule is organized by how much support Allie and the mainstream teacher feel the student requires as well as when the student is available between content area subjects such as math and science or specials such as gym and art. She often meets with students during their reading or writing period.

Allie usually begins or ends her day at her permanent office space located in a modular trailer unit outside Greenville Elementary, which is shared with another teacher who coordinates a program for gifted and talented students throughout the district. Stacks of chapter books, workbooks, colorful word cards, and boxes of educational games are scattered throughout the room. Allie's desk sits to the side, a small island of order amidst the jumble that surrounds her. She has a computer and a few bookshelves where she keeps her own, more modest piles of ESOL materials.

In one of the four schools, Allie has her own room where she can put posters on the walls and arrange things as she likes. It is a windowless corridor located between the school nurse's office and a storage room. To get there, one must walk into the nurse's office then veer to the right just before the examination table. Though small, this 6' x 8' space has bright posters, and a bookshelf filled with Reading Recovery material that Allie can borrow for her students. There is also a child-size table with an old Apple computer, a printer and two small chairs. Posters on the wall have each ESOL student's name with new vocabulary words they have learned or pages of writing they have completed.

In the other three schools where she tutors, Allie does not have a permanent space to work with her students. She must either find temporarily unused rooms or work in the

70

library. Both options leave her open to disruption by mainstream classes that come in to use the space. When this happens, she and her student collect their materials and head out to find a quiet spot in the hallway.

Beth

Beth, the other rural teacher, was in her third year of ESOL teaching during this study. Her school district has an enrollment of 2,846 students, of which 0.42% are Asian, 0.32% Hispanic, 0.70% Black, non-Hispanic, and 98.56% White, non-Hispanic above the state average of 94.24%[30]. Within the total district population, 0.3% are considered limited English proficient and 24.3% are eligible for free or reduced lunch, significantly higher than the 2.0% in Carly's high school, the 11.7% in Allie's district, and the state average of 16.4%.[31] The median household income in the county where Beth teaches is $40,792, the lowest of all participants in this study and below the state median of $49,830[32].

Beth, who is in her mid 40's, grew up in a small town on Long Island where many people commuted to New York City to work. When asked the racial make-up of her town, she laughs, "Oh, white, white, and white." She knew of two African Americans in her school throughout her K-12 years. After graduation, she attended a small liberal arts college, which slightly increased her exposure to diverse populations. She became interested in teaching ESOL after tutoring a Bosnian refugee and realizing that she could build upon her previous education degree by pursuing a certification in ESOL. She then returned to school for her MAT in K-12 ESOL. Beth was a very conscientious teacher who strived to maximize her time with her students through detailed planning and

---

[30] DE 02-03
[31] DE 02-03
[32] Census 2000

71

frequent short meetings with their mainstream teachers. These meetings helped her to pre-teach new vocabulary so that her students would feel more confident to participate in classroom activities and discussions. Building student confidence was an important part of what Beth believed was her job as an ESOL teacher.

As with Allie, Beth teaches K-12 ESOL in a rural district with few ESOL students. At the time of my data collection, she worked with two students regularly and monitored five others in the district. The surrounding towns are popular tourist destinations during the summer months because of the lakes and lakeside resorts found at the foot of the mountains. During the fall foliage season, tourist buses unload "leaf peepers" who fill Lakeside, the biggest town, to shop and take in the change of color.

Beth divides her time among Lakeside High School, Lakeside Middle School, and Elmwood Elementary School, located in an adjacent town. She meets with one high school student every day to provide English language instruction, which takes the place of his mainstream English requirement. She also tutors two middle school students twice a week and provides in-class support to a second grader at the elementary school. During these in-class sessions, she sits beside the girl in the mainstream classroom and helps her and the other mainstream students nearby.

Beth's travel time is about 20 minutes from the high school and middle school, which are within 1/4 mile of each other, to the elementary school. It is a 40-minute round-trip drive that she makes two to three times a week. As with Allie, she carries copies of her students' textbooks, dictionaries, and other materials she may need in a wheeled cart. Every day she hauls this cart every day to and from her car trunk, which doubles as a spare tire and school book storage space.

72

Beth meets with her high school student in an unused equipment storage room off the high school library. Each morning they lift a 4' X 8' sound barrier/divider to block the door-less entryway in order to muffle the continuous activity and chatter coming from students using the library computers just outside the space. There are no posters or areas for Beth to leave her materials, so she brings them in and out each day. Betsy and her student work at a table among old microfiche machines, a typewriter, empty bookshelves, large instructional manuals, and spare equipment parts. It doesn't look like a tutoring space; there is no indication that it is anything other than a dusty, forgotten room used to store antiquated and unused audio-visual equipment (See Appendix E for a summary of participant data).

In this section, I have described the urban and rural settings in which the participants teach. This information provides a context for this study to better understand the reasons why a teacher may choose specific curricula or materials to address the needs of their diverse student populations. In the following chapter, I address the themes identified within the data and describe how the participants in this study speak about their notions of race and culture. In so doing, a more accurate account of teacher identity and its influence on teaching is possible.

Conclusion

The qualitative research methodology that I used to address my research question included structured interviews and classroom observations with ESOL teachers as a way to understand their beliefs of race and white racial identity and how these beliefs play out in the classroom. Incorporating a grounded theory method of data analysis allowed me to construct theoretical propositions and build substantive theory grounded in the specific

73

context of ESOL. Using a question matrix developed from critical race theory provided a framework to analyze racialized discourse, as well as provide an effective way to problematize the dominant white knowledge systems that inform my own and the participants' white racial identity. As a result, the final analysis captures a contextualized understanding of the influence that white racial identity has on ESOL teaching and pedagogy.

74

CHAPTER IV

TEACHER IDENTITY: ISSUES OF RACE AND CULTURE IN ESOL TEACHING

In this chapter, I analyze data collected during interviews and classroom observations to understand how the teacher participants discuss issues of race and culture as they pertain to their personal identity and ESOL teaching. By analyzing participants' notions of race and culture, I can illustrate the connection between these conceptualizations and how they are actuated in the classroom. Establishing this connection allows me to better understand the influence of white racial identity on teaching. To understand such underlying complexity, I conducted three one-hour interviews (See Appendix C) and an average of five forty-five minute observations with each participant over a six month period. During these observations, I kept notes on the class subject, number of students and country of origin, classroom arrangement, students' response to the material, and teachers' response to the class. I tape recorded the interviews and observations, and these transcriptions along with my notes, comprise the data used for analysis. I approached my data analysis with the goal of trying to better understand the role that white racial identity plays in the ways these teachers think about their teaching and in the ways that they teach. In my analysis, I focus on what beliefs and assumptions the teacher participants have about race and culture as well as how they perceive these to influence their racial and cultural identity. The process that I used to analyze the data is explained below.

75

Analysis of data

The process of analysis I used for identifying themes in interview and observation transcript data allowed me to locate patterns in the data. In order to do this, I first read all of the responses from each participant, and then broke down the transcript data into manageable segments of approximately two to five sentences in order to develop an understanding of what was said. At this stage of the analysis, my goal was to assign codes to all of the transcription data rather than to make comparisons among the participants' responses. As I examined these segments, I looked for how the participants discussed issues of race and culture and when it came into or was left out of their dialogue. For example, in interview 1, question #6, I asked the participants to "Tell me about the racial and cultural make-up of the neighborhood(s) you grew up in and the school(s) you attended." In their responses, I examined whether race was mentioned, what was mentioned instead of race, or what associations were made with race when it did enter the dialogue.

I also looked for information in the responses to all of the interview questions about how the participants developed, changed, and shaped their own personal identities. I then examined what influenced their notions of ESOL education and began to assign codes to segments that described conditions, interactions, techniques, ideologies, and/or conceptualizations relevant to how the participants' formed their racial and cultural identity. This analysis generated a list of codes that made it easier to retrieve specific coded responses so that I could begin the process of comparing participant responses.

Once I had coded the data, I began to interpret and look for common themes across cases in the transcripts by comparing and contrasting participant responses to

76

specific interview questions. For example, in looking at how the participants discussed issues of race and culture, I compared their responses to interview 1, question #8, "What aspects of your racial and cultural identity, do you feel, are evident in your everyday life?" Looking at the responses to one specific question enabled me to examine the similarities and differences in these responses. After comparing responses in this way, I expanded the comparisons to include several questions on similar topics. Expanding from one-question to several questions on the same topic enabled me to see patterns not previously discernible, as responses didn't always relate to particular questions, but would sometimes carry over as afterthoughts of previous questions.

I also calculated frequency counts in participants' responses, which entailed counting the number of times a code appeared in a response. This helped me see which codes were particularly salient within each question for each participant as well as within the broader scope of multiple questions on the same topic. For instance, when I was trying to find out what the participants believed they ought to be teaching and why, I looked at their responses to five interview questions and counted the number of times a code appeared. While some codes occurred only twice, such as "process of Americanization" and "personal identity" others occurred 8 to 12 times, such as "need to assimilate" and "role of American culture in ESOL teaching," which indicated that these codes needed more consideration and cross-analysis. (See Appendix D for Master list of codes with frequency counts)

As I continued to compare and contrast these codes, I began to focus on identifying interrelationships and features within the data that would enable me to construct themes and put forth assertions based on what I was finding. When underlying

77

uniformities began to emerge in my analysis, such as feelings of marginalization or minimization of racial discourse, these became the basis of the themes I later developed. These themes illustrate the nuances, contradictions, and associations that the participants make with race, white racial identity, and ESOL education, and attempt to explain how these notions connect to teaching ESOL students. Comparing what participants said in response to interview questions with what I saw of their teaching during my classroom observations led me to begin to understand how being white influences teaching and what is focused on in classroom and textbook discussions. In addition, I began to perceive that issues of race were minimized and that the participants' sense of marginalization was in conflict with what they thought they ought to be doing as ESOL teachers.

Organization of chapter

This chapter is divided into three sections that each examine one category of themes that emerged in this study. The first thematic section, "Notions of race and racial identity," includes four subsections, one of which describes how the participants defined ESOL education. The other three subsections address these themes: the minimization of the impact of racial comments made to ESOL students, the minimization of the influence of teaching context on teacher racial identity, and the avoidance and negativity in discourse about white racial identity. The purpose of this section is to describe how the participants conceptualize and articulate their notions of race in general and whiteness in particular.

The second section, "White racial identity in the ESOL classroom," looks at the ways in which the themes about racial identity tie to classroom practice. In this section, I draw from observation transcripts and notes to illustrate how participants' addressed

78

issues of race when they arose in the classroom. My descriptions of what went on in the classroom are not meant to be representative of the participants' practice in general, but rather as a slice of classroom occurrences that depict a fragment of teaching and illuminate some of the ways conceptualizations of race played out in practice. The conclusions that I draw are representative of the specific context of this study and are not meant to be generalized to a larger population. I conclude this section with a "Teacher reaction chart" (Appendix F) that compares how participants responded to incidents involving race, gender, and religion when they arose in their classrooms.

The third section, "Marginalization of ESOL in the school community," examines the status of the ESOL teachers, students, and programs within the broader context of their school community. I discuss the physical and social marginalization of these teachers and their programs within their schools. The purpose of this section is to demonstrate how the participants feel they and their programs are treated by mainstream colleagues and administrative staff.

Section I: Notions of race and racial identity

In this section, I discuss how the participants' defined ESOL education and the three main thematic categories that emerged from my analysis of interview and observation data. These themes include: teacher minimization of the impact of racial comments made to ESOL students, teacher minimization of the influence of teaching context on teacher racial identity, and teacher avoidance of addressing their own white racial identity. This section is divided according to these themes and concludes with a chart that summarizes how participant teachers have reacted in circumstances where racial and cultural issues have arisen in their classrooms. The purpose of this section is to

79

illustrate how participants define ESOL education as well as conceptualize and articulate their notions of race, in general, and white racial identity, in particular, in order to connect them to classroom practice.

Defining ESOL education

In this subsection, I describe what the participants believe are the most important aspects of ESOL education. The purpose of this section is to contextualize the reasons the participants responded in the ways they did and to describe the factors that influenced these responses. I have delineated the themes that emerged in the definitions of ESOL education between the urban and rural settings because of the different patterns in the answers from the two groups.

Urban teachers

The one common element that the urban teachers, Maureen, Hannah, and Bridget, expressed as part of their jobs was that ESOL instruction needed to focus on assisting students to develop the skills necessary to enter mainstream classes; for Maureen's refugee students, this meant the regular ESOL program. While the rural participants also work toward this goal, they identified different aspects of ESOL education that were specific to their contexts. The particular ways that the urban teachers developed student skills depended on gaps in education, language proficiency, and grade levels of the students that they taught.

Hannah believed it was her job to prepare her middle school students,

...to make it along with their American peers in regular classes and to graduate and to have the language to do that...That means catching up on...cultural background information that, say social studies teachers expect them to know where their American counterparts might know all the founding fathers and been learning stuff like that...There's missed education that I have to make up for...So, not letting them lose more skills because they're learning English, they've got to

80

like double up on time...I feel like my end goal should be...to give them what they need to succeed in mainstream classes (inter2Q5).

Hannah felt that it was important to focus on skills that would enable her students to catch up on the required information mainstream teachers expect ESOL students to know, such as American history.

At the kindergarten level, Bridget believes that getting her students to feel comfortable enough to participate is an important element in preparing them for mainstream instruction.

>...you want ESL students to be talking...it [is] more of a social class...I think with ESL you can't be as firm and rigid and do all this work at your seat...with ESL students it has to be more of a comfortable environment. You don't want them to feel...overwhelmed...I always want my classroom to be comfortable...try not to stress them out too much...and then they start speaking and that's the important part (inter1Q11).

For Bridget, creating "a comfortable environment" that promotes verbal participation is important for students to relax and not feel overwhelmed. Once this setting is established, students will start speaking and develop their language skills. Her focus on fostering the affective aspects of language learning, such as creating a classroom where students feel comfortable, is the starting point for the skills development that will follow. In my classroom observations, Bridget's students generally seemed to enjoy participating in activities and through her tone of voice and de-emphasis of her authority position, she actively engaged in facilitating student input as the central point of instruction.

Maureen believed that the best way to prepare her high school refugee students to enter the regular ESOL program in her school was to maintain the literacy based focus in reading and writing. She said, "no matter what we're teaching, literacy is still the underlying factor (inter1Q14)." With this literacy focus, Maureen moves between

81

subjects like American History, Civics, and Math to better enable her students to progress to the next level of ESOL in her school's program. She said,

> I tend to be really strict with the rules because many of them haven't had rules for a long time. You know, when you're running from place to place or you're in a refugee camp or you're just kind of wandering around all day, you know...maybe the teachers show up to school one day and doesn't the other for one reason or another. So, you kind of have to gather them back in and have discipline in the classroom. (inter1,Q11).

In addition to her focus on developing literacy skills, Maureen also places importance on instilling social skills necessary for her students to adjust to their school setting, in particular being "really strict with the rules (inter1Q11)." Teaching her students the classroom rules allows them to move on to the next level of ESOL.

Rural teachers

For the rural teachers, the three most significant factors in ESOL education included: 1) teacher collaboration, 2) acting as cultural mediators between ESOL students and their mainstream teachers and administrators, and 3) being flexible in their tutoring schedules. While these aspects came up for the urban teachers, they emerged peripherally and less frequently than for the rural participants. Regarding teacher collaboration, Allie articulates how valuable it was in her teacher education program and in her own teaching.

> ...I learned a lot [about] cooperating with the [mainstream] teachers and, you know, not just reflecting by myself, but also reflecting with some other teacher and talking about the problems. And I think that's a big thing because I try to do that at least once a month with the classroom teachers, not only to improve relationships, but I learn so much about what is going on in the classroom so that what I do can be tied sometimes to the curriculum--it doesn't always work...Some teachers are much better at providing that information than others (inter1Q5).

Collaborating with classroom teachers, as Allie points out, helps her to understand what is going on in her students' regular classrooms as well as improve communication with other teachers, which ultimately strengthens the support base for ESOL students.

82

However, trying to work together with other teachers "doesn't always work." Beth agrees with Allie about the importance of being able to collaborate with mainstream teachers while echoing the difficulty she often has in doing so.

> ...now that I'm teaching [collaboration] is just SO important to me. It seems that it's just essential to have that and...I didn't realize it would be such a difficult thing to accomplish...(inter1, Q5).

When collaboration doesn't work, Carly's strategy is to avoid those teachers she knows are difficult to coordinate with, while instead trying to find those teachers who understand her students' needs. She states,

> I have one math teacher I try to get my kids with...because she communicates well and gives them time and that whole verbal piece is now well understood. There's others who are inflexible and...that's another conversation. I've had problems with teachers who just don't get what these kids are going through...and some of them are just hopeless and I just try to...get them with the right teacher instead of trying to educate the wrong teacher...Instead of recreating the wheel or trying to educate someone at the expense of the student who's in their high school trying to develop a platform to begin the rest of their life, it's just maybe so much easier to get them with the right teacher (inter2, Q6).

Carly's negotiations to get her students with the "right teacher" requires good relationships not only with mainstream teachers to admit the student, but also with administrators to allow a change in the student's schedule. In this sense, the role of teacher collaboration for these rural teachers becomes apparent as a vital element in assisting ESOL students to succeed academically.

The second aspect of ESOL education, acting as a cultural mediator between ESOL students and mainstream teachers and administrators, meant explaining differences between students' culture and American culture. As cultural mediators, participants were often placed in the position of interpreting or explaining their students' behavior and academic ability to mainstream teachers and administrators. In this sense, these rural

83

teachers were called upon more regularly than urban teachers to smooth out conflicts that involved their students. Carly described this difficulty,

> I think I've convinced the administration that [ESOL students] are a population to be valued, they were highly represented at the awards ceremony today, and I think I've convinced the principal not to place us in special education and that we should be an entity unto ourselves. I've been working very hard to get ESL into a language acquisition perception rather than they have a problem speaking the language...(inter3, Q5).

Having to convince the administration that her students are not in need of special education services requires Carly to address issues of inequality based on cultural membership and language ability.

The third aspect of ESOL education for the rural teachers was the need to be flexible in their tutoring sessions. Being flexible for these teachers meant being able to adjust what they intended to work on with their students if the student needed something else at that time such as, more review for a test, instruction in how to write a paper, or clarification of American culture. Beth's comment exemplifies comments made by all of the rural teachers about how they approached their planning for their tutor sessions. She said,

> ...flexible planning [is important]...when I meet with a student I have to know...what we're going to do in that time...But...I can't let myself be bound by that...if something else has come up, I've got to go with it, but at least I have a plan there (inter1, Q12).

The need to be flexible is juxtaposed against another concern expressed by many of the rural teachers in general, regarding the pressure they feel to maximize time with their students so they can "catch up" to mainstream peers. While some teachers felt this tension more keenly than others, being flexible remained a constant concern for all the rural teachers.

In this subsection, I have described how the urban teachers defined ESOL education as preparing students to enter mainstream classes. This preparation included a cultural component that required them to mediate the cultural differences that arose as students tried to navigate their American school experience. Because these teachers have their own classrooms and do not rely on teacher collaboration as much as the rural teachers, this mediation was largely apparent in my classroom observations as clarifications and explanations of American culture. These explanations focused mostly on customs and norms of social behavior that students' needed to know in order to stay out of trouble and to be more accepted by their peers, teachers, and administrators. In this sense, both urban and rural teachers addressed cultural difference, yet attempted to instill a sense of assimilation for standard behavior so that their students could feel a sense of belonging within their schools and society. Both groups tried to create within their classrooms an environment of acceptance and respect to foster a shared sense of commonality. This focus on commonality and building a sense of shared community were aspects important to these urban teachers' notions of preparing their students for mainstream classes and in assisting their students to develop a sense of belonging. In teacher collaboration and acting as cultural mediators, rural teachers were more frequently placed in roles where they needed to advocate for their students regarding issues of cultural status, which required them to attempt to remedy the inequities that their students faced.

Minimizing the impact of racial comments made to ESOL students

Another theme that emerged from the teacher participant interviews was a pattern of minimizing the racial comments that both ESOL and mainstream students made to

85

ESOL students. This minimization was revealed in the participants' dismissal of racial comments as unimportant or insignificant and was notable in the repetition of phrases used to emphasize the inconsequence of these comments. Unlike the definitions of ESOL education, I found this dismissal across all settings. In addition, I found the repetition exemplified in all of the participants' comments about racist remarks. For example, in the following excerpt Bridget repeats the phrase "But, it wasn't ..." to underscore her perceived unimportance of these comments. I have added italics to identify these key phrases as well as those in future quotes.

> ...they're young. I mean, last year [my class] was even kind of young they didn't make comments...well, there was Bosnian students in [my classroom] so they were also white. *But, it wasn't like this huge*...because we were all so different it wasn't like you're this I'm that, you know...We had one student from Sudan, he was very dark. I think I heard kids say something like twice about it, *but it wasn't even like*... what it would be here someone saying something about somebody from Africa, you know it wasn't like a racial slam. It was more of an observation like he's so dark, he's black, you know? (inter1, Q16)

Bridget downplays the comments' significance by implying that because everyone was "so different" racially, identifying who was of what race was not important. However, according to some authors, so long as race is applied to non-white people and whites are not racially named, whiteness functions as the norm (Dyer, 2002). Not identifying white as a race can contribute to establishing relations of domination when dominant knowledge forms are unquestioningly passed off as the only conception of the good in ways that limit inquiry into alternative conceptions (McCarthy, 2000). In Bridget's case, students weren't comparing shades of their own white skin rather they were commenting on the darkness of the Sudanese student's skin compared to their own white skin.

Minimizing racial comments by comparing them to overt racial acts, such as Bridget's use of the term "racial slam" is representative of how many whites are "taught

86

to recognize racism only in individual acts of meanness...[rather than]...in invisible systems conferring unsought racial dominance on [whites] from birth (McIntosh, 1988)." Dismissing racial acts that are less overt than a "racial slam" is one way that the impact of racial comments on racial minorities are not comprehended by many whites (Kailin, 2002; McIntyre, 1997).

Hannah also minimizes the impact of racial comments by dismissing the significance of racially and culturally related generalizations. She states,

> I remember having lots of arguments with my grandfather who lives [nearby] ...and it's very segregated. It's like the downtown and the up-on-the-hill, the money and the Puerto Ricans basically...and he would...just make these generalizations about the Puerto Ricans...I remember coming in here...and finding myself every once in awhile like "Well, the Puerto Ricans they don't come to school when it snows because they...have truancy problems. And, really if it was flurries outside you would have several Puerto Ricans (laugh) who weren't in...And over time I think I began to realize what kind of generalizations *even if its--its not really a hurtful generalization*---but I would start to realize those things and have to reevaluate those statements on a constant basis (inter1,Q10).

Hannah candidly addresses her need to be more aware of the generalizations she makes and clearly wants to acknowledge this as part of an on-going learning process, yet she dismisses some generalizations as having less significance than others. However, in a New England context, not coming to school because of a few flurries can be associated with negative personality traits for the Puerto Ricans in Hannah's school. The cumulative effect of racial comments that are not "really a hurtful generalization" or "a racial slam" are unremarkable or unrecognizable to these white teachers in ways that reinforce whiteness as the norm or solidify personality traits of the "Other."

Maureen, whose majority ESOL student population consists of African refugees, also minimizes the impact of racial comments on her students. Her dismissal of the

87

significance of such comments was evident when she described an incident that took

place in her classroom, as "not serious enough to think about..."

> We have occasionally had black/white problems, but *not serious enough to think about*...We had one three years ago, where a Mexican young man, who was about five foot three, looked up at one of my six foot five Dinka boys and said something about monkeys in jungles. And, I'm just so thankful he said it to THAT boy and not to one of the others (laughs) because that boy came right to me and let me deal with it. But...that could have been a very serious situation (laughs). (inter2, Q8)

Being white can make issues of race seem exaggerated (Delpit, 1995; Jensen, 2002;

Sleeter, 2001), which may help explain why, for Maureen, it does not seem as if this

racial remark warrants closer consideration. According to this view, her positionality as a

white teacher may be influenced her belief that occasional "black/white problems" are not

"serious enough to think about" even though on some level she knows that there was

potential for "a very serious situation" to develop.

Carly's minimization of the impact of racial prejudice regarding her students

differs from that of Hannah and Maureen in that she acknowledges the existence of racial

prejudice and the difficulty that her students have with issues of prejudice in their school.

She describes one racist incident involving an ESOL student in his mainstream class:

> ...I've seen [blatantly awful things] happen in classrooms most recently...where a kid, who's critically misbehaved, said 'How can you be black, you can't even shoot a basketball. I'm blacker than you, I'm better at basketball.'...and I mean this stuff happens to him all the time because he's been in the school district for a long time (inter2, Q9).

These overt and covert acts of racism may come up "all the time" for some of her African

students, but one student in particular has developed the capability to articulate himself in

response to such treatment. She states,

> ...he's quite capable [of defending himself against negative racial comments], as he's done numerous times in his classrooms with problematic...students...and he's

88

immensely articulate. I don't know how, I mean most 14-year-olds couldn't do that. He's obviously been in this position before and...seems to be able to package this overtly racist behavior...there's a lot of hurt and [ostracism]. I don't know how he deals with, but he has been dealing with it for years because he's been going to this school district (inter2, Q9).

Despite Carly's awareness of the difficulty and regularity with which her African students have to deal with racist comments, from her perspective as a white teacher it is not seen as a crisis. She says,

> ...I'm sure it's a shock for my African students who have to deal with the racist perceptions of--subtle and not so subtle--have had to deal with. I don't think they grew up in that environment and so all of a sudden being defined by skin color when that's never been the case...And although, *it hasn't come up in any crisis mode*, I just know that--I'm guessing, maybe I'm projecting--that they deal with it on a daily basis (inter2, Q5)

The impact of having to deal with such treatment on a daily basis seems bound to wear on a student's personal identity because of the way racial discrimination and/or exclusion isolates students from the rest of the school community; something of which Carly does not seem aware.

Bridget, Hannah and Maureen, who teach in urban settings, and Carly, who teaches in a rural setting, are all thoughtful and caring teachers who, in my experience, challenge themselves to implement more effective methods to facilitate student understanding and learning. Bridget's minimization of racial comments to her students did not seem to be consciously hurtful or racist. Throughout the interviews and observations in her classroom, her dedication to her students was obvious. She was very concerned about helping her students not only learn English, but to assist their families in adjusting to life in America. Despite Bridget's concern for her students and their families, the negative social connotations that dark skin color has, not only in this country, but in many Latin American and Asian countries, risks being sustained if not addressed and

dispelled by the teacher. For Allie and Beth the issue of minimizing racial comments did not arise. The corresponding factor that separates these teachers apart from the other participants is that they did not have African ESOL students. In sum, the teachers with African ESOL students were the ones who minimized racial comments.

Goldberg argues that racial exclusion serves as a presumption for which rules and rationalizations may be formulated, but that it also has a second less acknowledged element that results in racial exclusion being the outcome of deliberation in pedagogical domains (Goldberg, 1993). In other words, racial exclusion can be the unintended outcome in schools involving deliberations about race. While Bridget's students acknowledged the visual differences in their skin color, any previous connotations they might have associated with it were not explored or challenged to counteract the negative stereotypes that dark skin color has in many countries. By not addressing or passing racial comments off as unimportant, racial issues are dealt with by not dealing with them, not pursuing avenues for better understanding. In this sense, participants follow the socially determined and acceptable responses to racial issues that have been constructed for centuries in America. From the position of a white teacher, it is easier to dismiss or minimize the importance of racial identity (Delpit, 1995; Jensen, 2002).

Educational institutions have played a significant role in limiting inquiry into racial issues because of the ways control is maintained over the presentation and reinforcement of certain forms of inquiry (Lesko, 2000; Popkewitz, 1998). This plays out on the individual level in what teachers feel is important to address as well as what they dismiss as insignificant. In this sense, an ideology of consensus emerged to maintain a "culture of niceness" that glossed over further inquiry into skin color, as in Bridget's

90

class; generalizations, as for Hannah; and racial conflict, as in Maureen's classroom (McIntyre, 1997). Dispelling notions of consensus or breaking out of the "culture of niceness," can allow topics like race to be taken up, so that students' lives can be seen as an integral part of the social landscape, rather than as "Other."

Minimizing the impact of teaching context on racial identity

The theme in this subsection focuses on the impact that teaching in a racially and culturally diverse classroom of English language learners has on the teacher participants in this study and whether such a setting causes them to rethink their own racial and cultural identity. By racial identity, I mean a sense of group identity that the participants have based on their perceptions of a shared common racial heritage (Helms, 1993). While white racial identity refers to how one perceives oneself within one's racial group, the term 'whiteness' is used to refer to a broader systemic and ideological level of dominance that maintains benefits for white people in this country (McIntyre, 1997). By cultural identity, I refer to the participants' perceptions of their own cultural group membership, which informs their social values, cognitive codes, behavioral standards, worldviews, and beliefs (Spindler, 1990).

Influences on a teacher's racial identity would be illustrated by the participants' expressing not only an awareness of being white, but also an awareness that their racial membership carries certain advantages. Some of these advantages may be expressed by references such as, shopping in a department store without being followed, having their children receive curriculum materials that represent their race, and having their financial reliability unquestioned when using checks, credit cards, or cash (McIntosh, 1988). Influences on participants' cultural identity would be illustrated by references such as,

heightened awareness of personal heritage, recognition of American ideologies (individualism, competitiveness, independence), or rethinking generalizations or stereotypes about other cultures.

While the previous section focused on the minimization of racial comments to ESOL students, this section focuses on how participants downplayed influences of their diverse teaching contexts on their own racial identity. This theme is based on participants' responses to interview questions that revealed an influence on cultural identity, but not racial identity. Minimizing the impact of racial comments as well as minimizing the influence of racial contexts allows teachers to downplay aspects of race and racial privilege, which further signifies how racial identity remains an unnoticed, unperceived aspect of these teachers' sense of their own and their students' identities.

Beth, who provides ESOL services to students throughout her district, dismisses the influence of her diverse teaching context on her racial and cultural identity, but admits that she has become more aware of difference and alternative ways of doing things since she started teaching ESOL. When asked whether she feels this influence, she states,

> ...well, I think not real strongly except that...to just be more aware of the differences [among my students] and to realize that there are other ways of doing things...there isn't necessarily one better way than another, they're just different...it just makes me think about my own cultural identity and appreciate some things about it, but also realize that there are some other ways of doing things (inter1, Q16).

Though Beth claims that neither her racial nor cultural identity are influenced by her teaching context, she realizes that she does think more about her own cultural identity because she teaches in a diverse setting with ESOL students. She makes no mention, however, of greater awareness about her racial identity or whiteness. Minimizing the

92

importance of racial identity is one aspect of white privilege and "white talk" which is notable in discourse that insulates white people from examining their individual and collective identity (McIntyre, 1997).

Carly acknowledges that she is having a hard time understanding cultural identity because her predominantly white background and white experiences do not seem to have cultural connotations. She states,

> ...by being in an environment that has forced me to even look at the [race] issue, I've become aware of...how my culture and experience has led me to form ill-conceived conclusions ...I'm not 100% sure of all this cultural identity...Because its...on the one hand all the various things that made up my upbringing and my continued existence, but on the other hand it almost appears almost as...vernacular that I'm not fully understanding...part of my difficulty, I think, is because I've lived in what I've considered to...be an aberration. I mean, white on white on white on white has been my existence for the most part. And I do think that's an aberration. It comes up all the time in the classrooms here--these kids think their reality is the only reality (inter1, Q16).

Carly believes that the rethinking she has done as a result of her ESOL teaching context has caused her to become aware of the "ill-conceived conclusions" she had previously made about aspects of race. In addition, having lived in situations where the population has been overwhelmingly white, "an aberration," understanding the racial and cultural aspects of being white proves difficult not only for her but also the students at her school where "their reality is the only reality."

Michael Apple (1979) maintains that understanding the "concept of hegemony" illustrates how power is constructed within society through the organization of dominant systems of meanings, values and actions that are lived out in daily life. This notion of hegemony acts upon individuals in society in ways that saturate their consciousness, so that the educational, economic and social world become the only world (McLaren, 1995; Robbins, 1999). For Carly, teaching in a diverse setting has made her aware of issues of

race; however, she is not sure of how her cultural identity comes into play. The influence of the dominant culture in determining the knowledge structures instituted in schools works to maintain a level of unawareness by limiting the directions that critical inquiry can take. Such limitations contribute to relations of domination when schools reinforce knowledge forms and ideologies that are unquestioningly passed off as the only conception of the good (McCarthy, 2000). In addition, inquiry that challenges or problematizes accepted ideologies is not taken up, which could account for one reason why Carly was having difficulty understanding what white culture meant.

The urban teachers readily acknowledge the influence of their teaching context on their cultural identity. Maureen believes that teaching a diverse population has caused her to think more about her cultural identity and the importance of validating her students' cultures, as well as their languages. However, when asked whether her teaching context influences her racial identity, Maureen replied,

> No, I don't think so. I really don't think so. But, what it influences is my feeling of who I am because I just love to tell people that I'm an ESOL teacher (laugh). So, you know that's not who I am culturally, but now that is who I am...(inter1, Q16).

She doesn't feel that her racial identity comes into play in her newfound cultural awareness. Race, for Maureen, isn't associated with "who" she is, nor does her racially diverse teaching context influence her own racial identity. As with most white people, Maureen and the other teachers in this study do not consider themselves members of a racial group (Helms, 1993; Katz, 1978; Wellman, 1993). Not seeing 'white' as a race results from being in a position where other races and cultures are held up to the standard of whiteness (McIntosh, 1992; Rothenberg, 2002). If white teachers minimize their own racial identity, they could view racial membership as insignificant and thus, not recognize

94

the role that race plays in the perspectives of ESOL students of color and the alternative knowledge systems that may inform these perspectives.

Bridget and Hannah, the other two urban teachers, agree with Maureen acknowledging that their diverse classroom has provided an expanded cultural awareness; however, as with Maureen, this expansion hasn't raised their awareness of what it means to be white. When asked whether her teaching context influenced her racial and cultural identity, Hannah said,

> Absolutely...being exposed to this many kids from this many different cultures, taking it upon myself to try to learn a bit about them and...being made aware of the kinds of generalizations or assumptions that you make...and I think every time that happens...my own personal culture is affected (inter1, Q16).

She readily acknowledges the influence of her teaching context and believes that her own "personal culture" is affected whenever she is made aware of "generalizations or assumptions" about her students, as well as when she learns about other cultures. This rethinking, however, is culturally rather than racially based; it does not cause Hannah to question her whiteness or press her to think about what it means to be white in a classroom with racially diverse students.

In contrast, Allie denies that her teaching context had any influence on her identity. She said,

> ...it doesn't affect my racial or cultural identity except that I learn about other cultures, I learn about other kids. It might change certain prejudices that I might have had, and we all have them, even when we think we don't (laugh)...(inter1, Q16).

Allie's ability to change "certain prejudices" requires her to reconsider her beliefs about difference. Goldberg states that the concept of difference is, "born out by the synonym *racial differentiation*... [where]...Difference and identity inhere in the concept of race,

95

furnishing whatever grounds can be claimed for racial classification (Goldberg, 1993, p. 51)." The concepts and categories in which racism is actually expressed and comprehended are generated by underlying factors in discourse that are manifested in power relations vested in and between historically located subjects (Goldberg, 1993). One consequence of categorizing the ways in which race is articulated has resulted in the establishment of a hierarchy of humankind where racial classification implies that certain races are superior to others (Goldberg, 1993). This historically determined racial ordering influences the ways that people living in an American context perceive racial identity because they are socialized to think of difference in relation to the events that have shaped how difference is considered and expressed. In downplaying the influence of their diverse teaching context on their own white racial identity, the participants adhere to the context wherein they were socialized.

In this subsection, I have highlighted how the study participants talk about the impact that their teaching contexts have on their own racial and cultural identity. Despite acknowledging an influence on their cultural identity, they universally dismiss the notion that their teaching context has an impact on their racial identity. This dismissal follows a tendency of the previous theme to minimize aspects regarding race and racial identity. It is also reflective of socially constructed notions of racial identity and aspects of white privilege that include discourse that avoids and insulates white people from examining their individual and collective racial identity as well as not seeing white as a race. An analysis of discourse on white racial identity is discussed in more detail in the following subsection.

96

White discourse: Avoidance and negativity

In this subsection, I focus more specifically on how participants talk about their white racial identity. By examining discourse on whiteness, another dimension of the participants' conceptualizations of race is revealed that can help us better understand how whiteness factors into and influences these teachers' teaching. This discussion of the participants' perceptions of white racial identity builds upon the previous two sections to describe how these teachers address, emphasize, or overlook issues of whiteness.

One aspect of white privilege is the difficulty dominant members have in addressing their racial advantage (Jensen, 2002; Wildman & Davis, 2002). When the participants did address racial advantage, however, white discourse on race involved talk that served to distract the participants from examining their individual and collective white identities. This played out in three different ways: 1) in shifting focus from white racial identity to other identity factors, 2) in referencing racial positionality, in effect, social standing based on racial membership, and 3) in speaking negatively about being white and/or distancing oneself from their European heritage. Although the participants didn't all use the same strategy or combination of strategies, they all used at least one, which indicates that discourse on white identity is a topic not easily taken up.

1) Shifting focus - When responding to an interview question regarding racial and cultural identity, both Allie and Beth shifted their focus to another topic. Beth focused on the various ways that culture plays out in her life. She stated that it was apparent,

> ...probably in a lot of ways... culturally, I mean, wouldn't also being a woman be part of the culture? I feel part of that cultural group or identity...I also have a religious cultural aspect, so...I don't know, I've never thought about it that way before...I guess, the music I listen to...the radio stations I listen to...Public Radio, classical music...my cultural value of being fit, so exercise and yoga...the food we eat... clothes that I wear maybe...(inter1, Q8).

97

While Beth touched upon several aspects of culture in her daily life, Allie referred to

issues of language learning. Allie states,

> ...teaching ESL I think about [racial and cultural identity] all the time because I
> remember what it was like to learn another language, so.... in that sense I'm
> always thinking about, you know, how would someone who doesn't know this
> language interpret some of these words. I'm not always 100% successful, but I try
> to--otherwise, I don't think that I think about [racial and cultural identity] very
> much (inter1, Q8).

Allie doesn't mention her racial and cultural identity in her everyday life, but addresses

the language learning aspect when she teaches ESOL. As a nonnative speaker, Allie has

more awareness of the difficulties her students' face with the language learning process

despite having lived in the U.S. for over 35 years, identifying as a white American with

Cuban heritage, and being completely fluent with barely a trace of accent.

Although they avoid speaking about their race, Beth and Allie are mindful of

using culturally focused materials for tutoring sessions when they can, however, they are

not always available, so they bring in their own more diverse books when possible. Allie

speaks of race not in terms of her own white race, but in terms of her students' race,

which was evident in an exchange we had after one of our interviews. She said that when

she asked her third grade student, [Jonathan] about the little brother his family was soon

to adopt, the first thing he said was, "He has brown skin like me." Allie was "very

shocked" and took this as a sign that he "actually did notice" the skin color of the

characters in the books she occasionally used with him. She also mentioned that once

when she was reading a book with some of her African students, they immediately

noticed the skin color of the characters. They said, "Oh, [Miss A.], they have brown skin,

oh good!" Despite these indications that their students notice aspects of race quite readily, these teachers are more aware of aspects of culture.

2) **Referencing racial positionality** - Referencing racial positionality played out in allusions to the social standing of Blacks and whites in terms of slavery and socioeconomic class. Carly exemplifies this by addressing her racial identity in reference to the presence of Africans in her life, which has made her more aware of being white. She states,

> ...it took the reflector or mirror of a black African teenager for me to even reflect on [my white racial identity] because there's just very few environments where...that mirror exists given my residence. (laugh)...that international reflecting mirror revolving around race rather than culture...and I did not realize to what a huge extent the African slaves and their descendants played on the population demographics of the early United States (laugh). HUGE percentage of this country were slaves or descendants of slaves--HUGE!...So, its...resonates particularly, when you see all these...really terrific young kids that are from Africa who could have been slaves (laugh) had they, you know...the fact that this country is built...on stolen land and slave labor...never really hit me to such an extent until just recently. And, that's from wandering through a variety of history courses with my kids and having people from Africa in my life (inter1, Q8).

Carly is shocked by the vast number of people who were slaves and then makes the connection to her African students "who could have been slaves." She thinks about and defines her whiteness in relationship to her African students and America's history of slavery.

As with Carly, Bridget addresses her racial identity by referring to the social standing of whites, yet she does so by focusing on socioeconomic class rather than racial hierarchy. She states,

> I never really had thought about [racial and cultural identity] growing up until I started working in [Milltown], especially with ESL, then I did obviously, you just see the background you're from...not just ESL...the schools I'd been working in because they were low income, tough areas...I don't think I stood out to the children, in my mind I stood out just coming from a completely different

background, you know, I had a really great home life. I always had the comforts I needed, so in that respect I felt, you know, being white and having like a really great experience...you feel different in that regard. I feel less of that now that I'm used to working with the children (inter1, Q8).

Teaching ESOL in a "low income, tough area" makes her more mindful of her own racial identity. In her own way, she acknowledges her racial advantage in the connection she makes between race and economic class, "being white and having...a really great experience."

3) **Speaking negatively about whiteness** - This theme was evident in negative discourse about whiteness and in efforts to distance oneself from their white heritage. This distancing was apparent when Hannah described her racial and cultural background,

> ...I'm about as...Anglo-American as you can get. I often laugh because I feel like I don't have much to be proud of in my heritage because it goes back to the English and the German, which is like the major oppressors in the world (laugh)...my family goes back a long time in America...mostly English, Mayflower that whole thing, so I would have to say...I'm not very proud of saying that of my English (laugh) heritage...if I was to get really specific about my cultural identity it would be more in terms of being a teacher, mother, and identifying with groups of people who would identify with that (inter1, Q8).

Hannah shuns her white heritage and race then shifts her focus to groups that she identifies with, in an attempt to distance herself from the "major oppressors in the world." Her cultural identity as a teacher and mother replace any connection she may feel to an ethnic group.

Maureen similarly distances herself from Euro-American heritage, but does so by embracing her Italian culture. She states,

> ...when I tell [my students] that my grandparents were from Italy, I become a much more...I don't know, they can relate to me better. I suddenly become less of a white American to them and I become a part of their world...I had kids say to me--tell me that that made a difference in the way they felt about me...They just look at me more like...well if that happened in my family too, you know my parents or my family hasn't been here since the Mayflower, I have a heritage I can

100

go back and find people overseas...It just makes them feel a little bit more connected to me than just being this person who has always been a white American (inter1, Q8).

Maureen feels that her students share a sense of connection with her based on their migration to a new country. Her family hasn't been here since the Mayflower, so she has a country in which she can trace her heritage. By not "just being this person who has always been a white American," a stronger connection is possible. Katz and Ivey note that "when faced with the question of their racial identification, Whites merely deny that they are White...Ask a White person what he or she is racially and you may get the answer 'Italian,' 'English,' 'Catholic,' or 'Jewish.' *White people do not see themselves as White* (1977, p. 486)." By emphasizing her cultural background, Maureen distances herself from her white racial identity.

In my examination of racial and cultural identity, there were no examples of positive associations related to being white. Helms states,

> Because White racism in the United States seems to have developed as a means of justifying the enslavement of Black Americans during the slavery eras of the 1700s and 1800s...most Whites may have no consistent conception of a positive White identity or consciousness. As a consequence, Whites may feel threatened by the actual or presupposed presence of racial consciousness in non-White racial groups (1993, pp. 49-50).

Given that white racial identity is inextricably tied to the social, political, and historical context of America (Ellison, 1970; Morrison, 1992), negative connotations of whiteness along with the discomfort of developing a "racial consciousness" could account for the reasons why these participants' avoid addressing their racial identity or speak of it in terms that reference the historical context of Black positionality in America.

Throughout this section, I have discussed three themes that were revealed in the examination of participants' discourse on race. These themes include: the minimization

101

of the impact of racial comments toward ESOL students, the minimization of teaching context on teacher racial identity, and avoidance and negativity in discourse on white racial identity. The purpose of this section has been to illustrate how participants conceptualize and articulate their notions of race in general and white racial identity in particular in order to understand how these conceptions connect to the racially influenced teaching practices examined in the next section.

Section II: White racial identity in the ESOL classroom

In this section, I look at the ways in which the themes about racial identity in the previous sections tie to classroom practice by examining how issues of race were minimized and aspects of white privilege played out in classroom observations. I also discuss how the participants' teaching styles were reflective of dominant culture practices in the ways that they set up their classroom and how they conducted their classes. I conclude this section with a "Teacher Reaction Table" (Appendix F) that compares how the participants reacted to the identity factors of race, religion, and gender when they arose in their classrooms. This comparison highlights the differential treatment that was apparent when issues of race were involved.

One example of the minimization of racial identity occurred during a lesson in Maureen's reading class. The class had just finished reading a short article and Maureen began asking questions about two separate American wedding pictures that were illustrated below it. In the pictures, one couple was sitting side-by-side in wedding attire from the 1920's and the other was in a similar pose, but in more casual dress from the 1980's. The point of the lesson was to develop reading comprehension skills, in this case, by learning about traditional and modern American wedding customs. When Maureen

asked her first question about what the students noticed in the two photos, one Black student from Rwanda immediately responded with "A man who is white." Maureen's response came slowly, "OOOOkkkaayyyy," in a tone that indicated this was not the answer she was expecting or thought relevant. After a few more questions to refocus the students on the book's distinction between formal and informal, Maureen asked, "But, the groom over here [the 1980's couple] looks, what?" A student said, "Poor." Maureen replied, "Poor? You think he looks poor? (laughter) O.K., well, that's--that's, if you think that that's fine." As they compared the bride's dresses, the students commented back and forth making a case for whether and why one was rich and the other poor, much more interested in discerning this distinction than the formal or informal one.

Being white goes unnoticed for Maureen as it is the norm in the city and school where she teaches, yet race is the first aspect that the African student noticed. When she tried to redirect the students' attention, they focused on socioeconomic status, still not the issue Maureen was trying to get them to explore. The topics of race and class were not taken up or given consideration, which in turn limited the direction student inquiry could take, excluding their attempts to further understand social status in an American context. Michael Apple (1979) refers to such pedagogical limitations as selective tradition. Under this concept, schools determine the extent to which critical inquiry can take place by selecting events or topics deemed most important or noteworthy, so that the point of view advanced is often that of the most powerful group (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; McCarthy, 1990). In this situation, Maureen did not seem to register the importance of the racial aspect of the couples in the wedding pictures because they were all white. While schools determine the direction that inquiry can take in curricular choices,

103

Maureen determined what topics were taken up in classroom discussions with ESOL students of color. By not recognizing the role that race plays in identity construction, Maureen could translate the student's response regarding the man's whiteness as not understanding the focus of the reading passage, which to her was about differences in dress and formality not race or socioeconomic status. Passing over issues such as race and class sends subtle messages to students about what is appropriate to discuss and what is not in ways that solidify whiteness as the standard and make the referencing of race taboo.

Bridget also illustrated how race can be overlooked and dismissed in classroom discussion while she was reading a book on beach habitats. This book, *A Day at the Beach*, with its nicely illustrated color pencil drawings included a diverse mix of people and families with various shades of skin and hair color enjoying the beach. As she read, she asked her students questions about the distinguishing features of shells and sea animals in the pictures. She asked detailed questions about their color, shape, length, and size as a way to teach new vocabulary and get students to focus on differentiating characteristics. For example, she asks,

> ...[this sea animal is] the same shape isn't it? But, this is not a shell, right? But it looks the same...Look at the picture, *look at this one carefully and then this one.* Are they the same?

In this excerpt, Bridget is trying to get her students to understand the concept of similarities and differences between sea animals and shells. However, when she asked about the people in the pictures, her questions were fewer and less specific, asking about the number of people, not their physical characteristics. For example, Bridget asks, "What do you see on the cover? Do you see something [Marina]?" [Marina] pointed to

104

the people and Bridget replied, "The people, yeah. Are there just some or are there many?" While she may have been focusing on the distinction between "some" and "many", she did not ask about marine life in this truncated way. The people in the pictures are not examined in such detail and the focus shifts from similarities and differences of the shells and sea animals to quantities of "some" or "many" for the people. Not addressing the physical characteristics of the people in this beach book similarly limits the direction and focus of classroom inquiry reinforcing subtle messages of what is important to notice and what is not (See Appendix F).

In both urban and rural settings, issues of race were downplayed, dismissed, or obscured by something else in the participants' curriculum focus. In Beth, Allie, and Carly's rural setting, tutor sessions followed mainstream texts so that the participants had little or no input on the selection of materials. This lack of input complicates any desire they may have had to incorporate curriculum materials that reflect their ESOL students race or culture. Beth's sessions with Van, an ESOL high school student, concentrated on understanding the social studies text, incorporating grammar instruction and vocabulary building in the context of mainstream coursework. Similarly, Allie and Carly followed mainstream teacher content by doing activities in their tutor sessions or supporting students in ways that reinforced what was being taught in the classroom. In Carly's last period class, the only period in the day when she determined the curriculum, her focus remained primarily on language skills, preparation for the TOEFL exam, and writing college applications. Carly explained,

> I don't do a great deal of selection of materials. I have to plug into what mainstream teachers are providing and when I do have total control over what's presented to the class we're really in the world of foreign language instruction... the culture I do tend to bring in...is the culture of the performing arts...in my

105

foreign language instruction period...that's often driven by what the kids need and want and I just try to accumulate as much materials as I can to choose from, but *there's no cultural selection really going on* (inter2, Q6).

Mirroring what is taught in mainstream classrooms is necessary for students to continue alongside their peers, but it is problematic for ESOL students, as racial and cultural minorities in overwhelmingly white environments, not to address issues of race which could help develop or validate their own racial identity (Canagarajah, 1999; Kubota, 2001). Supporting ESOL students of color in this psychological aspect of identity development makes it necessary for ESOL teachers to have the background and understanding with which to address such issues, although the importance of fostering identity development is diminished by the competing need to focus on skill building in order to catch their ESOL students up to mainstream peers.

In the urban setting, Hannah and Maureen followed the established curriculum in their school's ESOL program. These content area courses were skill-based and these teachers addressed issues of culture as they arose in the texts, but not race. One dilemma they face is time constraints that limit discussions of issues that are seen to be outside of their regular content courses, such as culture. For Hannah, these time constraints are due to short class periods and disciplinary obstacles that she faces in her classes. She said,

> I think 45 minutes is very hard, especially when we go back to the behavior question. A lot of time is wasted because of my management, their behavior and the kinds of things that go on in that respect, time is wasted. In some classes its so much worse than others...there's always one class that's the worse, you know (laughs). And this year I've realized that I've spent the whole class...basically managing, disciplining the entire class and I'm like "what did we do? Read a paragraph today?" And the bell rings, you know? (inter3, Q13)

For Bridget, time constraints play out in the short group tutoring sessions she conducts, which limit the time she can spend addressing cultural issues. She said,

106

...because I do pull-out, I only have such a short time. So, with the small groups its more of... doing a lot of animal stuff, we're into habitats because it lends itself to so many things, you know, plants and animals and food, people, just trying to get them speaking and vocabulary up. Last year...my first year, it was crazy, but we were doing a little bit on countries...and cultures would find they're way into it. We'd talk about...customs...but that was hard...Ideally, I'd like to go back and...do a piece on each country that they're from...to show its important, to show what they do, where they're coming from. I think that would take a long time to get to that point. (inter2, Q9)

Trying to fit cultural aspects into the curriculum is perceived by Bridget as being peripheral in that it doesn't "lend itself" to expanding speaking and vocabulary skills as easily as animal habitats. Faced with the time constraints expressed above, many of these teachers felt their students needed to "catch up" with mainstream peers. The sense of having to cover significant amounts of material left no time for deviation from set classroom syllabi. Beth said,

I think that ESOL students have to catch up like they have to do one and a half times the work that the other students are doing because they have to catch up...the use of time is really important. Sometimes I'm very slow in a sense working with them, but I'm always aware that it's important to be on target and to try and maximize. Its almost like accelerating their learning so they can catch up...(inter1, Q12).

For both urban and rural teachers, focusing on issues of culture when they came up in lessons was perceived as being peripheral to content area learning, and issues of race were not a part of these cultural discussions. These teachers, as members of the dominant white majority, do not consider their beliefs, attitudes, and actions to be determined by cultural conditioning or the influences of group membership (Howard, 1999). When little or no importance is placed on racial or cultural identity and primary importance is given to language skills, the ESOL teacher runs the risk of overlooking how student perspectives may be influenced by racial membership.

107

Cultural influences in teaching

In this subsection, I analyze how teaching style and classroom arrangements are influenced by teacher racial and/or cultural identity. These culturally nuanced ways of teaching are important for ESOL teachers to know about because they could provide insight and awareness into why a student isn't participating or doesn't understand the purpose of interactive group work. Being aware of culturally determined ways of teaching could assist teachers in being more mindful of their practices in order to explain classroom procedures, rather than assume that ESOL students are familiar with such formats.

"All teaching materials carry cultural and ideological messages...Everything we use in class is laden with meanings from outside and interpretations from inside. And these meanings and interpretations occur amid the complex cultural politics of the classroom (Pennycook, 1998, p. 129)." Pennycook (1998) maintains that once teachers become aware of the cultural politics, in effect, the recognition that what goes on in class is representative of broader concerns, they will begin to notice how social and cultural factors drive the assumptions they make about how to teach. These assumptions are what Pennycook refers to as "cultural preferences," which include assumptions about: the use of group or pairwork, motivation through self-interest, memorization as an outdated learning strategy, oral communication as the goal and means of instruction, an informal atmosphere as most conducive to language learning, learning activities as fun, and the use of games as an appropriate way to teach and learn (Pennycook, 1998, p. 129).

These culturally laden approaches to teaching English language learners were used by all the participants and often occurred simultaneously. For example, Bridget

108

arranged her students in a semi-circle on the floor to do interactive group work that focused on motivating students with activities that center around self-interest. She asks questions such as "What color do you have on?" and "Whoever has blue on can line up." These types of questions are an approach to teaching that emphasizes the individual and rewards them for personal achievements, as opposed to an approach that focuses on not bringing attention to the individual student apart from the collective group. Bridget also uses oral communication as the goal of instruction with fun learning activities such as games and songs. She works hard at creating a friendly, enthusiastic, and happy setting using a warm tone of voice and polite words to encourage individual participation.

Another cultural factor that played into the participants' assumptions about teaching was evident in the use of group or pair work in both Hannah and Beth's setting. While Beth's rural high school ESOL population wasn't large enough for students to work in pairs, the student she tutored complained about the group work she did in her other classes saying that "Guys can get away with being lazy in group work (obs4)." It was frustrating for this student because she ended up doing all the work and if the people in the group didn't do good work, it would reflect on her grade. Beth didn't question this style of teaching and defended group work as a valuable way to motivate students to collaborate and learn together. Hannah also paired her urban middle school students to work together in class on content subjects such as language arts and math.

The other cultural factors such as self-interest as a significant element to motivation, and oral communication as a goal and means of instruction, influenced some of the participants' approaches to teaching. Allie's tutoring room illustrates the prominent place that self-interest has in her teaching where posters with student names and

individual reading achievements are recorded. Allie, Beth, Bridget, and Carly focused on oral communication in general and constant questioning in particular as a technique for students to practice using the language and to express their ideas and thoughts. For example, Carly's daily sessions with four ESOL seniors focused on language learning topics determined by the students' assessment of what they needed to improve along with a role in teaching part of the lesson. Carly had the additional belief that practicing speaking skills would help students feel like they were a part of the "social scene" of the high school.

In this section, I looked at the ways teacher racial identity tied to classroom practice by examining how issues of race were minimized and aspects of white discourse played out in classroom observations. I also discussed how the participants' teaching styles were reflective of dominant cultural practices in the ways that they set up their classrooms and conducted their lessons. The purpose of this section has been to reflect my observations and describe teaching practices regarding race as a way to frame the next section, which examines issues of marginalization.

Section III: Marginalization of ESOL in the school community

This section examines the status of the ESOL teacher participants, their students, and their ESOL programs within the broader context of their school community. In it, I discuss the themes that emerged regarding the marginalization of these teachers and their programs. The purpose of this section is to describe the participants' perceptions of how they, as ESOL teachers, and their programs were received by mainstream colleagues and administrative staff. This section is important because it highlights the obstacles that the teacher participants encountered when trying to perform their jobs as ESOL teachers.

Marginalization of ESOL teachers and their programs

This section examines the marginalization that the teacher participants experienced and felt within their ESOL programs. While all of the participants acknowledged support from at least some mainstream teachers and members of the administrative staff, five of the six participants expressed feelings of not being supported in their positions as ESOL teachers or in their ESOL programs within their schools. Hannah said,

> ...I don't really feel like I'm a part of the culture of this school; I feel separate the way a lot of the ESL students feel and I feel separate for being an ESL teacher the way that its sometimes looked upon or...treated, you feel a little bit shoved aside or whatever...it kind of gives you...a solidarity feeling with other ESL teachers (inter1, Q8).

Allie echoes Hannah's feelings of being "separate for being an ESL teacher:"

> The teachers don't ever want their kid pulled out because, well...they're having phys. ed. then or they're having art or music or maybe they're doing the reading or maybe they're having math and you feel like O.K. well, where do I come in? ...So, its like you're at the bottom, everybody else comes first, special ed., reading, whatever (inter1, Q15).

Being "at the bottom" makes Allie feel that her role as an ESOL teacher has peripheral importance in her school community. Carly similarly feels the separation of her ESOL program within her high school, but she is the only one who refers to it as "remedial."

> ...the remedial thing is what blows me away that whole remedial thing that gets dropped on [ESL]...I have a lot of frustrations with it, the conception of ESL in most districts... it's ill-conceived and barely addressed given the pressing needs and now with No Child Left Behind ...the needs of ESL students are farthest away from the administration's attention...(inter1, Q15).

Treated as a remedial program by the administration, Carly struggles with trying to redefine conceptions of ESOL and to distinguish, for the administration, the difference between ESOL and special education. She said,

111

> I think I've convinced the administration that [ESOL students] are a population to be valued, they were highly represented at the awards ceremony today, and I think I've convinced the principal not to place us in special education and that we should be an entity unto ourselves. I've been working very hard to get ESL into a language acquisition perception rather than they have a problem speaking the language (laughs). And...in many ways they have the most challenging academic assignment to be studying chemistry in a second language as an adolescent in transition, I think is more challenging than anybody in the school (inter3, Q6).

For Carly, having to "convince the principal" that ESOL is not like special education puts her in the position of having to validate her program so that it is not stigmatized as remedial and separated from the mainstream student population.

Spivak (1993) maintains that when cultural identity is assigned by dominant culture, an identifiable margin emerges where claims for marginality are ensured because of their validation by dominant culture members (Spivak, 1993). These assigned designations negotiate identification through separation (Spivak, 1993). For Hannah and Allie, they feel separate as ESOL teachers in a way that makes them feel "at the bottom" or "shoved aside" within their schools. However, Carly experiences marginalization in having to advocate for her ESOL students and the ESOL program in an effort to shed the social stigma and lowered status that her school's principal has assigned to it.

Hannah also struggles with trying to convey the differential needs of ESOL students to school administration. She described her frustration with the way the principal regards the ESOL program.

> ...we get things where the principal will institute a policy like we have to sit down and have a meeting with the team, you tell [the principal], then we meet with the team, and then we do this and then we do that before we mainstream. Next time I go to mainstream I say, "Hey, are we supposed to--this is what I want to do with this student, can we?" And he's like, "Ahhh, whatever, just go talk to --"...and blows it off, so what am I supposed to do with that? ...there is no plan, (laugh) or mission statement, or anything of the sort (inter1, Q13).

112

Without a consistent plan that is followed through by the principal, Hannah receives

mixed messages about how the administration considers ESOL, which could contribute to

her not feeling "a part of the culture of" her school. Not only is the ESOL program

marginalized within her school, but also the ESOL students "notice the discrimination,"

which is one of the most challenging or troubling aspects that Hannah identifies for

students to adjust to and navigate American culture. "Feeling isolated" and being "treated

differently than the rest of the school" is one reason why [Miguel] asks Hannah "why

does this teacher [treat us this way], [is it] because we're ESL students?" About this

differential treatment, she said,

> I would say that [discrimination is] one of the biggest things [ESOL students notice]. And I think they see it in the schools...I don't hear them complaining very often about being anywhere else and finding that...but they know [discrimination at this school] and it would be from when they're out, like maybe in [mainstream] classes they might feel it, or like the whole getting turned away from classes...And them knowing that there's sometimes conflicts about mainstreaming...So, I would say that the discrimination within the school system [is the biggest difficulty]... (inter2, Q5).

Hannah acknowledges that some of the mainstream teachers are very good about

incorporating new ESOL students into their classes and modifying materials for their

level, yet others are unwilling to make such accommodations.

Hannah stated that the ESOL students in her school encounter discrimination

from their mainstream peers when they attend mainstream classes. In order to see how

ESOL students encounter such discrimination, I observed one of their mainstream

classes. When I observed four of Hannah's ESOL students in their Home Economics

class, the following incident strongly supported her statement. As each cooking group of

4 to 5 students separated into their kitchen stations, a white mainstream boy leaned over

the counter toward the adjacent cooking group and said to an African ESOL boy,

113

Hey black boy...you black boy...I'm gonna whup your black ass...You gonna go to jail and drop the soap and when you pick it up then...[unintelligible].

While the two ESOL students may not have been able to understand what the white boy said because of their low language proficiency, they may have felt the derogatory intent of the remark. The other students in both groups, hovering closely together around large mixing bowls, could undoubtedly hear what was said, but didn't respond. The teacher, however, who was helping the other two cooking groups, didn't hear the remark. This incident made it strikingly clear how mainstream classes could be the places that ESOL students "feel" discrimination, and in this case, the African students were the target because of their skin color.

Another aspect that contributes to these teachers' feelings of marginalization is the physical location of their classrooms or tutoring spaces. All of the classrooms were located on the periphery of the main school building and the permanent tutoring spaces, when available, were in rooms not intended for teaching. Hannah's classroom was at the end of a long corridor in the back corner of the school building. Maureen's modular classroom was outside of the main building. Both of Bridget's rooms were converted spaces intended for purposes other than teaching, first the time-out room and then the room off the teacher/staff lunchroom with two refrigerators. Beth's permanent space was the designated "equipment storage room" that held unused and outdated equipment. Allie's one permanent tutoring space was in a corridor between the nurse's room and an equipment storage room. Only Carly had a room that was bright with windows, plants and enough space to make it feel inviting. Her space, however, was temporary while the main school building was under construction, after which she would be relocated to another room.

114

The participants recognize that the physical locations of their classrooms are marginal. Bridget relates her experiences teaching in the kindergarten building's designated "time-out room, " a small, windowless space where nothing could be put on the walls. She said,

> I remember...if someone came in it would be like 'we have to pack up everything and go' and...what kind of lesson is that when...you had to run to another room? And they were so young and their English is limited so we're trying to explain why we have to...leave the room and sit in here instead (inter3, Q10).

In Bridget's case, the physical space interfered with her ability to conduct a lesson and provide academic continuity. Being forced to "run to another room" was both unsettling for the students as well as disruptive to Bridget's teaching.

Beth and Allie, rural teachers who travel to at least three different schools a week, feel the disruption of not having a permanent space in each school to conduct their ESOL lessons. After acknowledging how nice it is to have a permanent space in one school, Allie describes the difficulty of not having such a space in the other schools.

> ...There are other schools where I think I'm at the bottom of the ladder, you know. Its like there's no place to work, it's maybe out in the hallway, or you try to find the library, or ...when you think you have a place to work something may come in the way and they shoo you out or whatever (inter1, Q15).

Working in public spaces compromises the quality of instruction due to interruptions that require these teachers to pack up their materials in the middle of a lesson and vacate the common school space where they are relegated to work. Along with the compromise in their personal ability to conduct a good lesson, they feel that the school administration isn't fully supporting their position or the ESOL program.

In this section, I examined the ways that the participants felt marginalized. According to the data, they experienced this marginalization 1) as ESOL teachers, 2) in

their ESOL programs, and 3) in the classroom spaces allocated to ESOL. In addition, the themes included in this section described the difficulty that the participants encountered in scheduling time to meet with their ESOL students and in convincing school administration that ESOL was not a remedial program similar to special education. This section contributed to the overall chapter by highlighting the obstacles the teacher participants encountered when trying to carry out their responsibilities as ESOL teachers.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I analyzed how the participants discussed issues of race and culture as they pertained to their personal identity and ESOL teaching. The first section "Notions of race and racial identity," addressed three themes. The first was the minimization of the impact of racial comments made to ESOL students, which occurred in both urban and rural settings. The second theme, the minimization of the influence of teaching context on teacher racial identity, revealed that the participants universally dismissed any impact on their racial identity, but did acknowledge an influence on their cultural identity. This dismissal shares the tendency revealed in the first theme of minimizing aspects of race, one in the minimization of racial comments and the other in the downplaying of teaching context to white racial identity. The third theme, avoidance and negativity in discourse about white racial identity, described how the participants avoided addressing their racial identity or spoke of it by referencing the historical context of Black positionality in America.

The second section, "White racial identity in the ESOL classroom," described how participants' addressed issues of race in their classrooms. In this section, I linked themes from section one to classroom practice, finding that issues of race were

116

minimized when they arose in lessons and that race was not a part of these lessons, which primarily focused on developing language skills. In addition, I described how the participants teaching style and classrooms were culturally nuanced to reflect practices of the dominant culture. The purpose of this section was to bring the reader into the classroom setting in order to provide a backdrop for section three, "Marginalization of ESOL in the school community," which examined the social standing of the participants, their students, and the ESOL programs in their school communities. By examining what the participants said about race and culture, along with how they reacted when such issues arose in their classrooms, I have illustrated the ways in which white racial identity influenced their teaching and pedagogy. In Chapter V, I expand upon these themes and consider the implications of the findings in the sections above.

117

CHAPTER V

IMPLICATIONS

"My wish, indeed my continuing passion, would be not to point the finger in judgment but to part a curtain, that invisible shadow that falls between people, the veil of indifference to each other's presence, each other's wonder, each other's human plight."
--Eudora Welty, on her work

In the following four sections of this chapter, I address the implications of my research findings. The first, "Review of inquiry" reviews the purpose of my dissertation and the questions I sought to answer with my research. The second section, "Implications of race and marginalization," explores how the participants' feelings of exclusion within their school settings connect to the ways in which race and white racial identity were minimized. Identifying this connection aids in better understandings of why issues of race may not have been addressed with the same urgency as other identity markers, such as gender or religion. The third section, "White racial discourse and the relationship to teaching and pedagogy" examines participants' avoidance and negativity of discourse on white racial identity and the influence of that avoidance on teaching and pedagogy. The last section, "An alternative ESOL teacher education knowledge base," discusses the elements that I believe are necessary to encourage ESOL teachers to place issues of social justice, in general, and racial identity, in particular, at the core of their teaching to provide better understandings of the alternative knowledge structures that inform ESOL students.

118

Review of inquiry

In this section, I review the nature of my dissertation inquiry and how my overall argument progressed throughout each chapter. In Chapter I, "An examination of the role of white racial identity for new ESOL teachers," I explained my research question: What role does white racial identity play in the teaching and pedagogy of new ESOL teachers? I questioned how white racial identity and cultural positionality influenced teacher perceptions of diverse groups of English language learners and argued for better understandings of race and white racial identity to raise awareness of the socially constructed knowledge systems that disadvantage ESOL students of color.

In Chapter II, "Theoretical framework" I focused on how notions of race in society and institutions of schooling have contributed to categorizing ESOL students as "Other." Establishing how ESOL students have been categorized as "Other" allowed for an analysis of relations of domination and underlying power relationships, which aided in understanding the social structures that obscure racial inequality and white privilege. This focus allowed for a connection to be made between institutionally driven knowledge systems that maintain inequality and the role that teachers have in this system. I also examined the influence of organizations and fields of research on ESOL policy and practice in order to determine how culture and teacher identity are addressed in ESOL education.

In Chapter III, "Research procedures," I argued that a qualitative research methodology was the most appropriate for this study because it enabled me to analyze teacher perspectives of racial identity through interviews and observations. I used a grounded theory method of data analysis that allowed me to connect theory based on

119

teacher transcript data to classroom practice. Analyzing teacher dialogue and considering the factors that predetermine it assisted in better understandings of racialized discourse.

In Chapter IV "Teacher identity: Issues of race and culture in ESOL teaching," I reported on my analysis of the transcript data from the interviews and observations and organized the resulting themes into three thematic categories. The first, "Notions of race and racial identity" included four subsections, one of which examined the components that study participants identified as part of ESOL education in their urban or rural context. The other three subsections addressed each of the themes: the minimization of the impact of racial comments made to ESOL students, the minimization of the influence of teaching context on teacher racial identity, and the avoidance and negativity in discourse about white racial identity. The purpose of this section was to describe how the participants conceptualized and articulated their notions of race in general and whiteness in particular.

The second section in Chapter IV, "White racial identity in the ESOL classroom," looked at the ways in which the themes about racial identity tied to classroom practice. In this section, I drew from observation transcripts and notes to illustrate how participants' addressed issues of race when they arose in the classroom. The third section, "Marginalization of ESOL in the school community," examined the status of the ESOL teachers, students, and programs within the broader context of school community. I discussed the physical and social marginalization that these teachers felt within their schools. Chapter IV contributed to my overall argument by illustrating other reasons why participants' were focused on other issues besides race and white racial identity. In addition, it provided further evidence of the need to prepare ESOL teachers to be able to

120

recognize racial inequality and stratification in order to advocate for their ESOL students and speak on their behalf when issues of discrimination arise.

In this chapter, "Implications" I discuss the relationships among the thematic categories that emerged in this study. This chapter is divided into sections that develop and build upon the thematic relationships discussed in Chapter IV. I also propose a new conception of ESOL teacher education as a way to prepare preservice teachers to enter their racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse classrooms with broader awareness of the ways race and white racial identity obscure the alternative knowledge systems that inform their ESOL students.

Implications of race and marginalization

In this section, I examine the relationship between the participants' responses to race and their marginalization. I consider the ways in which race was minimized and discourse on white racial identity avoided in relationship to how the participants felt they were marginalized in their school communities. Analyzing this relationship, I believe, will help explain why issues of race were dismissed by these teachers.

As evidenced by interview transcript data, participants' decisions about what material to use in their classes or tutoring sessions was based on what was available to them or according to what mainstream teachers were covering. They didn't indicate that personal identity factors, such as racial or cultural membership, influenced their decisions about what to focus on in the material they were given. What were they focusing on instead of race and culture? What made them minimize issues of race for their students and avoid talking about their own whiteness?

121

The various ways and the extent to which the participants experienced the marginalization discussed in Chapter IV helps to explain why racial issues didn't seem significant or influential to the participants' teaching. The ways in which the participants felt marginalized directly corresponded with what they thought they ought to be doing as ESOL teachers. As they went about their daily responsibilities, they encountered obstacles that made it necessary for them to divert their attention and energy in order to resolve them. I believe that these teachers weren't thinking about their white racial identity not only because of the aspects of white privilege iterated in Chapters II and IV, but also because they were occupied with responding to the additional aspects of marginalization they felt as ESOL teachers, to some extent, on a daily basis.

According to the data, the participants experienced this marginalization 1) by being ESOL teachers, 2) in their ESOL programs, and 3) in the classroom spaces allocated to ESOL. In having to justify or validate their positions as ESOL teachers, participants were acting as cultural mediators to interpret the behavioral or academic issues that arose between their students and mainstream teachers and administrators. In this role, participants were called on to account for their students' behavior or academic performance. When comments about a students' race arose, they were dismissed or downplayed because they were not seen as overtly harmful or as "racial slams" (Bridget), which are often the only actions considered by some whites to be racist (Goldberg, 1993).

When participants acknowledged racial comments, they didn't recognize them as potentially harmful to students in the same way they would have had it been regarding another identity issue, such as gender or religion (See Appendix F). As members of the dominant culture, these teachers have been socialized to downplay anything less than

122

overtly harmful when it comes to issues of race (Goldberg, 1993) and their definition of what is harmful, is suspect. As such, these teachers' responded to racial issues in ways that reflect the peripheral role that race has in their own identity construction, unaware of the centrality that racial identity may have for their students or how it influences their perceptions of their school environment.

Another aspect of marginalization that I believe was influential in the participants' minimization of race and racial identity relates to the teaching spaces allocated to ESOL. These marginal spaces created obstacles that worked against participants' efforts to maximize time and instruction with students to help them "catch up" with mainstream peers and to become more integrated members within their schools. The need to fill in educational gaps under limited time constraints is intensified when teachers and students encounter obstacles such as having to move their tutoring sessions from the library or their class from the school "time out" room to other available spaces. The immediacy of responding to these daily obstacles made the already peripheral importance of racial identity seem even further removed from what the participants thought was relevant to their teaching.

In addition, these teachers were not thinking about issues of race because they were occupied with responding to aspects of marginalization that directly obstructed their ability to do what they thought they ought to be doing as ESOL teachers. When compared with the aspects they defined as essential to ESOL education, a connection between the two became evident; the ways they felt marginalized corresponded with how they defined ESOL education. The urban teachers, Maureen, Hannah, and Bridget, thought that their job responsibilities were to assist their students in developing the academic skills

123

necessary to enter mainstream classes. However, in order to do this, they had to contend with three kinds of marginalization in their schools. First, they felt marginalized in their role as ESOL teachers, which played out in having to track down teachers to update their students' progress as well as negotiate mainstreaming procedures with school administrators. Second, they experienced this marginalization when collaborating with mainstream teachers to determine what material to reinforce or what issues to address in classes or tutoring sessions. Third, Bridget and Hannah had to deal with teaching in substandard physical spaces, which at times led to interrupted or shortened lessons. The corresponding relationship that emerged between the ways the participants felt marginalized and the responsibilities they felt were part of ESOL teaching, created obstacles that worked to further diminish the significance of race and white racial identity for these urban teachers.

Similar to the urban teachers, the rural teachers' definitions of ESOL education corresponded with the ways they felt marginalized in school. Although Allie, Beth, and Carly had notions of ESOL education that reflected their particular contexts, their teaching responsibilities were similar to those that emerged for the urban teachers. This means that the most salient themes that arose in the definitions of ESOL education for the urban and rural participants, though different, involved performing similar tasks. While the urban teachers believed that their job was to prepare their students for mainstream classes, the rural participants believed that their job was to: 1) collaborate with mainstream teachers, 2) be flexible in scheduling, and 3) act as cultural mediators with mainstream teachers and administrators. In collaborations with teachers and as cultural mediators the rural teachers, at times, had to convince mainstream teachers and

124

administrators that ESOL was not remedial or unimportant in their schools. According to

the data, being placed in the role of advocating from a marginalized position was not part

of these participants' teacher education courses, so that they were challenged to contend

with aspects of marginalization as they arose in the course of performing their teaching

responsibilities. Having to respond to the difficulties that they encountered while

carrying out their responsibilities as ESOL teachers obscured the rural participants'

awareness of the impact of racial marginalization for reasons that mirror those of urban

participants.

White racial discourse and the relationship to teaching and pedagogy

In this section, I analyze the participants' conceptions of whiteness and propose

strategies to foster better understandings of race and racial identity by examining the

relationship between the avoidance and negativity that emerged in discourse about white

racial identity and how it connects to teaching and pedagogy. In her interviews, Carly

defined her whiteness in relationship to her African students and America's history of

slavery. She was shocked by the vast number of people who were slaves and then made

the connection to her African students "who could have been slaves." Hannah referred to

her white heritage negatively "as the major oppressors in the world," while Maureen

distanced herself from being "just a white American" by embracing her Italian heritage.

Defining whiteness through racial positionality in American society has been well

documented by many scholars (Goldberg, 1993; Mills, 1997; Morrison, 1992; West,

1993). Ralph Ellison states, "Since the beginning of the nation, white Americans have

suffered from a deep inner uncertainty as to who they really are. One of the ways that has

been used to simplify the answer has been to seize upon the presence of black Americans

and use them as a marker, a symbol of limits, a metaphor for the 'outsider' (West, 1993, p. 3)." Morrison expands Ellison's belief that whites do not know who they are without the presence of African Americans. She states, "The rights of man, for example, an organizing principle upon which the nation was founded, was inevitably yoked to Africanism. Its history, its origin is permanently allied with another seductive concept: the hierarchy of race...Nothing highlighted freedom--if it did not in fact create it--like slavery (1992, p. 38)." For Morrison, Africanism is a term that expresses the views, assumptions, readings and connotations that the blackness of African peoples has come to signify in a more general sense; however, in the specific context of race in America, her term "American Africanism" has made it possible,

> Through the simple expedient of demonizing and reifying the range of color on a palette...to say and not say, to inscribe and erase, to escape and engage, to act out and act on, to historicize and render timeless. It provides a way of contemplating chaos and civilization, desire and fear, and a mechanism for testing the problems and blessings of freedom (1992, p. 7).

Carly, Hannah, and Maureen speak of their racial awareness in ways that allow them "to say..." how they came to recognize their whiteness as well as to "...not say" exactly what being white means on it's own without a hierarchical racial relationship. In explaining how they came to recognize their whiteness, these participants reveal the ways in which racial discourse has been historicized and rendered expressible; referring to slavery or socioeconomic status shifts the focus from saying what it means to be white to associating people of color with racial ordering.

For the participants, issues involving language and culture were more readily addressed and noticed on a day to day level than issues of race. Language and culture were aspects of their developing practice that became routine factors in how they

126

approached and interpreted their students' needs. Based on her research of white racial identity development, Helms maintains that

> Although some people might argue that White ethnic groups have retained their ethnic identity, most White ethnic groups in America have also assimilated into what is considered to be mainstream American culture, and have consequently become more identified with the dominant White American middle-class culture than a particular ethnic group or culture (1993, p. 106).

This assimilation has constructed notions of American culture for many mainstream Americans that has obscured a racial focus, so that discourse about the white race remains unexamined in many educational settings. As revealed in the participant interviews, their educational backgrounds were within mostly white settings. Not having exposure to diverse racial environments as part of their educational background or personal experience stresses the importance of including alternative perspectives that reflect the diverse settings of ESOL classrooms.

An alternative ESOL teacher education knowledge base

The traditional subjects of second language teaching are vital for ESOL teachers to learn, yet based on my dissertation research I believe there is room to expand the existing teacher education knowledge base for ESOL teachers. With such an expansion, the current emphasis on teacher reflection would include inquiry into race and white racial identity to foster analyses of relations of domination and racial inequality. Including an analysis of racial identity as a part of teacher education doesn't necessarily replace the traditional core knowledge base with another, rather it provides the opportunity and experience for teachers to explore the influential aspects of identity that play out in one's teaching and pedagogy.

127

There are several factors that need to be included when considering an approach to ESOL teacher education that responds to the themes that emerged from this study. The components of such a knowledge base need to provide preservice teachers with education about social stratification, race, and white privilege as well as be able to respond to the types of marginalization the participants experienced as ESOL teachers. For white ESOL teachers with students from various racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds, it is essential to embrace pedagogy that problematizes relations of domination and the impact of white cultural membership on teaching and pedagogy. This entails including curriculum materials that reflect a critical multicultural and antiracist perspective as well as an activist component that connects curriculum to lived experience. Without fostering critical awareness, ESOL teachers inadvertently assess their students in ways that misinterpret student work. I propose a model of ESOL teacher education that includes aspects of the theoretical framework in Chapter II and the themes that emerged from participant data in Chapter IV. I envision this knowledge base to include the four areas described below.

- Build a foundation of knowledge about issues of race and white privilege to assist in developing an awareness of the alternative knowledge structures that inform ESOL student perspectives.

This awareness would enable more accurate evaluations of student course work as in Maureen's reaction to her African student's comment about noticing that the man in the wedding photo was white, rather than his attire being formal or informal. Similarly, Bridget's focus on the details of shells and sea animals was a missed opportunity to

128

address similar details about the various racial and ethnic groups in the beach pictures, which her students may have been more familiar with than sea life.

Without an awareness of how societal norms maintain racial hierarchy, ESOL teachers inaccurately believe that the ideals often advocated in many American educational texts, such as individualism and equal opportunity, can be lived out for all people regardless of racial or cultural membership. The ramifications of such thinking could cause teachers to negatively evaluate ESOL students who do not also value these ideals, but follow alternative knowledge systems that inform their value structure. In this sense, being aware of dominant knowledge structures and the ways in which they become solidified and taken-for-granted would decrease teacher misinterpretations of student work.

In addition, addressing avoidance behaviors in discourse about white privilege enables ESOL teachers to be more aware of their own avoidance tendencies in the classroom when discussing perspectives that run counter to their dominant culture beliefs. When ESOL students talk about their belief systems, ESOL teachers would be more apt to explore their beliefs so that students could more easily understand connections between home culture beliefs and dominant culture ones. If ESOL teachers assume that dominant standards are "right", they impose conformity or assimilation to them, rather than ways to acculturate or negotiate conflicting knowledge systems. Not addressing issues of racial privilege in ESOL teacher education keeps notions of equality on a superficial level due to the inability to conceptualize whiteness and its advantages while failing to see how these advantages come at the expense of the marginalized (McIntyre, 1997).

- Incorporate learning about notions of race in society and institutions of schooling that have contributed to the categorization of ESOL students as "Other."

Such an incorporation allows for inquiry into social stratification that includes analyses of relations of domination and social inequality as a way to challenge all teachers to question the taken-for-granted determinations of what is and is not possible within their own teaching contexts, so that they can recognize and experiment with alternative perspectives and ideologies (Johnson, 2000a; McIntyre, 1997; Sleeter, 2001). In recognizing normalized behaviors and ideological assumptions, teachers can learn to rethink styles of teaching, ways of interpreting, and methods of assessing their students whose knowledge base is informed by points of reference that are, perhaps, unfamiliar. For example, problematizing the classroom emphasis on individualism, largely an unquestioned American teacher expectation, enables teachers to be mindful of cultural orientations more closely aligned to ESOL student populations. In so doing, teachers challenge themselves to reframe and alter their pedagogy by recognizing how underlying power relations interact with language and culture to normalize mainstream knowledge structures (Johnson, 2000a; Sleeter, 2001).

- Examine the ways in which an ideology of consensus or "culture of niceness" glosses over conflict and disagreement about racial issues in America, which limits the direction inquiry can take (Apple, 1979; McIntyre, 1997).

Exploring possibilities to disrupt this cycle is realized through oppositional pedagogy, such as critical multicultural education or antiracist education. An approach to teaching that looks beyond a superficial portrayal of racial harmony to one that questions dominant culture values and assumptions interrupts a hegemonic cycle. One way to

130

disrupt hegemony is to examine the "selective tradition" maintained by schools that reinforces unconscious knowledge constructions working to solidify the position of the dominant culture in society by limiting the boundaries of critical inquiry (Apple, 1979; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; Lesko & Bloom, 2000). Having a broader awareness of how an "ideology of consensus" homogenizes student experiences and thus renders ESOL student experiences as different, rather than important, assists ESOL teachers in mediating for their students.

- Address ways to respond to mainstream teachers and administrators when acting as cultural mediators for ESOL students.

With an awareness of the stratification that results from the positionality of "Other," ESOL teachers can better recognize how mainstream teachers and administrators may be unaware of the knowledge systems that inform ESOL student work and/or behavior. Being able to articulate these differences would assist in distinguishing the aspects and assumptions that mainstream teachers and administrators take for granted and expect ESOL students to know. This role of cultural mediator that both urban and rural participants took on stresses the importance of ESOL teachers to be able to advocate on behalf of their students when academic or behavioral issues arise.

Future research

This study has revealed some implications for ESOL teacher education that require further research. I believe these implications encompass two areas of inquiry. The first involves examining how participants' feelings of marginalization affect their collaboration with other teachers and their role as cultural mediators. While this study has described the relationship between participants' notions of ESOL education and the ways

131

in which they experienced marginalization, it highlights the need to further explore how these experiences influence aspects of collaboration in ESOL teaching as well as the mediation that takes place between ESOL students and their mainstream teachers and administrators. Further inquiry into these areas would aid in forming a knowledge base for ESOL preservice teachers that addresses the aspects of marginalization specific to an ESOL teaching context. Another consideration in this inquiry is the personal experiences that these ESOL teachers have had in being in the position of "Other." Within school culture, they experienced what it was like to be on the periphery in ways that illuminate, to some degree, the difficulties their students' encounter in school, yet the participants hadn't been exposed to strategies that would assist them in addressing issues that arise from such marginalization.

The second area for future research is to analyze the role that ESOL teachers' play in the ways that their students' resist in class or tutor sessions. Throughout my observations I sensed an undercurrent of student resistance in classroom and tutoring sessions that I believe was specific to ESOL students because of the way these students were able to distract or disrupt the teacher by claiming not to understand instructions or explanations. Since issues of language were an essential part of the work in these classrooms, students' claims were immediately taken up and expanded upon, often resulting in little time for in-class work as well as less homework. Connected to this area of inquiry is how ESOL classrooms could be sights for students to regain higher status because of their diminished status outside of class.

132

Conclusion

Throughout this final chapter, I have argued for an approach to ESOL teacher education that incorporates an analysis of white racial identity and examines the historical and structural context for the production of racism. While such a context can not be dissociated from intersections with other identity markers, such as gender and class, I believe the inclusion of discourse about white racial identity could inform and initiate examinations of other types of systemic level inequity in ways that impel teachers to actively disrupt, not only cycles of white racial advantage, but also those based on class, gender, sexual orientation, religion, and so on. By asking what role white racial identity has on the teaching and pedagogy of new ESOL teachers, I strive to connect issues of race and racial advantage to other identity factors that foster inquiry into the social stratifications that unfairly disadvantage ESOL students of color. I believe such an analysis would cause ESOL teachers to actively promote issues of social justice in their teaching and empower them to take an activist stance. Developing an awareness of the alternative knowledge structures that inform ESOL student perspectives could also foster more accurate responses to student academic work and provide better understandings of how to advocate when issues of inequality arise with mainstream teachers, students, and administrators.

133

LIST OF REFERENCES

Amin, Nuzhat. (1997). Race and the Identity of the Nonnative ESL Teacher. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(3), 580-583.

Apple, Michael. (1979). *Ideology and Curriculum*. London: Routledge.

Apple, Michael. (1999). Between Neo and Post: Critique and Transformation in Critical Educational Studies. In Carl A. Grant (Ed.), *Multicultural Research* (pp. 54-67). London: Falmer Press.

Aronowitz, Stanley and Henry A. Giroux. (1991). *Postmodern Education: Politics, Culture, and Social Criticism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Auerbach, Elsa. (1995). The Politics of the ESL Classroom. In *Power and Inequality in Language Education*. Ed. James Tollefson. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bannerji, Himani. (2000). *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, Inc.

Benhabib, Seyla. (2002). *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bernhardt, E. and J. Hammadou. (1987). A Decade of Research in Foreign Language Teacher Education. *Modern Language Journal, 71*, 291-299.

Bullough, R. (1989). *First-year Teacher: A Case Study*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Canagarajah, A. Suresh. (1999) *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Celce-Murcia, Mariane (Ed.). (2001). *Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language, Third Edition*. Boston: Heinle & Heinle.

Charmaz, K. (2002). Qualitative Interviewing and Grounded Theory Analysis. In *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*. Eds. J.F. Gubrium and J.A. Holstein. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Clandinin, D.J. (1986). *Classroom Practice: Teacher Images in Action*. London: Falmer Press.

Connelly, F.M. and Clandinin, D.J. (1988). *Teachers as Curriculum Planners: Narratives of Experience*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Creswell, John W. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosiing Among Five Traditions*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publishers.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. and H. Trueba. (1991). *Crossing Cultural Borders: Education for Immigrant Families in America*. New York: Falmer.

Delpit, Lisa D. (1995). *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom*. New York: The New Press.

Dyer, Richard. (2002). The Matter of Whiteness. In *White Privilege: Essential Readings on the Other Side of Racism*. Ed. Paula Rothenberg. New York: Worth Publishers.

Eisner, E.W. (1998). *The Enlightened Eye: Qualitative Inquiry and the Enhancement of Educational Practice*. Upper Saddle River: Merrill Prentice Hall.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. London: Longman.

Fine, Michelle. (1992). Passions, Politics, and Power: Feminist Research Possibilities. *Disruptive Voices: The Possibilities of Feminist Research*. Ed. Michelle Fine. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Foucault, Michel. (1972). *The Archeology of Knowledge*. Trans. by A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, Michel. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Random House.

Fox, H. (1994). *Listening to the World: Cultural Issues in Academic Writing*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

Fraenkel, Jack R. and Norman E. Wallen. (2000). *How to Design and Evaluate Research in Education, Fourth Edition*. Boston: McGraw Hill.

Freeman, D. (1989). Teacher Training, Development, and Decision Making Model: A Model of Teaching and Related Strategies for Language Teacher Education. *TESOL Quarterly, 23*, 27-45.

Freeman, Donald and Karen E. Johnson. (1998). Reconceptualizing the Knowledge-Base of Language Teacher Education. *TESOL Quarterly, 32*(3), 397-417.

Gay, Geneva. (1995). Mirror Images on Common Issues: Parallels between Multicultural Education and Critical Pedagogy. In Christine and Peter McLaren Sleeter (Ed.), *Multicultural Education, Critical Pedagogy, and Politics of Difference*. Albany: SUNY Press.

135

Gay, Geneva. (2000). *Culturally Responsive Teaching: Theory, Research, and Practice.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Giroux, Henry A. (1983). *Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition.* South Hadley: Bergin-Garvey.

Goldberg, David Theo. (1993). *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Grant, Carl A. and C. Sleeter. (1989). Turning on Learning: Five Approaches to Multicultural Teaching Plans for Race, Class, Gender, and Disability. In *Understanding Curriculum in as Racial Text: Representations of Identity and Difference in Education.* Eds. Louis Castenell and William Pinar. New York: SUNY Press.

Grossman, P. (1990). *The Making of a Teacher: Teacher Knowledge and Teacher Education.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Harklau, Linda. (1994). ESL Versus Mainstream Classes: Contrasting L2 Learning Environments. *TESOL Quarterly, 28*(2), 241-271.

Harklau, Linda. (1999). Representing Culture in the ESL Writing Classroom. In Eli Hinkel (Ed.), *Culture in Second Language Teaching and Learning.* New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Helms, J. E. (1993). *Black and White Racial Identity: Theory, Research and Practice.* Westport: Praeger.

Hinkel, Eli (Ed.). (1999). *Culture in Second Language Teaching and Learning.* New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Howard, Gary. (1999). *We Can't Teach What We Don't Know: White Teachers, Multiracial Schools.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Igoa, Christine. (1995). *The Inner World of the Immigrant Child.* Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Jensen, Robert. (2002). White Privilege Shapes the U.S. In Paula S. Rothenberg (Ed.), *White Privilege* (pp. 103-106). New York: Worth.

Johnson, Karen E. (2000a). Innovations in TESOL Teacher Education: A Quiet Revolution. In Karen E. Johnson (Ed.), *Teacher Education* (pp. 1-11). Alexandria: TESOL, Inc.

Johnson, Karen E. (Ed.). (2000b). *Teacher Education.* Alexandria: TESOL, Inc.

Kaestle, C. (1983). *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society 1780-1860*. New York: Hill & Wang.

Kailin, Julie. (2002). *Antiracist Education*.Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Katz, J. (1978). *White Awareness: Handbook for anti-racism*. USA: University of Oklahoma Press.

Kliebard, Herbert M. (1995). *The Struggle for the American Curriculum 1893-1958*. New York: Routledge.

Kramsch, C. (1991). Culture in Language Learning : A View From the States. In R.B.Ginsberg K. de Bot, C. Kramsch (Ed.), *Foreign Language Research in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kubota, Ryuko. (2001). Discursive Construction of the Images of U.S. Classrooms. *TESOL Quarterly, 35*(1), 9-38.

Kubota, Ryuko. (2003). New Approaches to Gender, Class, and Race in Second Language Writing. *Journal of Second Language Writing, 1*, 31-47.

Ladson-Billings, Gloria. (2001). *Crossing Over to Canaan: The Journey of New Teachers in Diverse Classrooms*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lesko, Nancy and Leslie Rebecca Bloom. (2000). The Haunting of Multicultural Epistemology and Pedagogy. In Cameron and Greg Dimitriadis McCarthy (Ed.), *Multicultural Curriculum: New Directions for Social Theory, Practice, and Policy* (pp. 242-260). London: Routledge.

McCarthy, Cameron. (1990). *Race and Curriculum: Social Inequality and the Theories and Politics of Difference in Contemporary Research on schooling*. London: The Falmer Press.

McCarthy, Cameron and Warren Crichlow. (1993). *Race, Identity, and Representation in Education*. New York: Routledge.

McCarthy, Cameron and Greg Dimitriadis. (2000). Globalizing Pedagogies: Power, Resentment, and the Renarration of Difference. In Ram Mahalingam and Cameron McCarthy (Ed.), *Multicultural Curriculum: New Directions for Social Theory, Practice, and Policy* (pp. 70-83). London: Routledge.

McIntosh, Peggy. (1988). White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack. In Paula S. Rothenberg (Ed.), *White Privilege: essential readings on the other side of racism* (pp. 97-102). New York: Worth Publishers.

McIntosh, Peggy. (1992). White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences Through Work in Women's Studies. In M.L. and P.H. Collins Anderson, Eds. (Ed.), *Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology* (pp. pp. 70-81). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

McIntyre, Alice. (1997). *Making Meaning of Whiteness.*Albany: SUNY Press.

McLaren, Peter. (1995). White Terror and Oppositional Agency: Towards a Critical Multiculturalism. In Christine and Peter McLaren Sleeter (Ed.), *Multicultural Education, Critical Pedagogy, and the Politics of Difference*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Merriam, S.B. (1998). *Qualitative Research and Case Studies in Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mills, Charles. (1997). *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. (1989). On Race and Voice: Challenge's for Liberal Education in the 1990's. *Cultural Critique*. Winter, 179-208.

Morrison, Toni. (1992). *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. New York: Vintage Books.

Nieto, Sonia. (1992). *The Socio-political Content of Multicultural Education*. White Plains: Longman.

Ogbu, John U. (1991). Cultural Diversity and School Experience. In *Literacy as Praxis: Culture, Language, and Pedagogy*. Ed. C. Walsh. Norwood: Ablex.

Pajares, M.F. (1992). Teachers' Beliefs and Educational Research: Cleaning up a Messy Construct. *Review of Educational Research, 62*, 307-332.

Parekh, Bhikhu. (1986). The Concept of Multicultural Education. In *Multicultural Education: The Interminable Debate*. Eds. S. Modgil, et al. Philadelphia: Falmer.

Pennycook, A. (1998). *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*. New York: Routledge.

Pennycook, A. (2001). *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction*. Mayway: Lawrence Erlabaum Associates, Publishers.

Pinar, William F., William M. Reynolds, Patrick Slattery, & Peter M. Taubman. (2000). *Understanding Curriculum* (Vol. 17). New York: Peter Lang.

Popkewitz, Thomas S. and Marie Brennan (Ed.). (1998). *Foucault's Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge, and Power in Education.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Reich, Rob. (2002). *Bridging Liberalism and Multiculturalism in American Education.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Richards, Jack C. (1987). The Dilemma of Teacher Preparatiion in TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly, 22,* 9-27.

Richards, Jack C. (1998). *Beyond Training: Perspectives on Language Teacher Education.* New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Richards, Jack C. and D. Nunan. (1990). *Second Language Teacher.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Robbins, Richard. (1999). *Global Problems of the Culture of Capitalism.* Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon.

Rosaldo, M. (1984). Toward an Anthropology of Self and Feeling. In R. Shweder and R. LeVine (Ed.), *Culture Theory.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Rosenberg, Pearl M. (1997). Underground Discourses: Exploring Whiteness in Teacher Education. In Michelle et al Fine (Ed.), *OFF White* (pp. 80-89). London: Routledge.

Rothenberg, Paula S. (Ed.). (2002). *White Privilege: essential readings on the other side of racism.* New York: Worth Publishers.

Schram, Thomas H. (2002). *Conceptualizing Qualitative Inquiry: Mindwork for Fieldwork in Education and the Social Sciences.* Upper Saddle River: Merrill Prentice Hall.

Seidman, Irving. (1998). *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Sleeter, Christine. (1996). *Multicultural Education as Social Activism.* Albany: SUNY Press.

Sleeter, Christine. (2001). *Culture, Power, and Difference.* New York City: Cambridge University Press.

Spindler, George and Louise. (1990). *The American Cultural Dialogue and Its Transmission.* Philadelphia: The Falmer Press.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. (1993). *Outside in the Teaching Machine*. New York: Routledge.

Stake, Robert E. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Stephan, Marinus H. (2001). *Lifting the Veil of Silence: An Inquiry into Race as a Feature of the Pedagogical and Social Dimensions of the English as a Second Language Classroom.*, Ohio State University.

Strauss, Anselm and Juliet Corbin. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory, Second Edition*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Tatum, Beverly Daniel. (1997). *Why are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?*. New York: Basic Books.

Walsh, C. (1991). *Engaging Students in Their Own Learning: Literacy, Language, and Knowledge Production with Bilingual Communities*. Biliteracy: Theory and Practice Colloquium. Washington, D.C.: National Clearinghouse on Literacy Education.

Wellman, D. (1993). *Portraits of White Racism, Second Edition*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

West, Cornell. (1993). *Race Matters*. New York: Vintage.

Wildman, Stephanie M. and Adrienne D. Davis. (2002). Making Systems of Privilege Visible. In Paula S. Rothenberg (Ed.), *White Privilege* (pp. 89-96). New York: Worth.

Wirth, Louis. (1936). Preface, *Ideology and Utopia by Karl Mannheim* (pp. pp. xxii-xxiii). New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Yates, Robert and Dennis Muchisky. (2003). On Reconceptualizing Teacher Education. *TESOL Quarterly, 37*(1), 135-147.

Zamel, Vivian and Ruth Spack (Ed.). (2002). *Enriching ESOL Pedagogy: Readings and Activities for Engagement, Reflection and Inquiry*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Locating the Project

```
                        ┌─────────────────┐
                        │    Teacher      │
                        │   Education     │
                        └─────────────────┘
```

Multicultural Education within Mainstream Teacher Education

Multicultural Education within ESOL Teacher Education

Defining the Knowledge Base

Defining the Knowledge Base

Research on Multicultural Education for Mainstream Teacher Education in terms of:
--teacher identity
--pedagogy

Research on Race and Culture for ESOL Teacher Education in terms of:
--teacher identity
--pedagogy

Teacher identity research:
--premises
--rationale

Teacher identity research:
--premises
--rationale

White teachers/Whiteness:
--research includes: Kailin, ,
Ladson-Billings, McIntyre,
Sleeter, etc.

--whiteness=white race

What is the overlap and tension here?

White teachers/Whiteness:
--research by NNEST (non-native English speaking teachers)

--whiteness=native speaker?

--lack of research

What role does white racial identity have in the teaching and pedagogy of new ESOL

141

From: Goldberg, David Theo. (1993). *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning.* Cambridge: Blackwell Press.

'Racialized Discourse'
How are beliefs about race verbalized?

References to Institutions
How are institutions referred to in
    terms of complicity to racism?
What principles underlie institutional
    racism?

Historical References
What expressions are used to explain:
    historical formations of racial thinking?
    historical logic of racial thinking?
What historical references are made within
    racialized discourse?

'Grammar of Racialized Discourse'

References to Social Factors
How are enunciations tied to ascribed or
    self-assumed social identities?
How are enunciations driven by scientific
    linguistic, economic, bureaucratic, legal
    philosophical, and religious forms?

References to Racist Acts
Are racist acts seen as overt or covert?
Are the consequences of racist acts seen as
    overt or covert?

'Preconceptual Elements of Racialized Discourse'

Conceptual Conditions for Racialized Discourse

'Social Conjuncture of Racialized Discourse'

'Discursive Power and the Body of Racist Expression'

'Racist Subject'

142

'Racialized Discourse'
- What tone of voice is used when discussing race?
- When does race enter the conversation?

'The Grammar of Racialized Discourse'
- What truth-claims or representations of race are made?
- What objects or styles are referred to when discussing race?
- What objects do the discursive representations refer to?
- What styles of reference are found in the figures of speech, metaphors, categories, or expressions of racialized discourse?
- **What relationship is there between racialized expressions and the preconceptual plane?**
- What hypothetical premises ('great chain of being', classificatory hierarchies, etc) are made about human kind and the differences between them (both mental and physical)?
- What judgements are made about ethical choices (e.g. domination and subjugation, entitlement and restriction, disrespect and abuse)?
- How does racialized discourse incorporate a set of institutional regulations, directions, and pedagogic models (e.g. *apartheid,* separate development, educational institutions, choice of educational and bureaucratic language, etc.)?
- What is the interplay between the location, arrangement and displacement of racialized discourse and the preconceptual grounds of it?

'The Preconceptual Elements of Racialized Discourse'
- What aspects of the racialized discourse are reflective and constitutive of power?
- What are the underlying power relations of the discourse or expression?
- How are racialized expressions normalized in the broad social context?
- Does classification and the ordering of phenomena into categories, catalogues, indices, inventories, etc. claim to reflect the natural order of things?
- Is there a racial ordering that implies a racial hierarchy (e.g. hair texture, smell, body size, head shape, correlates of skin color) with natural, physical, and/or behavioral expectations?
- How is racial differentiation described?
- How is difference and/or otherness explained?
- How is difference excluded?
- What is the outcome of implicit or explicit deliberation about race?

'The Social Conjuncture of Racialized Discourse'
- What macrosocial conditions have enabled racialized expression to emerge and pervade social and personal identity?
- What common assumptions of truth (naturalism, intellectualism, rationalism, empiricism) authorize racist exclusions?
- What social conditions have contributed to the expressibility of racialized discourse?

'Discursive Power and the Body of Racist Expression'
- How does racial exclusion become institutionalized and taken up in unity?

- What connection does racist exclusion have to discourse of the body, i.e., "body talk"?
- What justifications are given in racialized discourse?
- Does this justification refer to entitlements, rights of accessibility (to enfranchisement, opportunity, or treatment), endowments (goods and the means thereto); and conversely, denial (disenfranchisement or restriction), prohibition (to entry, participation, or services), and alienation (of goods and the means to them)?

'The Racist Subject'
- How pervasive is the racist expression in terms of 1) the authority of racist articulation, 2) the question of human agency, and 3) the formation of subjectivity?
- What is the mediation between the self and society?
- How are discursive expressions passed along, inherited, reproduced, and transformed to suit prevailing social conditions?
- How does the discourse underlying racism codefine subjectivity and otherness?
- Does racial exclusion include as general principles scapegoating (e.g. a conspiracy theory), rationalizations (like inferiority), or rational stereotyping (e.g., a normative judgment appealing to factual evidence?
- Are other factors such as fear and conformism used for racial exclusion?
- How is individual identity defined by discourses of difference, i.e. an "identity-in-otherness"?
- Are others defined reductively as a way to exclude them?
- How is racial discourse normalized?

144

Interview #1 Questions
1--How long have you been teaching ESOL?

2--Tell me about your ESOL teacher education program.

3--How was ESOL education conceptualized/theorized in your course work?

4--How did this compare to your ESOL internship?

5--What does ESOL education mean to you now as a teacher?

6--Tell me about the racial and cultural make-up of the neighborhood(s) you grew up in and the school(s) you attended.
Probe: What was the racial make-up of your neighborhoods/schools?

7--What race and culture do you identify with?
Probe: What do you identify as racially?

8--What aspects of your racial and cultural identity, do you feel, are evident in your everyday life?
Probe: Are there aspects of your racial identity that you think are apparent in your daily life?

9--How did you become interested in teaching ESOL?

10--What are your perceptions of your ESOL students?

11--What are the different ways you approach teaching your students depending on their religion, culture, race, or gender?
Probe: How does race factor into your approach to teaching?

12--What are your guiding notions about teaching ESOL students?

13--Does your school have a uniform ESOL education plan/goal?

14--If so, how is ESOL education defined within this plan/goal?

15--In what ways does your teaching context(s)/situation(s) influence your ideas/beliefs about teaching ESOL?

16--Do you feel that your teaching context influences or affects your own racial and cultural identity? **OR** Do you feel that the surroundings wherein you teach influence your personal sense of who you are racially and/or culturally?

Probe: Do you think it [teaching context] influences your personal sense of who you are racially?

Interview #2 Questions:

1--When you think of American culture what comes to mind for you?

2--What aspects of American culture do you identify with or relate to?

3--What role does American culture play in your ESOL teaching or tutoring?

4--What American customs or beliefs, do you think, are most important for the various ESOL students that you teach, to know about? And which ones, do you think, are most important for these various students to adapt to?

5--What do you feel are some of the most challenging or troubling aspects of adjusting, interpreting, or navigating American culture for your students?

6--What factors do you consider when choosing the material you will use when teaching or tutoring your various ESOL students?
Probe: How do you decide what material will best serve your students?

7--What influences, do you think, are instrumental in causing you to determine these factors?

8--Many schools these days place high priority on diversity and multicultural education. How do you define each of these?

9--What emphasis do you place on using multicultural materials in your ESOL teaching?

10--How do you understand multicultural education in the context of your ESOL teaching?

11--How does your school/school district see the role or position of the ESOL program in their vision of multicultural education?

Interview #3 Questions
1--From the interactions that you've had with your students' parents or guardians, what importance do you think they place on their child's academic achievement?
Probe: How do your students' parents regard school?

2--What is the parents' or guardians level of involvement in their child's education?

3--How do you think your various ESOL students regard school and their own academic achievement?

4--Generally speaking, what are the aspirations of some of your ESOL students?

5--What sorts of jobs do you think your various students can or will get once they finish high school/college?

6--Do you think your various students are trying to achieve broadly the same aims or goals in life as the majority of the mainstream students in the schools they attend?

7--What do you think these aims or goals are?

8--Overall, how do you think your students' behave in your classroom/tutoring sessions? In their other classes?

9--What are some of the discipline issues that arise for you in your classes/tutoring sessions?

10--If your students act out sometimes, what do you think are some of the reasons or influences that cause them to do so?

11--What are your expectations of your various students' academic achievement?

12--How do they and/or how don't they live up to these expectations?

13--What are some of the obstacles that you think get in the way of your students' ability to meet your expectations?

14--What are your expectations of your students' ability to accomplish what you think they should by the end of this academic school year? Will they be where you think they ought to be?

147

APPENDIX D

Master list of codes with frequency counts:

American Dream-2
assumptions-7
choosing ESOL material-12
collaboration-2
culture as food
culture as holidays-3
definitions of American culture-14
definitions of diversity-7
definitions of multicultural education-13
difference between ESOL/mainstream-17
difficulty adjusting to American culture-10
discipline problems-29
ESOL education-56
ESOL as remedial-7
ESOL teacher as personal identity-10
ESOL student aspirations-10
ESOL students as resource-10
ESOL teacher solidarity-2
ESOL vs. mainstream goals-9
gaps in student learning-3
gender issues-8
generalizations-2
good preparation to teach ESOL-12
how ESOL students regard school-8
influence of ESOL teaching context on
    personal identity-15
lack of clear conception of ESOL-17
lack of ESOL specific courses-4
lack of preparation to teach ESOL-19
marginalization within school culture-33
multicultural materials in ESOL teaching-11
need to assimilate-13
normalization of whiteness-
obstacles to student academic
    achievement-14
parental involvement-20
perceptions of ESOL students-21
personal identity-20

race talk-33
race talk-physical features-5
racial/cult. backgrd.-22
reasons for discipline problems-14
role of Amer. cult. in ESOL teaching-13
role of ESOL in school's m.c. vision-9
shunning of whiteness-14
space issues-4
story-72
student perceptions of Amer. cult.-4
supportive school culture-6
supportive teaching environmt.-1
teacher expectations-20
time constraints-7
unimportance of ESOL by administration-20

148

Table 1: Summary of Participant Information						
	Maureen	Hannah	Bridget	Carly	Allie	Beth
School classification	Urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Rural	Rural
Total population (school or district)	School: 2381	School: 1070	School: 422	School: 738	District: 2088	District: 2846
Percentage of limited English proficient students in school/district	9.6% (school)	6.6% (school)	17.1% (school)	1.8% (district)	.4% (district)	.3% (district)
Percentage of free or reduced lunch in school/district	12.0% (school)	29.3% (school)	70.4% (school)	2.0% (district)	10.4% (district)	24.3% (district)
Percentage of White, non-Hispanic	85.43%	84.02%	67.56%	97.02%	96.7%	98.56%
Median household income	$40,774 (city)	$40,774 (city)	$40,774 (city)	$44,198 (county)	$48,875 (county)	$40,792 (county)
Classroom description	Modular unit outside of main school building	Half of a regular classroom; furthest back corner from main school entrance	10'x10' windowless room off teachers lunchroom; stores two refrigerators	Large, sunny space on 2nd floor overlooking library	One school: 6'x8' corridor between nurses office and storage room. Other 3 schools: no classroom	One school: old equipment storage room off main library. Other 2 schools: no classroom

APPENDIX F

Teacher Reaction Table: Reactions to race, gender, and religious comments when they have occurred in the classroom:

	Race	**Gender**	**Religion**
Have acknowledged comments occurred (in interviews)	Maureen Hannah Bridget Carly	Maureen Hannah Beth	Maureen Hannah Carly
Have heard comments, but didn't say anything to student or class	Maureen Hannah Bridget Carly		
Have discussed comments with student(s)	Maureen Carly	Maureen Hannah Beth	Maureen Hannah Carly
Have discussed comment with class (classroom teachers)		Maureen Hannah	Maureen Hannah
Discussion with class when student who received comment was not present	Bridget		

150

UNIVERSITY of NEW HAMPSHIRE

January 12, 2004

Liggett, Tonda
English, Hamilton Smith Hall
38 Mill Pond Road
Durham, NH 03824

IRB #:   3082
Study: The Role of White Racial Identity in the Teaching and Pedagogy
                   of New ESOL Teachers
Approval Date: 12/22/2003

The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research (IRB) has reviewed and approved the protocol for your study as Exempt as described in Title 45, Code of Federal Regulations (CFR), Part 46, Subsection 101(b). Approval is granted to conduct your study as described in your protocol.

Researchers who conduct studies involving human subjects have responsibilities as outlined in the attached document, *Responsibilities of Directors of Research Studies Involving Human Subjects.* (This document is also available at http://www.unh.edu/osr/compliance/IRB.html.) Please read this document carefully before commencing your work involving human subjects.

Upon completion of your study, please complete the enclosed pink Exempt Study Final Report form and return it to this office along with a report of your findings.

If you have questions or concerns about your study or this approval, please feel free to contact me at 603-862-2003 or Julie.simpson@unh.edu. Please refer to the IRB # above in all correspondence related to this study. The IRB wishes you success with your research.

For the IRB,

Julie F. Simpson
Regulatory Compliance Manager

cc: File
       Liza Finkel

**Regulatory Compliance Office, Office of Sponsored Research, Service Building,
51 College Road, Durham, NH 03824-3585 * Fax: 603-862-3564**