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# A Du Boisian Approach: How Does Double Consciousness Manifest in the Experiences of Black Males in an Urban Teacher Preparation Program

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## ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, *A DU BOISIAN APPROACH: HOW DOES DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS MANIFEST IN THE EXPERIENCES OF BLACK MALES IN AN URBAN TEACHER PREPARATION PROGRAM*, by Brandon Lewis, was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Advisory Committee. It is accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, in the College of Education, Georgia State University.

The Dissertation Advisory Committee and the student's Department Chairperson, as representatives of the faculty, certify that this dissertation has met all standards of excellence and scholarship as determined by the faculty. The Dean of the College of Education concurs.

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A DU BOISIAN APPROACH: HOW DOES DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS MANIFEST IN  
THE EXPERIENCES OF BLACK MALES IN AN URBAN TEACHER PREPARATION  
PROGRAM

by

Brandon Lewis

Under the Direction of Dr. Diane Truscott

**ABSTRACT**

The Black experience is complex; often portrayed as a double consciousness or a tension between two warring ideas that penetrate the soul. Such duplicity can leave Black people perplexed regarding how to navigate in a White world with one dark body. This study explored the experiences of Black males in an urban teacher preparation program as they negotiated their double consciousness in order to understand how race and gender impact teaching and learning in urban schools. Four case studies were conducted representing self-identified Black male graduates who were part of a cohort of pre-service teachers. Data generated from coursework



were used as a heuristic for introspective analysis by each participant and complemented by semi-structured interviews. The study illustrates the complex factors for Black males developing as culturally relevant responsive teachers and provides voice to the challenges Black males face while navigating in a capitalistic system that has historically denied equitable access. The research found that prior experiences with double consciousness perpetuate Black males' oppression and forces them to see their perceived selves through their White counterparts' and supervisors' eyes. Double consciousness has a twoness that causes distrustfulness of those that are perceived to be oppressive while also inspires individuals to 'be the best'. Cohort communities are a great way to facilitate a community of learners but if not managed carefully can lead to racial and ethnic separation. After graduating from the teacher preparation program, the Black males did not remain consistent with their cultural responsiveness but were charged to use the teaching profession as a means to create positive change for others. Findings from this study hold promise for helping teacher education programs develop experiences for Black males that capture and cultivate the unique embodiment of two clashing identities—American and Black.

INDEX WORDS: Black male teachers, Culturally responsive pedagogy, Double consciousness, Teacher preparation programs, Urban education



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PROGRAM

by

Brandon Lewis

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Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Early Childhood Education

in

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in

the College of Education

Georgia State University

Atlanta, GA

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. Although your life ended in 1963, your words will live forever.

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I would like to thank my wife, Dana. You showed amazing support and love, and I will always be grateful. Although it was difficult, you always smiled and said “You got this”. Thank you for your love, sacrifice, and understanding. To my daughters, Kya and Sara, thank you for serving as a source of encouragement. To my father, mother, and brother, words cannot express my love for you and my appreciation for all that you have done for me. To my grandmothers, Henrietta and Sarah, your legacies continue to inspire me. To my Aunt Margaret, I have never met an individual so kind. Thank you for always being there.

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

During a CNN interview on June 21, 2010, Secretary of Education Arne Duncan issued a “call” for more Black male teachers. Duncan (2010) reported that African-American male teachers represent 2% of the teacher population—less than 1 out of 50 teachers. According to the National Center of Educational Statistics, from 2007–2008, men represented 24% of full- and part-time teachers in the United States. White men represented 20% of full and part-time teachers and Black men represented 2% of full and part-time teachers.

In this interview, Duncan (2010) claimed that the United States has a huge challenge to ensure the success of Black males. He argued that men of color—particularly Black males—are not becoming teachers due to the large high school dropout rate, and those men who graduate do not want to become teachers because of teacher salaries. While there is much abstruseness in his argument as to why Black male students are not performing in school like their White counterparts, Duncan’s call draws attention to the power that Black male teachers have as mentors and positive examples for Black youth.

While some may believe increasing the number of Black males in the teaching profession will have a positive effect on students of all races/ethnicities and genders, it is equally important to investigate the denial of equitable access in the educational system for Black males, which may also impede their willingness to become teachers. Unfortunately, Duncan failed to mention the unique experiences Black males within the United States bring to the educational arena—feeling apart from, rather than a part of, the educational system. Serving as objects and not subjects may challenge Black males’ eagerness to become elementary school teachers in the United States (Asante, 1998). If teacher educators are to increase the percentage of Black male teachers, the complexity of living as a Black male must be considered (Du Bois, 1989a).

Du Bois (1989a) notes:

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife,—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face. (p. 4)

Here, Du Bois offers insight into the twoness, or double consciousness, many Black males continue to face in the United States. While Du Bois posited his theory of double consciousness in the early 20th century, it is important to build on this theory as we support the goal of increasing the number of Black educators (Shockley, 2009). Previous investigations of Black males in educational research addressed issues of class (Kozol, 1991), sexuality (Carbado, 1999), and the school to prison pipeline (Children’s Defense Fund, 2011). Other researchers seek to understand the Black perspective through an examination of Black culture (Du Bois; 1903, Carver; Karenga, 1989; Woodson, 1990); Tillman, 2006) and identity (Cross’ (1991), Ellison (1952); Hartigan (2010). Unfortunately, the duality that exists for Black males—living as Americans and Blacks—is a topic that is overlooked when seeking to understand the Black perspective in post-secondary schooling.

A need for more research on Black male teachers has been discussed in recent years (Chmelynski, 2006; Martino, 2010), yet, this topic remains overshadowed by a focus on Black boys in public schools (Noguera, 2008), or Black professorship (Allen, Epps, Guillory, Suh, & Bonous-Hammarth, 2000; Bradley, 2005; Stanley, 2006). Although there is research that specifically examines Black teachers (Foster, 1997; Mawhinney, Mulero & Pe'rez, 2012; Milner, 2005), there is limited research that has a specific focus on Black male teachers (Brown, 2011; Lewis & Toldson, 2013; Lynn, 2006; Pabon, Anderson & Kharem, 2011). Foster (1997) explores Black teachers after desegregation and the difficulties of providing quality education with inequitable funding. Mawhinney, Mulero & Pe'rez (2012) also examine Black teachers but focuses on pre-service teachers in an urban teacher program and their experiences post-program. The findings suggest that the Black pre-service teachers developed a high regard for urban education after completing the program but developed negative perceptions of urban parents. Milner's (2005) study takes a different approach by investigating a Black teacher who utilizes a multicultural approach in a White high school. Although these research studies contribute to Teacher Education and focus on Black teachers, there needs to more research that examines the experiences of Black male teachers.

As Arnie Duncan indicates, Black male teachers have an enormous impact on students of color. To increase the percentage of Black male teachers, there needs to be more research on the experiences Black males bring with them to teacher preparation programs. This provides teacher preparation programs with a structure for understanding and supporting Black males' experiences both within and outside of the academy.

Despite the lack of research on Black male educators, teacher preparation programs recognize the need for increasing the numbers of teachers of color (Brown & Butty, 1999; Lewis

& Toldson, 2013; Pabon, Anderson, and Kharem (2011). There have been recent attempts to increase the number of Black male teachers through targeted recruitment in teacher preparation programs. Chmelynski (2006) offers insight into a national initiative that focuses on recruiting and retaining more male teachers of color. In his study, Chmelynski examines the *Call Me Mister Program* whereby field coordinator Winston Holton suggests, “All students need to see black males in authority roles—roles of responsibility, academic roles showing there are manifestations of black maleness other than athletics, entertainment, or, unfortunately, crime” (Chmelynski, 2006, p. 42). Similarly, Byrd, et al. (2011) examined one Black former college athlete and two athletic department academic advisors to investigate how teacher preparation programs can benefit from adding diversity to the teaching profession by recruiting Black male student-athletes. While useful in addressing strategies for recruiting Black male teachers, these studies are insufficient. Although these scholars draw attention to the need for Black male teachers, accomplishing the goal of recruiting more Black male teachers requires that we first draw attention to why the teaching profession would be a viable option, given the historical inequitable treatment of Black children in urban schools.

In 2012, the United States Department of Labor listed the highest paying occupations; teaching was not on the list. In fact, PayScale.com reported that the median income for teachers in the U.S. is approximately \$46,000. Living in a capitalistic, patriarchal society like the United States presents males with a confounding professional quandary; whether or not to pursue teaching while grappling with the notion that they will probably make less money than their counterparts who hold degrees in other fields. In a recent study, Pabon, Anderson, and Kharem (2011) found that the three most influential factors for Black males entering the teacher profession were (a) helping young people, (b) needing a job, and (c) contributions to humanity.

Additionally, Brown and Butty (1999) found that Black males in a suburban public school district chose to become teachers due to the motivation, or desire, to impart knowledge. Similar to findings from Brown and Butty's study, Durden and Truscott (2013) interviewed a 21-year-old Black male, Ronald, who indicated one of his reasons for becoming an educator was to serve as a change agent. According to a questionnaire, Ronald indicated that every child encompasses a racial, cultural, and communal identity, and he wanted to ensure that each child sees connections between him, or herself, and the "real world."

While many people choose to teach because of a desire to "make a difference" in a child's life, it may be argued that many Black teachers bring an internalized understanding of struggle,—pre- and postdating *Brown vs. Board* (Siddle-Walker, 1996)—which creates a commitment to improving the social and economic conditions for Blacks. Understanding the Black experience in the United States may offer insight into other factors that prohibit Black males from pursuing the teaching profession, including statistics that portray the failure of the educational system for Black males who are overrepresented among dropouts (50%), incarcerated (44%), and suspended or expelled from schools (35% black children grades 7-12) (Schott Report, 2012; NAACP Fact Sheet, 2013). It becomes paradoxical, to some extent, to become interested in pursuing a profession that has a long history of failing many Black students rather than educating them (Hilliard, 1998) and even now continues to reinforce zero tolerance policies which feed a school-to-prison pipeline (Children's Defense Fund, 2011).

Notwithstanding the pernicious factors that may prohibit the zeal for pursuing education as a viable career path for Black males, those who are qualified and choose to devote themselves to the teaching profession must carry the societal perceptions imbued with stereotypical representations (Steele & Aronson, 1995) that often characterize Black males as a threat rather

than as the sons of kings and queens, inventors, orators, and pioneers of the earliest known civilizations (Clark, 1992; Du Bois, 1972). Even today, Blacks are labeled as a “problem” (Howard, 2013). If more Black males entered the teaching profession, students—particularly Black boys—will challenge the narrative of deficit ideology and social misconceptions that permeate maligned constructions of Black male embodiment (Lewis & Toldson, 2013; Lynn, 2006).

This study explored the experiences of Black males as they developed as pre-service teachers in an urban teacher preparation program. It provides a unique examination of double consciousness within the context of pedagogy that is culturally relevant and responsive. As a Black male teacher and teacher educator with a focus on urban education, I brought to the study both personal and professional experiences. These experiences and beliefs warrant sensitivities to racial oppression, yet offer depth for analysis that served as powerful tools for this exploration. It is important to note that while the participants and I self-identify as Black, this term is a social construct. Omi and Winant (1994) contend:

The concept of race continues to play a fundamental role in structuring and representing the social world... Thus, we should think of race as an element of social structure rather than as an irregularity within it; we should see race as a dimension of human representation rather than an illusion (p. 55).

The following section describes my experience as a Black male in graduate school and how the social structure of race made me cognizant of my double consciousness.

### *The Veil*

I believe, with conviction, that double consciousness is a real and complex feeling within Blacks. I encounter this warring of two souls—the life within the veil, seeing beyond the veil—

daily. The veil may be described as an oppressive space whereby your double consciousness is conflated with conflict and resolution. The veil forces you to see yourself through the eyes of the oppressor while simultaneously maintaining pride, respect, and admiration of a people that have been globally disenfranchised and misunderstood. The veil is used to describe double consciousness—having the awareness to see your identity from within the veil and honoring your racial group and its cultural norms—something closed to the oppressor who remains outside of the veil. Double consciousness also allows you to see yourself from outside the veil—staring at yourself through a racist lens—perceiving what White people really think of you. This provides you with knowledge of how to survive in White spaces, but it also forces you to control your actions from an oppressive stance. Because you are able to see yourself from outside of the veil, with the oppressor’s eyes, every move you make or sound you utter, is controlled from a psychological reaction to what you think will be most pleasing to the oppressor. Shaefer (2008) claims, “The veil has variously been interpreted as race itself and its impact on the lives of Black Americans, the racial lens through which White Americans view Black Americans, and the double consciousness with which Black Americans experience their world” (p. 3). The veil may be used as a metaphor to describe a duality that is caused by racism. Du Bois felt that the veil was a gift and a curse. The veil provides Blacks with two sights—their true selves and their oppressed selves. This is beneficial because you are able to understand the psychology of the oppressor. The veil also cements a bond amongst fellow Blacks. Given that this feeling of double consciousness is shared amongst fellow Blacks, there is an understanding of White people and racism that only individuals with double consciousness are able to recognize. Conversely, when you operate from a space of oppression, two-warring souls are in conflict. There is an undeniable anguish when your identity must remain hidden because of perceived racism. Seeing through a

race lens creates a psychosis whereby race and racism controls your every thought, movement, and way of life.

Du Bois finds that Black people represent the rarity of the world: a group that is able to navigate in the extreme conditions of racism because they understand White psychology. Conversely, White people are not conscious of the veil. They operate from a state of privilege. Given that White people cannot be affected by racism, they do not understand what it is like to operate from an oppressed state. This two-ness can only be described by Blacks. Du Bois contends that while Blacks can navigate in a White world, White people do not have the understanding for navigating in Black spaces. Schaefer explains:

White Americans are free from both life underneath the veil and the double consciousness that stems from it. As a result, White Americans are often seen in terms of their individual attributes and personalities, rather than being viewed as representatives of their race and accordingly feared, distrusted, ignored, or otherwise marginalized. This has led to the reality that many White Americans do not recognize the role that their race plays in their lives, and thus, the inability to develop the kind of race consciousness that minorities in the United States may develop as a result of the veil (p. 5).

Although Du Bois understands the power Blacks have by understanding racism, he laments the complexity of living with duality or a two-ness because it creates a constant friction of living life as if there is something to prove to those that have created the oppressive condition; operating with calculated precision to ensure that you are not what society perceives you to be.

I offer a brief personal illustration of how I, a Black male, experienced double consciousness. As a graduate student at the University of Minnesota in 2002, I enrolled in my



first course, which happened to be *Cultural Foundations*. The professor entered the class, walked to the whiteboard, and, with a blue marker, wrote *Old Country* in large letters. She proceeded to inform the class that the first assignment would be for us to write down how our ancestors migrated from the “old country.” She asked each student to think before writing and to begin when ready. As I pondered my response, I realized the best information I could offer was my great-great-grandmother on my father’s side and my great-grandparents on my mother’s side. As each student rose to walk to the whiteboard and began writing his or her ancestral ties to Scandinavia, Ireland, and other European countries, I was perplexed on what to say regarding my forbearers. Understandably frustrated that my parents had not prepared me enough for this activity, I recognized that, while I could not go back several generations—for a number of reasons—I had never considered how my bloodline extended beyond American soil, yet, here I was being asked about the “Old Country.”

I went to the whiteboard with trepidation and wrote “Mother Tate.” Mother Tate was my great-great-grandmother on my father’s side. She started churches all over the country (i.e., The House of God) and had gained a certain celebrity throughout much of the United States and especially within the Lewis family. When I sat down, eager to tell the story of my great-great grandmother Mother Tate followed by great-grandmother Big Momma Keith, a classmate with whom I partnered volunteered to go first. As I listened to her family history dating back over 300 years, I was quite impressed with the description she was able to provide. Whereas I knew my story would be limited to a U.S. context, I applauded her efforts and began to tell my story. Before I could complete my first sentence, she stopped me and asked why I started with a U.S. experience. Not having access to computer software that now enables you to easily trace your ancestry, I explained that many people who self-identify as Black have difficulty tracing their

ancestral roots beyond the United States. I remember it as though it were yesterday. Her reply was, “Well since you’re Black, can’t you just say Africa? I mean, isn’t that where all you guys come from?” I replied, “Well, the body of the first [wo]man was found in Africa. Why can’t you extend beyond European soil and continue south toward Africa? Furthermore, Africa is a continent made up of many countries. Merely saying Africa does not provide you with an accurate description of where many Black people in the United States can trace their ancestry.”

While this was not the first time I felt “othered” (Johnson-Bailey, 2001) and certainly would not be the last, this experience was the first time I began living in a way that was dictated by others’ opinions of me—constantly questioning how my White counterparts saw me. Students would partner with me because they wanted to know what Black people thought about a particular topic; additionally, I was consistently referred to as “the Black guy in class,” much like Du Bois (1989b) when he stated, “They approach me in a half-hesitant sort of way, eye me curiously or compassionately, and then, instead of saying directly, How does it feel to be a problem? They say, ‘I know an excellent colored man in my town’” (p. 7). The most awful experience was having a professor use the word “nigger” while looking directly at me during a course lecture. I attest that this “peculiar sensation” creates a persistent conflict—a warring of two ideas—that encourages hard work and dedication to demystifying the ideas that surround Blacks, while also questioning if you are being perceived as a “nigger” no matter what you do.

I internalized scrutiny, which ultimately affected my mental health and self-personification. I lived and acted as an oppressed being—questioning if my colleagues align my identity with what is portrayed and marketed on television. This feeling was manifested in my being—they became inseparable.

To be clear, double consciousness may also be referred to as a sense of “psychic duality” (Stewart, 1983). The psychosis of living with double consciousness as a Black male is operationalized in every facet of living in the United States. It is my contention that when a Black male decides to enter an occupation, he brings his twoness with him—consciously or unconsciously. Not only does this elicit a complex soul, but it also has bearing on the type of thinker he will be—in this case a teacher.

While I have chosen the “Old Country” anecdote to illuminate the peculiar sensation of double consciousness, Du Bois (1989b) recalls his first encounter with double consciousness was when he was in grade school, and a new White girl in class refused to accept his Valentine’s Day card because he was “colored.” This was the first time he was made to feel “negro,” and this experience would motivate his life’s work towards dismantling the tenets of White supremacy. Although I am referencing Black males in this study, I am convinced that all Blacks embody this twoness.

It is important to note, in this study double consciousness will be interchanged with duality, twoness, and inner conflict. Du Bois has characterized double consciousness as two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, and two warring ideals. The duality and twoness are used to describe the inner conflict of living as a Black American and an American—having pride as a Black American, while remaining aware of what being Black means in America. There is an inner conflict because Blacks are aware of what can happen when non-Blacks—particularly those in power—are not privy to Black culture and use misconceptions as their guide. This results in Black people trying to hide their Black culture within the veil for fear of being discriminated or stereotyped—only revealing their Black cultural nuances to fellow Blacks. Thus, double consciousness creates an awareness of the great legacy Black people come from,

while also understanding that in order to succeed, certain characteristics that are aligned with Black people must be hidden. This creates a duality.

When Black males encounter racialized experiences (Nasir, 2012), they are responding to a racial identity that was created for them from those in power for the sole purpose of maintaining power. Blacks are able to remain aware of their heritage and traditions, while understanding the oppressor sees them through a racialized lens. Although racialized experiences contribute to identity development and formation, identity is an advanced field associated with multiple categories (e.g. gender, class, profession, race, age, etc.). This study does not investigate identity specifically but recognizes that identity formation does influence double consciousness.

Although this study will focus on Black males, Black women are subjected to mental and physical oppression as well. Hooks (1981) explores the multiple forms of oppression Black women encounter and how Black feminism can be used as a model for mental liberation. Hooks contends that Black women have endured sexism, racism, and devaluation beginning as early as slavery. Collins (1990) also utilizes Black feminism to understand the experiences of Black women in America. She finds that Black women are not only marginalized by race, due to patriarchy, they are also subjected to sexism. Although Black women's experiences are an important factor to understanding experiences with double consciousness in teacher preparation programs, it was determined that it was important to begin with a specific focus on males as an attempt to expedite the process of recruiting and sustaining more Black males in the teaching profession.

How double consciousness manifests in the experiences of Black male teachers is of great importance. I contend that Black male teachers enter the classroom and are conjoined with

the prevailing stereotypes and propaganda that are disseminated globally about who they are—particularly in the United States. This warring of identities—perception versus reality—is not only a factor in the school structure, but an everyday experience for Black males. It is my contention that this “twoness” will forever be a burden until the prevailing misconceptions of Black males in the United States are confronted and disrupted. By researching the Black male experience in an urban teacher preparation program, I shed light on something that is critical to early childhood educational research—the development of Black male teachers.

### *Culturally Relevant Responsive Teaching (CRRT)*

Du Bois (1989) felt it was necessary to train Negro men to do the bidding for their race and to be well-equipped teachers, leaders, and social statesmen so they may develop an inner consciousness of unwavering pride and high moral principle. To assist in being a well-equipped educator, this research draws upon the conceptual framework of culturally relevant responsive teaching (CRRT). CRRT uses Ladson-Billings’ (1994) and Gay’s (2000) culturally relevant and responsive frameworks to situate examples of both paradigms into one model (see figure 1). CRRT is used as an acronym to describe the pedagogical applications that Black male pre-service teachers engage in while enrolled in an urban teacher preparation program that is designed to ensure the success of students in urban public schools. A rationale for the use of a new, combined framework in understanding Black male teachers’ experiences is provided below.

In 1994, Ladson-Billings cemented her legacy in the education reform movement with *The Dreamkeepers: Successful Teachers of Black Children*, an ethnographic view of the culturally relevant teaching framework. Ladson-Billings is now revered as one of the pioneers of cultural responsiveness and her work is widely used amongst teacher education programs in the U.S. and abroad. In Ladson-Billings’ framework, she discusses ways of incorporating cultural

representations in curricula, establishing a community of learners, moving beyond the textbooks, illustrating care, applying real-world connections, using cultural competence, self-critique, and reconstructing knowledge for students. Ladson-Billings provides examples from eight teachers who model culturally responsive pedagogy. These teachers were identified by students' parents and administrators from the school for being effective teachers with Black students. Ladson-Billings discovered that students achieve academic excellence when teachers provide care, establish relationships, set high expectations, incorporate cultural competence to make learning meaningful, and illustrate authentic value of students' culture.

Gay's framework of culturally responsive teaching includes a similar mission of increasing achievement for all marginalized students; however, Ladson-Billings focuses specifically on Black students. Gay incorporates all "multiethnic frames of reference"—particularly marginalized and underachieving groups that have a Latino, Native American, and Black background. Thus, researchers that employ a culturally responsive pedagogy framework for Hispanic or Latino students would actually fall under Gay's framework as opposed to that of Ladson-Billings. Gay also contends that culturally responsive teaching alone will not cure the problems concerning education for marginalized students. Close examination of funding, administrators, and policy making is required to change the underlying societal inequities. Gay takes a close look into standardized testing and recognizes that students are not being assessed through multiple intelligences; rather, she contends that multiple learning styles must be considered to include everyone's individual differences and illustrate cultural congruence. To be clear, cultural congruence requires teachers to alter their speech patterns, communication, and participation structures to connect more closely with the students' culture (Ladson-Billings, 1994). Although Ladson-Billings finds teachers utilizing cultural responsiveness in a wide

variety of ways, Gay's ideas of multiple learning styles extend beyond illustrations of Ladson-Billings's model of culturally relevant practice. Although Ladson-Billings provides a solid foundation in the variety of ways Black students learn (e.g. rap music, community, Ebonics), Gay offers multiple learning styles through a variety of context to teachers' that are ethnically based. She notes that "Overall characterizations of learning styles suggest that they are not monolithic, situationally idiosyncratic, or static traits. Instead, there are multidimensional, habituated processes that are the 'central tendencies' of how students from different ethnic groups engage with learning encounters" (p. 151).

Examples of Gay's conceptual framework for multiple learning styles are an amalgamation of different ethnic groups which include: procedural (pacing rates, distribution of time) communicative (how thoughts are organized and conveyed in spoken and written form), substantive (concepts and principals or factual information), environmental (physical, social, and interpersonal settings for learning, organizational (preferred structural arrangements for work and study space), perceptual (visual, tactile, auditory, kinetic, oral, or multiple sensory modalities), relational (preferred interpersonal and social interaction modes in learning situations), and motivational (preferred incentives or stimulations that evoke learning—including individual accomplishment or group well-being). Gay defines culturally responsive teaching as, "Using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them" (p. 29).

Another justification for combining the two frameworks is that culturally responsive research can become cumbersome if it is not positioned in specific culturally responsive theories. For example, when conducting research utilizing the term "culturally responsive pedagogy,"

does this specifically mean Ladson-Billings' framework , or is the researcher using Ladson-Billings', Gay's, or Cazden and Lagget's model of cultural responsive pedagogy? I argue that we must now consider adopting a new term—culturally relevant responsive teaching (CRRT).

I am contributing a new term to the culturally responsive field because culturally responsive education has evolved into a space where there are limited perimeters when discussing the use of culture to engage and value students. Questions of whether researchers are using the term *culturally responsive teaching* as an amalgamation of all theorists makes it difficult to determine whose model was used. In The Guiding 100, the urban teacher preparation program in this study, all of the language used reflects the term culturally responsive pedagogy. Yet, much of the instruction focuses on ESOL populations, the oppression of various groups, and ways to empower students in urban schools. The Guiding 100 is using inaccurate language. To be correct, The Guiding 100 would only be able to focus on enhancing the education for Black students. Thus, combining Gay's concept of all marginalized students would be more appropriate for The Guiding 100.

To further problematize this issue, researchers may use the term *culturally relevant pedagogy* (Ladson-Billings, 1994) but decide to investigate a topic that is under the culturally responsive teaching framework (Gay, 2000). For example, if a researcher were looking at ways to utilize multiple intelligences for impoverished Hmong students, it may be assumed that a culturally relevant pedagogy approach (Ladson-Billings) would be useful. However, given that Gay extends beyond Black students and incorporates multiple intelligences for different ethnicities/races under her framework, Gay would be the most appropriate. Another example can be found in the topic of textbooks. Ladson-Billings and Gay include examples of how teachers should move beyond the textbooks. Ladson-Billings provides examples of teachers who move



beyond the textbooks to critically engage students regarding the power and racism in textbooks; Gay also includes examples of marginalized groups in textbooks but also offers a descriptive model and illustrates various organizations and initiatives that illustrate how teachers can examine textbooks to check for cultural responsiveness and what happens when there is more inclusiveness. When Ladson-Billings and Gay's ideas come together, there is a broader perspective offered: teachers are provided models of what other teachers are doing to reach their students to offer critical engagement outside of the textbook, and teachers are provided with resources for how to assess textbooks with a culturally responsive lens and ways to participate with organizations that are doing this type of work. The last example for why it was determined that combining these theories provides more benefit to the culturally responsive field...if I determined that Gay was most appropriate for this study and decided to look at ways Black males create a community in the classroom and spaces for students to learn from each other and construct knowledge together, and how these Black males place themselves within the students' home community—Gay would not provide the necessary model; Ladson-Billings' *community of learners* would be more appropriate. I contend that many researchers are unintentional when using the appropriate culturally responsive framework because they are unaware of the differences. In this study, I was deliberate about what pieces out of each framework were critical for this study and how this study may not have worked if forced to choose between one over the other. Both frameworks offer critical and necessary components for culturally responsive work, which makes CRRT the best approach for research and practical implementations for this study.

This study offers a new model to provide a deliberate focus on cultural responsiveness. Although cultural responsiveness is designed for marginalized groups, its execution has been for White women. Given that White women represent the largest percentage of the teaching

population, cultural responsiveness was a framework that modeled how to teach Black students particularly for White female teachers. This study offers new ways to consider how Black males implement cultural responsiveness. To avoid speculation as to whose framework is being used, CRRT was developed by examining Ladson-Billings' and Gay's framework and illustrates concepts from each theorist. This framework is very specific and does not include every facet of Ladson-Billing's culturally relevant teaching framework nor Gay's culturally responsive teaching framework. I considered the major themes from each framework and created a model that is inclusive of the overarching tenets from both.

CRRT proposes the following tenets: *I am because we are; It imparts knowledge so that students confront oppression in all forms and are empowered to transform hegemonic ideology and practice for the betterment of the school and global community; It embraces different learning styles and languages and uses diversity, care, and home culture as a bridge to foster academic success; It requires critical self-reflection in order to value and show appreciation of others' cultures; It values the whole child and seeks to construct knowledge rather than providing information.*

CRRT enhances teachers' understandings of what students bring to the classroom structure (e.g., race, socioeconomic status, community, multiple intelligences, and language), while students' abilities and motivation are able to be transformed through the concept of relationship to the instruction. CRRT is able to capture students' attention and effectively provide a framework whereby all marginalized students are able to see themselves in the lesson.

### **Significance of the Problem**

The focus on Black males' development as CRRTs in an urban teacher preparation program is significant because there is limited research that examines this process. Lynn (2006) states:

The voices of Black men have been marginalized within the discourse on teachers and teaching. There is little written about how Black men's ways of knowing contribute to the development of a knowledge base on cultural teaching in urban schools. (p. 2497)

Applying Dubois' theory of double consciousness provides a space to interpret the challenges that may be present for Black males in an urban teacher preparation program that focuses on CRRT.

Examining how one lives within the veil, while constantly seeing himself through the eyes of the oppressor, will illustrate the complexity for Black males not only to develop as CRRTs but will also provide voice to the challenges Black males face in a teacher preparation program when working within a system that has historically denied equitable access (e.g., urban public schools; higher institutions). Lynn (2006) notes:

Although close attention should be paid to the ways in which Black males are disenfranchised in a racist and patriarchal society, it is also important to look closely at Black men's pedagogical practice, especially the practices of Black male teachers who express a commitment to using their classrooms as a tool to improve the social conditions of Blacks. (p. 2497)

Findings from this study extend Duncan's (2010) call regarding Black male teachers by interpreting the experience of developing as an elementary public school teacher, while completing a teacher preparation program designed to prepare teachers to be culturally responsive in urban elementary schools. DuBois' theory of double consciousness was used as a theoretical lens to explain the complexity of "two-ness" encompassed within Black males, which were manifest in the tasks they were asked to complete during their teacher preparation program and currently as urban educators.

This study cannot generalize (Creswell, 2013) all Black male teachers; rather, its aim is to understand the process of developing as a CRRT educator and whether Black male teachers encounter double consciousness prior to, during, and after their teacher preparation program experience. Black male pre-service teachers data sources were examined from the time they interviewed for selection into the program through the duration of their teacher preparation. Within this investigation, I used various data sources to provide opportunities for the participants to reflect upon their experiences as a Black male teacher. The data sources represent different stages of their journey: pre-program, during program, and post-program. Introspection and retrospection interviews were used to elicit discussions of the Black male experience of becoming a teacher and how their racial and gender identity impacted their experience in the program. The participants also found it beneficial when they were asked to connect their experiences as a Black male student in a predominantly White institution to their experience now as a Black male teacher. This reflective approach fostered an introspective view of where they have been and helps them internalize where they are headed.

The next chapter provides an overview of the history of double consciousness to illustrate the experiences of being a Black male in America. It is important to begin with the history of

double consciousness because it illustrates the racial and gender experiences each participant brings to the program, which helps draw conclusions regarding why the participant thought or acted the way he did. The literature review builds a foundation for the design of this study and informs the analysis and interpretations of the findings.

## **2 CONTRIBUTIONS TO DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS**

In 1845, Dr. David Skae, defined a mental patient as having a double consciousness, what would be referred today as a “split personality.” This is the first known record of the term “double consciousness.” Although double consciousness is a widely used term that is usually situated under Du Boisian philosophy, it has historical implications prior to Du Bois. Double consciousness is referred to as alternating personalities in the examination of William James. It is important to recognize that James was Du Bois’ advisor while at Harvard, and Du Bois admired his work. When looking at James’ and Du Bois’ relationship, Townsend (1996) explains, “The two might seem conjoined in their use of the idea of double consciousness...a phrase that had already made its appearance in James’s *Principles of Psychology* before Du Bois used it” (p. 73). Although James defined double consciousness as an alternating personality, Du Bois situated this expression within his existence as having two warring ideas—living “within the veil.” Du Bois (1989) recalls numerous encounters with Whites who saw him, not as the person he is, but as something else—a problem. Hilliard (1995) explains:

The double consciousness problem is not the problem of a split personality in the Freudian sense, nor is it a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde transformation as popularized in the literature. It is an issue of the surrender of self-definition and responsibility. To be forced to wait until an image of one’s self comes into focus in the eyes of

someone else before there can be a “self-concept” is the final victory for an enemy over a slave. The mind is gone and a zombie remains. (p. 56)

Double consciousness is a feeling that evokes racialization (Omi & Winant, 1986)—meaning that racial formations are predicated and dictated by the dominant group’s ideology—particularly for the purposes of continued control. Racialization becomes the primary factor in navigating in White spaces and forces Blacks to operate in a space whereby “self” is conditioned according to what oppressive forces have created the “self” to be. Woodson (1990) exclaims:

When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his “proper place” and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. (p. xiii)

Woodson’s analysis examines the psychological oppression racism creates for Blacks and Whites. Similar to Du Bois’ theory of double consciousness, Woodson understands the racism and xenophobic constraint placed upon the darker race as did Du Bois. Although Du Bois’ theory of double consciousness focuses on racial oppression, other theorists and authors also used a concept of double consciousness in their work. Prior to William James, even poet Ralph Waldo Emerson injected the importance of double consciousness in his writings on the soul. Bruce (1992) argues that Emerson employed the phrase “double consciousness” from the standpoint and illustrated where one soul was pulled down by living life in a society, and the other soul was pulled up by divine nature—the spiritual self is in constant conflict with the

demands of societal oppression. In his comparison between Emerson and Du Bois, Bruce distinguishes between the two by noting:

By double consciousness Du Bois referred most importantly to internal conflict in the Black individual between what was African and what was American. ...Using double consciousness thus placed the African spirituality Du Bois sought to celebrate in connection with a more general body of Romantic ideas and imagery. (p. 301)

Such imagery as “two warring souls,” whereby the soul is in constant conflict because of outer forces, such as racism, are at constant work to oppress the internal soul; and “living within the veil,” which focuses on the ability to keep your identity hidden beneath the veil, while looking at yourself through the eyes of the oppressor, exposes the internal conflict within African Americans and also reveals a certain type of gift of seeing with a second sight (Du Bois, 1989a).

Unlike Skae, James, and Cooley who see double consciousness as a split personality that is labeled as a mental condition, Du Bois uses a “spirituality” to connect with African Americans and describes the feelings of seeing yourself through the oppressor’s eyes as a “peculiar sensation” that enables Blacks to navigate in a White world by understanding the sociology of racism. Du Bois (2009) was very outspoken on what he called the “gift of Black folk,” or how the spirituality of the African was a gift to the European. Here, Du Bois recognizes Blacks as being spiritual people, which he considers to be a gift to the souls of evildoers. An example of Blacks strong tie to spirituality can be found in the peculiar institution of slavery whereby Africans would sing “negro” spirituals even in the harshest of conditions.

Given that Du Bois recognized Blacks’ spirituality, he did not define double consciousness from a psychological perspective, and, instead, utilized double consciousness as a

spiritual attribute, rather than a mental condition, to better connect with Black people. Shaefer (2008) explains, “Much of Du Bois's work carries a deeply spiritual aspect, and many have interpreted his concept of double consciousness to refer to what Du Bois felt African Americans had to offer U.S. society: a deeply spiritual African identity, which could help to offset the harms and conflict many felt inherent to the materialism of U.S.” (p. 3). In *The Souls of White Folks*, Du Bois (1969) discusses how his experiences, particularly within the academy, allowed him a certain vantage point whereby he was able to see White people better than they were able to see themselves. His sense of double consciousness gave him the ability not only to understand his truer self, but also provided him with the ability to know what his oppressors were thinking.

Du Bois encountered this “two-ness” constantly. While he accepted his role as a student at Harvard, Townsend (1996) indicates that Du Bois was in Harvard, but not of it. D’Souza (1995) notes:

In one sense Du Bois deplored this double consciousness as an imposition of white racism, but in another he celebrated it. Appealing to a pan-African identity, Du Bois argued that blacks have a unique spiritual and social “message”. This message was not inferior, only different, from the white civilization message. The racialism of Du Bois contains a notion that many blacks would later embrace: that if race is the key to the problems faced by blacks, race would also be the key to their solution. (p. 188)

Du Bois (1989) understood that by disproving the misconception of what being Black meant in the United States, the common discourse around racial generalizations would be transformed, while understanding, “the problem of the 20th century would be the problem of the color-line” (p. 35). Much like CRRT, Du Bois sought to transform knowledge



regarding marginalized peoples. His theory of double consciousness was a direct attempt to educate the masses on the power of oppression. Du Bois' notion that African Americans are a spiritual and intelligent race that has brought many gifts to the world served two purposes: 1.) To educate White people about the atrocities that was being committed toward African Americans, and 2.) To educate African Americans on the proud history they come from, which would counter the stereotypes and misconceptions they think of themselves. Du Bois felt that by educating White people on their racist behavior, they would be able to save their souls from evil tendencies. Thus, CRRT illustrates care for others, transforming knowledge, and resisting oppression, which is all connected to the Du Bois' framework. It is important to note that Du Bois believed that education is the vehicle that should be used to transport Blacks from degradation to liberation (Provenzo, 2002).

Du Bois' notion of the "Talented Tenth" claimed that "We must give to our youth as training designed above all to make them men of power, of thought, of trained and cultivated taste; men who know wither civilization is tending and what it means" (as cited in Provenzo, 2002, p. 10). In his opposition to Booker T. Washington, Du Bois sought to reshape the education of Blacks. In the early 1900s, Washington's Tuskegee Model sought to provide vocational training to aspiring Negro students; yet, Du Bois felt there needed to be something more. Vocational training would limit Blacks to be the workers of society on a bottom scale; whereas, liberal education would create space for social power. Du Bois notes:

Such social power means, assuredly, the growth of initiative among negroes, the spread of independent thought, the expanding consciousness of manhood; and these things today are looked upon by many with apprehension and distrust, and here is systematic and determined effort to avoid this inevitable corollary of the fixing of social responsibility.

Men openly declare their design to train these millions as a subject caste, as men to be thought for, but not to think; to be led, but not to lead themselves. (as cited in Provenzo, 2002, p. 68)

To grasp Du Bois' urging of obtaining social power, it is important to critique those that educate Black students. How do teachers work to prepare Black students and, more importantly, what experiences are teachers—particularly Black male teachers—bringing with them to the classroom? Provenzo (2002) reminds us that Du Bois felt a “crying necessity among Negroes that the heads of educational system—the teachers in the normal schools, the principals of public systems, should be unusually well trained men” (p. 67).

Seeking social empowerment does not develop without scrutiny from the White establishment. Du Bois knew this and articulated the difficulty Blacks would encounter while in public schools. Du Bois (1989a) indicates that Blacks would be forced to work under the comparison of their White counterparts. I echo Du Bois' thoughts that there is a crying necessity for Black males to be unusually well-prepared; ultimately, Black males' consciousness creates awareness of the complexity and challenges others like them will face in the public school setting and beyond. Black male identity is complex with many nuances. In the following section, I explore Black male identity to understand the experiences Black males bring to the classroom.

### *Black Male Identity*

Hartigan (2010) suggests that in order to understand Blackness, one must have a grasp of Whiteness. When research is conducted by measuring a cultural group or racial identity, there has to be something in opposition to the group being studied. An example of this dichotomous

relationship may be found in the notion of *Acting White* (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 2004; Stinson; 2010). *Acting White* serves as one aspect of Black's double consciousness—the idea of being an American means you must emulate those in power. *Acting White* (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986) is described as Blacks not achieving academic success for fear that they will be outcasts by their cultural group because it is not “cool” to be smart. Thus, to reaffirm the identity of a Black, one must embrace the polar opposite of what is perceived as White identity. The argument is that *Acting White* plays a significant role in identity development. If it is not “cool” to be smart, theoretically a Black student will try to identify with what is deemed as “cool”— or assuming a nonacademic stance.

While this is one way of exploring Black identity, Toldson and Owens (2010) have studied a second attribute of the twoness felt by Black students, which they describe as “Acting Black,” which could fall under the second aspect of double consciousness—the self-pride one has for being Black. “Acting Black” is the idea that academic success is valued and labeled “cool” amongst Black youth. However, Toldson and Owens argue that it is not a question of whether Black students' identities reflect academic success, the questions researchers should pursue are how to promote positive teacher-student relationships and how to overcome racial and class disparities. Thus, this twoness of *Acting White* and *Acting Black* reflects Cross' (1991) idea that Black identity is not static—it is fluid. When one examines the feelings of self-hatred pre-1960s and the embracing of “Black Power” during the 1960s, there is an identity shift within Black culture (Cross, 1991). While this argument may be valid, one should not deny that the idea of double consciousness has remained; in fact, it is used here to simultaneously explain the dichotomy of self-hate and “Black Power.” Hartigan (2010) explains:

First and foremost, blackness can be regarded as a form of consciousness and experience that develops from both historical and contemporary conditions of racialization resulting from discrimination and domination. ...But blackness can also be recognized as collection of images that whites have projected onto people of African descent (p. 119).

While Black male identity may be construed as one categorical representation, it is important to recognize that identity is not fixed; much of the identity that is formalized depends on a range of factors. For example, class, community, and background experiences may all impose certain identity traits amongst cultural and racial groups; some characteristics will overlap amongst the same group, but there will be other identity traits that will be rejected due to other influences. An example of this phenomenon is seen through hip-hop education (Bridges, 2011), whereby hip-hop is recommended as a strategy to relate particularly to Black male identity. In this study, 10 Black male students who related well to hip-hop music expressed that their self-awareness, call to service, and resistance to social injustice could be attained by including hip-hop in public pre-K–12 schools. Contrarily, Way, N., Hernandez, M., Rogers, L. and Hughes, D. (2013) conducted a study on racial identity development and found three themes: intersecting stereotypes, contrasting stereotypes, and resisting stereotypes. In the category of resisting stereotypes, two Black boys, Joseph and John, decided to resist the stereotypes that every Black male has to be a rapper or basketball player. However, they both felt that these were not merely stereotypes but realities that encourage them to be defined as something different.

Thus, Black male identity is methodically and systematically characterized as unwanted in society, which undeniably affects their identity development. Nogeura (2008) speaks to the assumptions held toward Black males and finds that the more they are labeled as having problems, the less Black students are able to learn. Thus, the stereotypes in media, which are also

exercised largely in classrooms, are something Black men must contend with throughout their schooling process. Nasir (2012) examines black students' experiences in schools and understands that there are racial group memberships and unique cultural practices.

Unfortunately, as Nasir illustrates, students construct identity that align with their experiences and encounters from various settings. These ideas about who they are and what they are supposed to be greatly impact their identity development and many of these students are forced to carry their double consciousness with them as they enter the professional arena. However, there are educational reform models that work to stifle the impact of moral panic and stereotype threat has on Black students—particularly the way society sees Black students and how Black students see themselves. These reform models provide a space to utilize their cultural and racial identity as a means for individual and collective empowerment. CRRT, in particular, addresses this pedagogy concern and is used to illustrate to teachers ways that benefit minority students in the public school classroom.

### **Rewriting the History of CRRT**

Culturally responsive education has continued to evolve since the emergence of Black Studies, African Centered Education, and multicultural education. Since the 1980's, new ways of describing education that places emphasis on cultural value continue to emerge. Cultural appropriate (Au and Jordan, 1981), culturally responsive (Cazden and Leggett, 1981), cultural synchronization (1990), culturally relevant teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994), culturally responsive pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995) and culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2000), and culturally sustaining pedagogy (Paris & Alim, 2014) all have a different focus on using

cultural nuances and have continued to expand the field of applying culture to education to extend and enhance education for marginalized students.

Culturally responsive pedagogy is defined as pedagogy of opposition that fosters academic success, maintaining cultural competence, and utilizing critical consciousness to challenge the status quo (Ladson-Billings, 1995a). Culturally responsive pedagogy implements pedagogical approaches that not only value what students bring from their homes and communities to the classroom, but that also foster meaningful engagement with oppression for students to critique and challenge so more equitable conditions may be created for people that have been systematically disenfranchised. Although much of the literature now reflects the name of '*culturally responsive pedagogy*', I chose to use the original names. I will use culturally relevant teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1994) and culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2000) throughout this study. To understand culturally responsive relevant teaching (CRRT), it is important to revisit its antecedents. An important aim of this study is to first and foremost acknowledge the modern Black Studies movement as the predecessor, which many contemporary educational frameworks aimed at improving the status of disenfranchised peoples were birthed. According to Karenga (1993), Black Studies produced such fields as African-centered education, multicultural education, and social justice education. While the modern Black Studies movement began in the 1960s, culturally relevant teaching did not gain national attention until the mid-1990s. Black Studies, African centered education, social justice education, and multicultural education will be briefly explained to provide a historical connection to culturally relevant teaching and culturally responsive teaching, which I will refer to as CRRT.

### *Black Studies*

The modern Black Studies movement was birthed in the 1960s within a continuation of a long Black Studies intellectual tradition that began as far back as the late 1800s (Rogers, 2012). Black Studies was established as an academic recognition of Black intellectuals, including, Black feminism, Black empowerment philosophy, Black economics, and the quest for human freedom (Clarke, 2011; Cooper, Lemert, & Bhan, E, 1998; Karenga, 1993). Asante (1998) argues:

Black Studies is multidisciplinary but has multiple emphases and areas of interest. The creation of a paradigm or the codification of substantive theories and procedures suggests a discipline. Therefore, the fact that Black Studies deals with so many subjects is no hindrance to the flowing of an Afrocentric paradigm. (p. 190)

The history of African Centered Education begins in the late 1970s (Karenga, 1993). In years since, it has become an often-misunderstood concept that some critics erroneously believe exemplifies separatism, racism, and ethnocentric beliefs (Lefkowitz, 1996). The concept of African Centered Education serves as a paradigm extension of Black Studies and pushes the discourse of Black consciousness by utilizing a framework that centralizes, honors, and expands Africa (Asante, 1998; Hilliard, 1995; Karenga, 1993). It should be noted that, although the term “Afrocentricity” is a relatively new moniker, the paradigm’s development began over 5,000 years ago (Myers, 1993) whereby African thought revolutionized human civilization. As Hilliard (1998) notes, “Many of us have forgotten, and some have never known, what it means to be free—mentally, culturally, and spiritually—from hegemonic systems” (p. xx).

The African Centered philosophy focuses on the conceptual difference between western and Kemetite philosophy—the separation of mind from body is but one fundamental difference; there is also a significant dissimilarity in the value of the collective “we.” African Centered Knowledge provides a spiritual and intellectual cleansing that renews faith in our African selves and African unity. The primary aim of Afrocentric philosophy is to unite African peoples by reinforcing the idea that there is no “I”—seeing the mind, body, and world as one; there is no separation from the mind and body just as there is no separation of “I” and “We”, which strengthens collective unity, culture, spirituality, and respect for all African peoples. Asante (1998) posits, “It is about taking the globe and turning it over so that we see all the possibilities of a world where Africa, for example, is subject and not object” (p. 1).

Herein lies the possible remedy against the cultural annihilation suffered by African people: challenging the discourse of human disconnection and dismantling the “I” ideology. Contrarily, the “We”, from an Afrocentric perspective, symbolizes collective agreement that “We are all African” therefore we are all interrelated. As Mbiti (1969) explains, “I am because we are; we are, therefore I am” (p. 106). Ladson-Billings (1995) includes this worldview within her work by noting, “I have defined culturally relevant teaching as a pedagogy of opposition not unlike critical pedagogy but specifically committed to collective, not merely individual empowerment” (p.160). Thus, it can be argued that African-centered education has had an enormous impact on her work.

### *Social Justice Education (SJE)*

The term ‘social justice’ has many nuances (Hyttén & Bettez, 2011)—making it difficult to pinpoint one overarching definition. Novak (2000) claims:



Social justice rightly understood is a specific habit of justice that is “social” in two senses. First, the skills it requires are those of inspiring, working with, and organizing others to accomplish together a work of justice. ...The second characteristic of “social justice rightly understood” is that it aims at the good of the city, not at the good of one agent only. (p. 11)

Thus, the promise of social justice is to create a collective identity that works to change oppressive practices for disenfranchised groups and to ensure that people are positively affected by this change—not to promote advancement for one person in the community; rather, to promote advancement for the community itself.

Social Justice Education (SJE) teaches students to question power, who has control, and from what viewpoint stories are being told. Through questioning the role of power, SJE uses oppression as the primary tenant. To introduce SJE, it is most effective to begin with its connection to the ancient Kemetic (Egyptian) philosophy of Ma’at. The Ancient Kemetic Ma’atian principles of truth, justice, order, righteousness, balance, reciprocity, and harmony provide the overarching framework for the Afrocentric paradigm. Notwithstanding justice is one of the essential principles of Ma’at, Karenga (1993) retells the story of one of the oldest scriptures of social justice ever written. In the book of Khun-Anup, the command is to “Speak justice and do justice...For if there is no justice, the vulnerable cannot survive.” *The Book of Declaration of Virtues* (Karenga, 1989) discusses a similar importance on social justice for those who are impoverished and susceptible to wrongdoing. People are instructed by example to give “bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked and a boat to cross over for those who have none” (p. 92). Within this text (Karenga, 1989), there is a charge to rescue the weak,

praise one's mother and father, speak Ma'at, do justice, support the elders, satisfy the needs of the have-nots so that one be divine. In addition to Ma'at, there are other principles within ancient Egyptian law that were essential to other civilizations, including achieving impartiality and social justice. Ma'at instructs the rich to help the less fortunate. When searching for the intellectual ancestry of social justice, it is important to note that all directions led to the traditions of Western philosophy. However, by continuing to research, the origin of social justice begins with an African concept. Ma'at influences and informs the traditions of western philosophy.

*Plato's Republic* issues the first great western treatise on social justice. From this text, Aristotle was able to expound on justice issues by examining the code of ethics; many scholars attribute his work to the foundation of social justice (Connell, 1993). Hobhouse (1922) who was the first professor of sociology in England and states, "Acts and institutions are good not because they suit a majority, but because they make the nearest possible approach to a good shared by every single person they affect" (p. 16). In 1840, the term "social justice" was developed by Jesuit Luigi Taparelli based on the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas. However, there have been several changes to its use and implementation since that time. When referring to social justice in the modern Western world, most scholars will look to the work of John Rawls (1971)—*A theory of justice*—as the current social justice philosophy. However, the social justice field is still muddy due to a lack of explicit criteria. For example, North (2006) distinguishes the scope of social justice by examining social justice themes (e.g., redistribution, misrecognition, equality as sameness, and oppression) while arguing for the need to revisit and conceptualize the claims that scholars make regarding SJE. It could be argued that social justice has been trivialized and rendered ineffective; scholars utilize the paradigm without explaining the intricacies and nuances—leaving ambiguity for the reader. Thus, it is imperative that scholars are more explicit

with regard to the claims they make by “revising the claims we make, the situated positions from which they emerge, and the values and social theories undergirding them” (North, 2006, p. 528).

Bill Bigelow, editor of *Rethinking Schools*, has written extensively on the concept of SJE. In *Rethinking Columbus*, Bigelow and Peterson (1998) wrote that they encourage students to see from the eyes of the oppressed. SJE provides students with a pedagogy that is responsive to societal oppression. Additionally, the concept of identity-based social position focuses on student attitude, behavior, and marginalization according to socioeconomic status; yet, racial identity is not embraced; instead, it is ousted by the identity-political movement—leaving the conversation surrounding economics easier to explore without tackling the racial oppression that is typically coupled with poverty.

SJE becomes a viable solution for investigating human oppression through power relationships—particularly, socioeconomic oppression. In the example above, justice was sought by proving the prevailing infractions of economic profiling by ‘the protectors of justice.’ During this assignment, students became knowledge producers as opposed to mere receptacles (Freire, 2000). This transformation of student/teacher interaction is reflective of Freire’s ‘banking’ concept of education. Freire (2000) urges teachers to reject operating as depositors, thereby making students depositories, by creating spaces for students to become more than regurgitators of memorized data—known as the banking system—to critically conscious individuals that work to transform the world. Freire (2000) posits, “To resolve the teacher-student contradiction, to exchange the role of depositor, prescriber, domesticator, for the role of student among students would be to undermine the power of oppression and serve the cause of liberation” (p.75). Thus, SJE requires resistance to sociopolitical institutions by engaging in the struggle for liberation.

In modern discourse, you may find social justice in a variety of spaces. Inequitable schooling (Harper & Davis, 2012; Shin et al., 2010), disability and rehabilitation (Kelsey & Smart, 2012), nursing education (Lapum et al., 2012), and school segregation (Philip, 2012), to name a few, all include social justice as a pathway for drawing attention to individuals who are marginalized and disproportionately succumb to oppressive constraints.

In elementary and secondary education, social justice is being sought, characterized and displayed much differently than its inception. For example, Bridges (2011) utilizes hip-hop to highlight not only Black boys' academic and social prowess, but he also uses hip hop to illustrate social injustices for boys of color. His research works simultaneously to encourage different pedagogical implementations for Black children, while also fostering a space for Black male teachers to use such pedagogy to increase student achievement in urban schools. Bridges' innovative use of hip-hop to forge an understanding of social justice is an example of what Philip (2012) refers to when he offers the critique, "Young people in urban schools fail because their teachers don't care enough about them, don't connect to them, and don't teach content that is relevant to them" (p. 34). Philip provides a historical to modern view of social justice and the evolution that has occurred.

To ensure social justice educators remain dedicated to the SJE mission, Philip notes:

Our struggles and critiques cannot simply address the symptoms of defunded public services, spaces, and institutions. It must work to fulfill the vision and the struggle of those who demanded, along with educational desegregation, true social, political, and economic integration. (p. 39)

In a study conducted by Preston-Grimes (2010), five African-American teachers included positive historical representations of Black figures to teach Black students survival and resistance

from injustice—a focus on civic responsibility. Her work, much like Fine’s (2004), encourages students to use history as an informant to treating modern injustices. In Fine’s work, she filmed students reciting poetry that focused on *Brown vs. Board of Education*. In this piece, students became agents of change by using art to change social practice. This artwork and literature should be commended for continuing the efforts of social justice and for providing new ways of grappling with an ancient problem—man’s inhumanity toward man. This type of approach is reflective of a framework whose purpose is to dismantle various forms of oppression through pedagogical implementations. Such framework is explored in the next section, emphasizing how multicultural education helps in the process.

### *Multicultural Education*

I find the history of multicultural education spawns from the Black Studies Movement and Ethnic Studies movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Karenga, 1993). There was a path of resistance to Eurocentric indoctrination that was occurring in the academy. Scholars, fueled by the Civil Rights Movement, sought to stake their claim in the intellectual pursuit of Black representation. The Black Studies Movement opened the door for ‘other,’ non-Eurocentric voices to be heard. Banks and Banks (2004) explain, “Blacks led the movement that pushed for the integration of ethnic content into the curriculum during the 1960s and 1970s” (p. 7).

Multicultural Education (Sleeter & Grant, 2002) suggests five major objectives: empowering school structure and social structure, prejudice reduction, the knowledge construction process, content integration, and equity pedagogy. The goal of multicultural education is to teach social and political action skills and collaborate with various groups to bring more equitable distribution of resources and opportunities for all oppressed groups. Sleeter (1990) described multicultural education as a body of thought, which originates in the liberal

pluralist approaches to education and society. Banks and Banks (1995) suggest that the major goal is to reform the school structure and other institutions for the well-being of diverse racial, ethnic, and social class groups. Ultimately, multicultural education seeks to provide all students with equal access to educational success.

### *CRRT*

I argue that Black Studies, African-centered Education, Social Justice Education, and Multicultural Education all have contributed in the development of CRRT. Ladson-Billings (1994a) suggests that her work is much like critical pedagogy. The primary difference is that her work reflects the idea—I am because we are—an African-centered philosophy that differs from critical pedagogy's focus of the 'I'. Ladson-Billings developed culturally relevant teaching to enhance teachers' understandings of what students bring to the classroom structure. Students' abilities and motivation can be transformed through the concept of relationship to the instruction and the teachers are required to demonstrate cultural competence. Thus, this conceptual framework is able to capture students' attention and effectively provide a space whereby students are able to see themselves in the lesson and one that is reflective of the community.

A culturally relevant teaching pioneer, Ladson-Billings (1994), argues that a culturally relevant instructor is required to see him/herself as an artist and not a technician. A similar quote from Du Bois (1989) articulates the necessity to move away from the technician ideology. He states, "The teachers, then, cannot be pedants or dilettantes, they cannot be mere technicians and higher artisans, they have got to be social statesmen and statesmen of high order" (p. 105). Following Du Bois, Ladson-Billings' call illustrates the importance of seeing education through a different lens and educating under a different conceptual framework.

Although Ladson-Billings (1994) originally referred to this model as culturally relevant teaching, the title changed when Ladson-Billings (1995) wrote:

A next step for positing effective pedagogical practice is a theoretical model that not only addresses student achievement but also helps students to accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that challenge inequities that schools (and other institutions) perpetuate. I term this pedagogy, culturally relevant pedagogy. (p. 469)

Ladson-Billings (1994) contends that culturally relevant teaching recommends that teachers (a) see themselves as part of the community, (b) believe all students can succeed, (c) help students make connections between their community, national, and global identities, and (d) extract knowledge from the student. This sort of pedagogy has helped transform the ways schools and students perceive knowledge. For example, Ladson-Billings (1995) references a study whereby Hawaiian children were able to utilize “talk-story,” a communicative style students were connected with, which helped students achieve on standardized test. In another article, Ladson-Billings (1995a) describes the success of culturally relevant teaching by noting that, “The teachers kept the relations between themselves and their student fluid and equitable. They encouraged the students to act as teachers, and they, themselves, often functioned as learners in the classroom” (p. 163). While culturally relevant teaching has been very successful in challenging the way “learning” is operationalized in the classroom, culturally responsive teaching also deserves attention.

Gay (2000) defines culturally responsive teaching as, “using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to

make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them” (p. 29). Gay frames CRT as being comprehensive, multidimensional, empowering, transformative, and emancipatory.

Ultimately, teachers assist students in asserting social change. The more teachers are able to model examples of cultural congruence and competence for students, the biases and misconceptions that loom become lost in an oblivious sphere that loses potency through understanding and knowledge.

Culturally responsive teaching encompasses Black feminist thought and principles of care (Collins, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1995b). When examining the notion of care, it is also important to look to Noddings. Noddings (2005) is concerned with the lack of care many teachers exhibit for their diverse students. Noddings describes the caring relation as “a connection or encounter between two human beings—a ‘carer’ and a recipient of care, or cared-for. In order for the relation to be properly called caring, both parties must contribute to it in characteristic ways” (p. 15). When Gay uses care, she focuses on the pervasive trends in expectations of teachers, which may affect teachers’ ability to care and students’ performance in the classroom. Gay (2000) notes, “Values and beliefs do not necessarily translate to behavior, but expectations do” (p. 57). Additionally, Gay draws attention to gender equity and argues for teachers to move beyond teaching from the textbooks because they often ignore the contributions of women.

Martinez (2012) used tenets of culturally responsive teaching in her ‘culture jams’ as a means for participants to think about stereotype threats. Participants responded to names and physical features of individuals, and Martinez examined these responses under a culturally responsive teaching paradigm to assess whether the participants expressed stereotypical views. Gay (2000) provides a framework for not only using culturally responsive teaching in special education, but she also illustrates a blueprint for ways for understanding how cultural congruence



can be used to transform students' regard for their abilities, such as the Algebra Project in Mississippi (Moses & Cobb, 2001).

Brown-Jeffy and Cooper (2011) provide a history of culturally relevant pedagogy, citing such works as Au and Jordan (1981) and Irvine (1990). Additionally, Brown-Jeffy and Cooper included Gay's, Ladson-Billings', and Nieto's paradigms to create five themes that are encompassed in culturally responsive teaching. The five themes created were: identity and achievement, equity and excellence, developmental appropriateness, teaching whole children, and student/teacher relationships. Table 1 illustrates the comparisons of culturally relevant teaching, culturally responsive teaching, and CRRT.

**Table 1 :**  
**Comparison of Features of Culturally Relevant Teaching, Culturally Responsive Teaching, and CRRT.**

Culturally Relevant Teaching (Ladson-Billings)	Culturally Responsive Teaching (Gay)	CRRT
<p>*Teacher sees herself as an artist, teaching as an art.            *Teacher sees herself as part of the community and teaching as giving something back to the community, encourages students to do the same.            *Teacher believes all students can succeed.            *Teacher helps students make connections between their community, national, and global identities.            *Teacher sees teaching as “pulling knowledge out”—like “mining.”</p>	<p>*Cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and performance styles of diverse students are used to make learning more appropriate and effective            *Teach and value the whole child            *The curricula, learning context, classroom environment, student-teacher relationships, instructional techniques, and types of performance assessments are critical.            *Academic competence, self-efficacy, and initiative are empowering.            *Respecting the cultures and experiences of various groups must be used as resources for teaching and learning.            *The validation, information, and pride it generates are both psychologically and intellectually liberating</p>	<p>*There is no “I”, there is only “we”.            *CRRT imparts knowledge so that all marginalized students confront oppression in all forms and are empowered to transform hegemonic ideology and practice for the betterment of the school and global community.            *CRRT embraces different learning styles and languages and uses diversity, care, and home culture as a bridge to foster academic success.            *CRRT requires critical self-reflection in order to value and show appreciation of others’ cultures.            *CRRT values the whole child and seeks to construct knowledge rather than providing information.</p>

While the literature on culturally relevant teaching and culturally responsive teaching is extensive, it is appropriate to examine how teachers become culturally relevant responsive teachers (CRRTs) and how this journey takes shape. Please note that CRRT is an acronym that has been created for this study. Given that CRRT is a new term that encompasses the similarities between Ladson-Billings' *culturally relevant teaching/ culturally responsive pedagogy* and Gay's *culturally responsive teaching*, the literature used to support this framework represents characteristics and representations of CRRT. In other words, the scholarship used in the literature were situated either in Ladson-Billings culturally responsive pedagogy or Gay's culturally responsive teaching; however, the literature presented must meet the criteria for CRRT (refer to table 1).

The journey of developing as a CRRT is not an easy task (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012; Walker-Dalhouse & Dalhouse, 2006). The process of development requires the individual to constantly confront his or her professional identity and predispositions as a way of self-reflecting and rebuilding (Cooper & Ye He, 2012). For CRRTs, Lopez (2011) claims that teachers who believe that schools can be used to create social change must teach using a culturally responsive paradigm. In her quest to identify how 'caring' and 'culturally sensitive curriculum' can be used to challenge the way curricula is taught, Valenzuela (2009) suggests, "When the definition of what it means to be educated in U.S. society systematically excludes the Mexican culture, the Spanish language, and things Mexican, the prescription that students "care about" school can be a hard pill to swallow" (p. 258). Similar to Noddings' (2005) notion of care, CRRT requires schools to make sense of the students rather than always forcing students to make sense of the schools. Unfortunately, in many instances, urban school students' culture is weighted against what the institution sees as necessary for success. Kunjufu (2002) suggests that middle-class

teachers assume that all students will have the same things that are in their homes, assignments may include trips and tasks that the students are not able to complete, but they are penalized for not completing. Students will suffer if the school culture varies greatly from the home culture (Banks & Banks, 2004; Bridges, 2011; King, Hollins, & Hayman, 1997). Thus, instead of keeping the existing space of the school culture as it is, it will be more suitable if the school culture is expanded so that everyone feels valued.

CRRT not only works to ensure each student is valued, but it posits a paradigm that reflects collective agency that seeks to disrupt and challenge current hindrances effecting urban school students. Understanding the difficult journey in developing a CRRT, it is important to understand how urban teacher preparation programs are preparing students to work with urban school students.

#### *Urban Teacher Preparation Programs*

Teacher preparation programs and how students are educated continue to draw heavy scrutiny (Cochran-Smith, 2004). Urban teacher preparation programs, in particular, are committed to challenging the obstacles many of our urban school students face (Davis, Ramahlo, Beyerbach, & London, 2008). While each program is under the direction of state mandated standards (e.g., InTASC, CAEP), the program is able to choose how it is going to meet the standards. Some programs choose to use culturally responsive teaching (Davis et al., 2008; Hill, 2012), but many of these programs have a major emphasis on working with urban school students and increasing teacher retention. Unfortunately, in many urban schools, teachers are not certified to teach in the areas they are hired, and many teachers choose to leave the urban school community (Ng & Thomas, 2007). Darling-Hammond (2007) reports the extreme difficulty of attracting and retaining high-quality high school and middle school teachers. She reveals, “In

schools with the highest minority enrollments, students have less than a 50 percent chance of getting a mathematics or science teacher with a license and a degree in the field they teach” (p. 256). Thus, many urban teacher preparation programs bear the responsibility of producing highly effective candidates that are dedicated to the teaching profession.

Davis et al. (2008) study examined how pre-service teachers responded to social justice topics and found that many of the participants became frustrated when confronting misconceptions they had been taught but now understand it is their responsibility as teachers to be more socially aware. Hill’s (2012) study was very similar in that teacher candidates were uncomfortable with social justice themes and were ill-prepared to teach urban school students because of ignorance surrounding cultural diversity in urban schools. While these studies indicate the necessity for pre-service teachers to adopt socially just themes, Junior Clarke and Thomas (2009) examined perceptions between their teaching preparation program and urban schools and found that the pre-service teachers maintained and implemented many of the dispositions espoused in the teaching preparation program.

Andrews and Donaldson (2009) indicate teacher preparation programs play a vital role in making urban schools successful. However, teacher preparation programs often struggle with how to develop diversified thinking in such a relatively short amount of time (Jennings, 2007). Time constraints and state certification requirements make it challenging in the preparation of future teachers (Singer, Catapano & Huisman, 2010). Yet, Taylor and Frankenberg (2009) find that ‘urban commitment’ may be achieved if the program is selective in its admissions process and if the students gain practical experience with urban schools throughout the program. Additionally, King et al. (1997) recommend that teacher preparation programs allow time for development and provide a model whereby students can create their own level of cultural

competence. Durden and Truscott (2013) examined how pre-service teachers develop as culturally responsive educators and found that time and purposeful activities direct pre-service teachers to critically think within elements of culturally responsive pedagogy. Although these studies increase attention to the need of urban teacher preparation using CRRT, they do not specifically examine the role and influence of Black male teachers. Would an increasing image of Black male teachers render greater success in the life of urban school students?

### *Black Male Teachers*

While the relationship between Black males and their experiences in college is complex (Dancy, 2011), understanding the dichotomy of Black males and the teaching profession is something that many scholars feel will shed light on what can be done to increase performance from minority students—particularly urban students (Brown & Butty, 1999; Lynn, 2006). The teaching profession may not be as lucratively attractive as other professions (Brown & Butty, 1999), and some Black males have difficulty gravitating to an overwhelmingly female populated field (Brockenbrough, 2012), teaching has historically been valued amongst the Black community (Foster, 1997).

Arnie Duncan's (2010) call for more Black male teachers garnered much attention. Bringing in notable celebrities, such as Spike Lee, to travel across the nation visiting many Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Duncan explained that the increase of Black male teachers would promote school success amongst minority students. Although it is imperative that more Black males become teachers (Irvine & Fenwick, 2009), this may be an arduous task considering many Black males were dissatisfied with their K-12 experience (Graham & Erwin, 2011). In this study, Graham and Erwin found that high-achieving Black male students in high school had bad experiences with K-12 public schools reporting that

teachers were unprofessional and disrespectful to students of color. The participants also lamented that they felt left out of the curricula and would rarely see a Black male teacher. Given that Black male teachers only represent approximately 1% of the teaching population (Lewis & Toldson, 2013), most students will never experience having a Black male teacher (Bianco, Leech & Mitchell, 2011).

The intent of this study is not to determine reasons why Black males are not entering the classroom as teachers; rather, I am interested, for those that do, in the process involved. With the constant reminder of being Black in this society, how will this shape the Black males' development while in an urban teacher preparation program that focuses on the utilization of culturally relevant teaching? Similar to Brown's (2011) study, I want teacher preparation programs, administrators, and educational advocates to understand the developing experiences Black males bring with them to the educational arena so that understandings and solutions may be provided to grapple with complexity of living as an Black male. To accomplish this task, a modified version of Scarino's introspection and retrospection interview technique will be utilized to understand the participant's experiences with CRRT and double consciousness, while living as a Black male.

### *Introspection and Retrospection*

Scarino (2005) utilizes introspection and retrospection interviewing techniques to investigate second language teacher education and encourages "ethical knowing" for constructing a strong knowledge base. Over a two-year period, three experienced French teachers living in Southern Australia examined 30 students' writing. The teachers individually met with the researcher each week whereby he or she rated students' writings from their classes. During this meeting, the teachers were aware that they were being audio-recorded so they would be able

to reflect on their ratings the following week. The teachers were asked to identify 8 common writing tasks found. Each week during the meeting, the teacher would listen to audio-recordings from the previous week and was encouraged to stop the recording at any time to discuss his or her ideas and was encouraged to make changes to the ratings if applicable. Thus, the introspection process involved teachers meeting with the researcher, rating his or her students writing, and discussing his or her thoughts while being audio-recorded. The retrospection process required the teachers to listen to the audio recording and reflect on the audio recording and reflect upon his or her ratings. Ultimately, Scarino found, “The data provide a window on the nature of teachers’ knowledge, values, and ethical dispositions and justify the interpretive stances, actions, and judgements they make constantly in their work” (p. 35).

Kormos (1998) explains that introspection requires subjects to explain and describe their thoughts; reciprocally, he contends that retrospection calls for subjects to discuss their thoughts after they have performed the task. Although this piece is theoretical and focuses on various ways to ‘verbal report’, his insight regarding introspection and retrospection analysis supports the notion of using this technique to garner information that is typically avoided, such as emotion, feelings, and dispositions.

Although introspection and retrospection interviewing techniques are typically found in the language discipline, it will be useful here when a participant reflects upon his work and provide voice to interpret his experience. The process of utilizing introspection and retrospection will be described in the next chapter.



### 3 METHODOLOGY

This study does not seek to generalize Black male teachers (Creswell, 2013); rather, the purpose here is to understand the experiences of four Black males in an urban teacher preparation program. This research (a) revealed the challenges of being a Black male pursuing a degree in early childhood education; (b) identified what CRRT characteristics were implemented in their teacher preparation coursework; (c) illustrated the journey in developing as a CRRT educator; and (d) presented the Black male perspective on teaching and CRRT. Aligned with the program mission and obligations, the following questions were used to guide this study:

1. How do Black males describe their experience in an urban teacher preparation program?
2. What elements of CRRT are evident in Black male pre-service teachers as they enter a program designed to prepare teachers for culturally responsive practice?
3. How do Black male pre-service teachers respond to assignments designed to foster culturally relevant/responsive beliefs and actions?
4. How do Black males view the role of CRRT in urban elementary public schools?
5. How is double consciousness revealed in the tasks and experiences of Black males in an urban teacher preparation program?

This study provided an understanding of the Black male experience in developing as a CRRT and shed light on what double consciousness for Black males in an urban teacher preparation program looks like. Utilizing double consciousness as a theoretical lens and CRRT as a conceptual framework provided the complexity of the Black male teacher identity and positioned CRRT as the most viable pedagogical option when working with urban school students.

#### *Setting*

One urban teacher preparation program—Guiding 100—served as the bounded system for this case study and is located at a university in an urban area in the Southeastern United States. According to a 2009 demographic survey, this university is a public institution that has a graduate student population of White (59%), Black (19%), Asian (5%), 2 or more races (2%), American Indian (2%), not reported (4%), and nonresident Alien (11%). The ethnicity demographics reports Hispanic (5%), non-Hispanic (90%), and not reported (5%). The average age for graduate students is 32. Graduate students make-up 26% of the total student population and the in-state resident status for all students is 90%. As part of the mission statement, the university website notes that the school is, “An urban research university with strong disciplinary-based departments and a wide array of problem-oriented interdisciplinary programs, the goal of the university is to develop, transmit, and utilize knowledge in order to provide access to quality education for diverse groups of students, to educate leaders for [this state] and the nation, and to prepare citizens for lifelong learning in a global society”.

Guiding 100 is an accelerated alternative approach to teacher certification. The program is a one-year teacher preparation (TP) program that embeds culturally responsive pedagogy in each course, while ensuring that pre-service teachers implement cultural responsiveness in the field. Guiding 100 prepares candidates for employment in urban schools from preschool through fifth grade. The program begins in May of each year. After the first year of the program, candidates earn an ESOL endorsement and a clear and renewable teaching certification (PreK-5). Once the students become certified, they have the option of transitioning into the second year (one year master’s program) if they have obtained their teacher certification and if they are teaching full-time. Entry to year 2 is not required but strongly encouraged to support teacher induction during their first year as new teachers.

During the first year of the Guiding 100 teacher preparation program, students serve as pre-service teachers and are provided with opportunities to work in local, urban high-need partner schools. Pre-service teachers are expected to apply what they have learned in their coursework while in the field. Pre-service teachers complete a total of 51 semester hours. During teacher preparation, pre-service teachers complete tasks including, but not limited to, weblogs, synthesis paper, teacher and learning project, problem solution project, essays, readings, discussions, and a capstone project. Each task embeds culturally relevant teaching. The program begins in the summer with an intensive Culturally Responsive Pedagogy course.

### *Design*

The methodology is a qualitative multiple-case study and uses Merriam's (1998) bounded system of the case. The bounded system in this study was the culturally relevant teacher preparation program, Guiding 100. Creswell (1998) notes, "a case study is an exploration of a 'bounded system' or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context" (p. 61). Black male program completers from previous years represented this collective case. It is bounded through time (one year) and space (teacher preparation program) and utilized iterative methods to examine Black males' teacher preparation experience while developing as a CRRT.

Iterative methods provided an opportunity to make interpretations throughout the study. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) remind us:

Given the iterative nature of the qualitative research process, with its emphasis on discovery, the literature review may in fact occur at multiple points in the research process, as new discoveries are made within the data and I look to the literature to provide a context within which to understand their findings. (p. 57)

The multiple-case study used multiple data sources to provide rich and descriptive findings and created an opportunity to examine and interpret the cohort journey for Black males at different times during teacher preparation to inform the next steps for data collection.

The multiple cases utilized weblogs, entry interviews, 30-45 minute introspection and retrospection semi-structured interviews, supervisor observations, synthesis papers, mathematics teaching and learning projects, a final semi-structured interview, and 3 member checks were conducted to determine whether the participant agreed with the findings as we moved through the study. The examination of the Black males' journey as teachers assumed a retrospective stance beginning with data generated from their entry into the program (interview) through analysis of course documents completed as part of their certification process (i.e., work samples and field observations).

A prominent feature in this study was a modified use of introspection and retrospection interview (Scarino, 2005). During introspection, each participant was presented with an artifact generated while he was in the teacher preparation program. These documents served as a source of analysis and discussion on CRRT, double consciousness, and being a Black male teacher. Using a modified version of Scarino's (2005) introspection and retrospection interviews served as a way for the participants to examine tasks completed during the teacher education program.

During introspection, the participant jotted down notes and drew connections of his experiences before and during the teacher preparation program. The following week, I met with each participant to reflect upon his assignments, any notes that were written down, and discussed his experiences as a Black male when completing the specific tasks in the teacher preparation

program. Each participant described what he remembered most about the assignment and, if given the opportunity, what would he do differently.

In this study, during each introspection and retrospection interview, I discussed the specific document(s) with the participant and engaged in dialogue intended to generate information on the perspective of being a Black male pre-service teacher in a cohort with a focus on urban teacher preparation program.

Each Black male participant constituted his own case and had his own participant profile. Initial within-case analysis was conducted to understand individual characteristics, and the final data analysis was a cross-case analysis used to interpret the data and understand the Black males' development as CRRTs and whether double consciousness was experienced collectively. Data sources and analysis are detailed in the section below.

### *Participant Selection*

From the pool of pre-service teachers who completed the Guiding 100 teacher preparation program, eleven Black males from cohorts 2005 through 2012 were purposefully selected and emailed to solicit participation. From the potential pool of eleven Black male participants emailed, only one individual responded and indicated he would participate. After five days passed, another email was sent to all of the possible participants excluding the individual who immediately responded. The second email rendered the same results. One potential participant responded the same day, and stated he would like to participate. Thus, with only two possible participants, questions began to surface whether this study would work. Three days after the second email was sent, I made contact with two more possible participants. Both participants initiated the conversation and apologized for not responding, but they had every intention of responding later that week. This rendered a total of four possible participants. Rubin

and Rubin (2005) suggest, “Finding interviewees with the relevant, first-hand experience is critical in making your results convincing” (p. 65). Each participant had first-hand knowledge on what it is like being a Black male, while matriculating through an urban teacher preparation program that focuses on culturally responsive pedagogy.

It is important to note, while the program uses the term culturally responsive pedagogy, CRRT is used in this study as the conceptual framework. By identifying the similarities and differences of the two frameworks (i.e., culturally relevant teaching and culturally responsive teaching), CRRT is able to include overarching themes from both theorists. Much like Du Bois’ (1989a) when he exclaimed that neither he nor Booker T. Washington’s ideas were correct individually—they were right once they are placed together. Culturally relevant teaching and culturally responsive teaching have characteristics that are separate from one another, but they also share unique similarities. Thus, CRRT encompasses characteristics from both frameworks that include what the other does not have.

During participant recruitment, once a possible participant responded to the solicitation email, I contacted him by phone to explain the study in further detail. I read from a pre-constructed script to ensure all pertinent information was covered; additionally, I encouraged the possible participant to address any questions or concerns. Once the study had been explained in greater detail, I asked the possible participant if he would be willing to participate. Then, the possible participant and I discussed dates for the first interview. The introspection and retrospection was briefly explained to the possible participant—noting that after he reviewed the first document (i.e. the synthesis paper), an interview would need to be conducted one week later to discuss this task. Each participant had access to the synthesis paper and explained that it

would take a day or two to review. An interview was scheduled with each participant for the following week.

After the phone call was completed, I sent an email that expressed gratitude for participating in this study, a letter of consent form, and instructions of what to bring to the first interview. Given that all four possible participants agreed, I began creating profiles for each participant. More documents were placed into his profile folder as the study continued.

Participant profiles are explained in more detail below.

Criterion for purposeful selection includes: (1) completed the Guiding 100 program and received certification; (2) has taken a teaching position in a diverse urban school;<sup>1</sup> and (3) identifies as an African American male. From the sample pool, there was hope that the participants would be stratified to capture a range of years of teaching experience. Thus, I wanted to select two participants that finished teacher preparation between 2011 and 2012 (recently completed one year of teaching experience), two participants between 2008 and 2010 (up to five years of teaching experience), and two participants between 2005 and 2007 (over six years teaching experience). Yet, given that four participants who responded, included two participants from 2012, one participant from 2011, and one participant from 2008, this sampling was able to provide a rich and thick description and will offer a range of experiences targeted to the guiding research questions. Since the study originally sought to have 6 participants, when the participant number reduced to four, it was determined that the research would need more depth. Thus, more member checks were added to not only make this study more trustworthy but also to gather more data from participant's responses.

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<sup>1</sup> Diverse urban school is defined as one that reflects an 85% or higher African American population, 85% or higher ELL population, or a combined population of 85% or higher African American/ELL population.

Final selection of participants resulted in the identification of four Black men: Nia, Allen, Dan, and Peyton. Pseudonyms used in the study were selected by the participants. A brief description of whether the participant defines themselves as Black or African American is provided followed by participant demographic information.

“I’m a Black man. That’s the term that I’m probably the most comfortable with primarily because when you think of African American, first of all, the hyphen, because for some reason... white Americans, we call them ‘White Americans,’ but they tend to think of themselves as ‘American,’ and I was born here just as much as you are, so why do I have to have a hyphenate? Is it because I’m not of white heritage? I feel like I would feel more comfortable with ‘African American,’ if our counterparts, European Americans, would do the same thing. To be honest, with my personality—if asserting ‘Black’ is going to make more of a stir, I’ll assert ‘Black.’” (Nia, introspection and retrospection interview 1)

*Nia* is a 36 year old Black man from New Orleans, Louisiana. He is the eldest of 2 brothers. Nia describes his upbringing as growing up in ‘chocolate city’—meaning he grew up around ‘Black folks’. Nia takes great pride in obtaining a degree in African American Studies and taking master’s level courses with a focus on Women’s Studies. Nia’s collegiate experience was at a Historically Black College (HBCU). Prior to entering the urban teacher preparation program, Nia worked retail and was an AmeriCorps member. His experiences in AmeriCorps and his strong commitment to social change compelled him to enroll in the Guiding 100 urban teacher preparation program. Nia has currently been teaching 1<sup>st</sup> grade for 2 years in an urban school.



I more so identify with 'Black,' because I feel like 'African American,' I don't feel like those terms have been identified in a way that I can accept them, and I feel like that's some other culture trying to determine who I am and label me or a group of people. I feel like as a culture or a group of people, you should come up with your own term to empower yourself. At the end of the day, I probably more so go with Black. I feel like the term 'African American' is inaccurate. Black people come from all over. It's kind of putting people all in a box and kind of disrespectful to the history of the slave trade.

(Allen, data source)

Allen is 27 year old Black man from the metropolitan Atlanta area. He has 2 brothers and 2 sisters. Allen is of mixed blood—Black, White, and Filipino. Although he hesitates to define himself by race, when asked, he refers to himself as Black. He went to different K-12 schools growing up that were predominantly African American, predominantly white, predominantly Native American, and predominantly Hispanic American. Allen's collegiate experience was at a Historically Black College and University (HBCU). Having been exposed to a lot of different schools and school systems, Allen was consistently made to feel 'othered'—a feeling that he has carried throughout his life. Prior to teaching, Allen worked in digital journalism but felt that his 'true calling' was to be an elementary school teacher. Allen has been teaching kindergarten for 1 year at an urban school.

If you asked me, I would just say 'Black.' I think it has mostly to do with what I was used to growing up. When you think of standardized tests, it was either 'Black,' 'White' or 'Other' and I just defined as Black. Because that's what society used—especially in America, America has different races—it just was always used ever since I was a child. I

think African American got popular, I guess, my teenage years. But I always defined as Black, because that's what I'm used to. (Dan, introspection and retrospection interview 1)

Dan is a 35 year old Black man from the metropolitan Atlanta area. Dan grew up in somewhat of a hybrid setting. If you made a right out of his neighborhood and went a mile down, you were in the “rich” area. If you made a left and went a mile down, you were in the “poor” area. Dan feels privileged growing up in a community whereby he saw 2 different extremes (i.e. wealthy and poor), and feels grateful that his community demanded that he is successful. Dan attended predominantly black schools throughout his K-12 experience. He attended private schools from Pre K to 2<sup>nd</sup> grade and then transitioned to public school in the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade. From 3<sup>rd</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>, Dan experienced magnet and traditional public schooling. He attended a predominantly white institution (PWI) for college, but explains that although it was a PWI, the Black students stuck together—so he mostly saw Black people. Prior to teaching, Dan worked in business. While driving home one evening, Dan heard a radio broadcast that reported Black students have the highest dropout and incarceration rate and are far more likely to dropout rather than go to college. Dan quit his job shortly thereafter and enrolled in the Guiding 100 urban teacher preparation program. Dan has been teaching 5<sup>th</sup> grade for 5 years in an urban school.

I use them interchangeably. To me, it doesn't matter. African American or black, I'm not offended by either one of them. (Peyton, introspection and retrospection interview 1)

Peyton is a 32 year old Black man from New Jersey. He has 2 sisters and 1 older brother. All of his K-12 school years were African American. He really never encountered many White kids in school. When he got to high school, there were a couple of White kids, and he ‘was’ cool with them. The White students were pretty much cool with everybody—everybody liked them. Peyton

has had painful experiences living as a Black man throughout his life and still copes with particular instances where his Blackness created problems. Peyton attended an HBCU, which holds a special place in his heart. Prior to teaching, Peyton worked as a special needs Kindergarten paraprofessional. He has currently been teaching 5<sup>th</sup> grade for 1 year at an urban school.

The next section provides description of the data sources, the timeline for the data collection and proposed analysis strategies. Each data source provided information to answer the guiding questions and were selected because they illustrate how double consciousness manifests in the experiences of African American males when completing various tasks designed to foster and apply understandings of CRRT. The timeline reveals the iterative process whereby data sources were examined by reading, interpreting, coding, and theming the data through a repetitive process, which led to expanding the data sources and design by including more member checks. Given that the participants, excluding two, completed the teacher preparation program at different times, there was a concern that some of the data sources may vary (e.g., course artifacts from 2008 will look different from 2012) and professors who taught the courses may have modified the course. However, all of the data sources were aligned and each participant had the required document to be analyzed. Every participant took the same courses as a requirement for certification. These courses all share required accreditation standards and corresponding objectives to reach those standards. Each data source promoted understanding of the research problem thereby serving as a source that generated discussion and interpretation; ultimately, each individual case is bound by time and space, and the data sources identified Black male's CRRT characteristics and double consciousness in the urban teacher preparation program.

### *Data Sources and Analysis*

Several types of data were collected and helped inform the iterative design. These data sources were selected because they are purposeful in illustrating understandings of CRRT and serve as vehicle for introspection on double consciousness. This section is divided into four data sources: (1) extant program data (entry interviews, CRRT course documents, and CRRT field documents); (2) participant introspective document analysis and interviews; (3) final interviews; and (4) member checks. Brief description of initial treatment of data is provided. It is important to note that when I acquired each data source, it was immediately copied and de-identified, given a subject code, scanned and uploaded into NVivo, and placed into a file cabinet under lock and key, which was housed in an office space that also required a key for entry. Any hard copies that were attained from the department or participant were returned immediately after copies were made without any tampering.

1. Extant program data. Entry interviews, CCRT course documents, and CRRT field documents.

*1.1 Entry interviews.* In the spring of each year, applicants who have met the application requirements are invited to participate in the program entry interviews. Two faculty members from the department conduct a 30-minute, structured interview that consists of 10 questions designed to elicit responses about the teaching profession, their experiences working with children, and urban education. The applicants respond to these questions, while one member of the interview team takes notes. Once the interview is concluded, each applicant is given a score based upon a pre-determined rubric. Interview scores are used in combination with other admission data to determine entry into the program. The extant entry interviews served as data that already existed and illustrated high regard for urban education ranging from teacher

expectations, urban schools and urban communities, and wanting to contribute to the development of urban school students.

I examined the participants' responses to two questions asked early on in the interview "What do you know about urban schools and communities?" and "How do you feel teachers best connect with urban children who may come from a background different from your own?" Given that these questions are asked prior to entering the program, the responses from this document indicate the participant's starting point in the development of Black male CRRT.

Saldaña (2009) explains how codes can be words or short phrases and can consist of "interview transcripts, participant observation field notes, journals, documents, literature, artifacts, photographs, video, websites, e-mail correspondence, and so on" (p. 3). Answers to the targeted interview questions were open coded for characteristics of CRRT using the NVivo program. Thus, when entering the data in NVivo, responses from participant entry interviews were interpreted using a generalized concept of CRRT. After the first cycle of open coding, I began looking for specific characteristics of CRRT—particularly *It embraces different learning styles and languages and uses diversity, care, and home culture as a bridge to foster academic success*. Ladson-Billings (1994) culturally relevant notion of *high self-esteem and a high regard for others* focuses on teachers' poor opinions of themselves and others and encourages teachers who practice culturally relevant methods not only to see themselves as professionals but also strongly identify with teaching. Also included in this portion of the CRRT framework is Gay's (2000) section on culturally responsive teaching of *validating*, which served as a theoretical lens to assessing whether participants "acknowledge the legitimacy of the cultural heritages of different ethnic groups, both as legacies that affect students' dispositions, attitudes, and approaches to learning and as worthy content to be taught in the formal curriculum" (p. 29).

Results from open coding of initial interviews assisted in the development of participant profiles. The participant profile served as a space whereby data from each case was stored. Each profile contains the participant's personal information (e.g., pseudonym, the cohort he participated in, the themes that emerged from his data) and illustrates how each individual case developed while in the urban teacher preparation program. The participant profile became extremely beneficial when conducting the cross-case analysis because all data for each case was transparent—making it easier to examine across cases to understand how Black males manifest double consciousness while developing as CRRTs. An example of the participant profile is illustrated in Figure 1.

**Figure 1. Data Collection Protocol**

Pseudonym
Age
Where are they from?
What are the demographics of the school they teach?
Entry Interviews-Q1, 2, [code for general CRRT, focus: high-self-esteem, regard for others]
Weblogs [CRRT code focus: community learners, learning cooperatively, applied learning] [Double Consciousness code focus: African American experience]
Synthesis Paper [CRRT code focus: critical consciousness, language appreciation, cultural congruence, liberation] [Double Consciousness code focus: self-consciousness, self-realization, and self-respect]
Introspection/Retrospection Interviews [CRRT code focus: learning cooperatively, applied learning, critical consciousness, cultural congruence] [Double Consciousness code focus: living from within the veil, African American male identity]
Mathematics Teaching and Learning Project

**Figure 2. Analyzing Participant profile**



*1.2 CCRT course documents.* An examination of the Guiding 100 program of study resulted in the identification of several course assignments that were specifically directed toward the development of CRRT. I met with instructors who taught the courses to confirm that these data sources were accessible and applicable as a strong data source for this study. Some the instructors indicated that certain data sources from his or her course may be difficult to locate if it was not uploaded into a data storage program. Given that the course documents were generated by the participant during his work in the program beginning with the first course (CRP), each participant had a hard copy of all documents needed to complete the introspection and retrospection interviews. The other documents (i.e. entry interviews and supervisor observations) were all stored in a file cabinet located within the department. The interviews and supervisor observations were copied, de-identified, given a subject number, and uploaded into NVivo. The weblogs accounts were all on-line, so it was a matter of locating the participant, copying and pasting the de-identified source into NVivo, and coding the data. Nine course documents were used in the study: weblogs (summer 1 CRP course), synthesis paper (summer 1 CRP course), Mathematics Teaching and Learning Project (fall course assignment), and Field Observations (3 from fall, 3 from spring).

*1.2a weblogs.* The culturally responsive pedagogy course is a one-month course designed to foster culturally responsive teaching beliefs and application to daily life. This course is taught prior to entering the field (during the first summer) and is designed to serve as a culturally relevant blueprint that participants will utilize through the duration of the program. The course syllabus describes a blog (short for weblog) as “an online journal that blends a person’s individual thoughts and ideas with content on the web.” It allows the writer to frequently contribute his/her own voice to the public dialogue. Hence, a blog tends to reflect the



unique identity of its writer. The weblogs are published on the internet and give others the opportunity to read, learn about, and respond to your perspectives on different topics. The following are directions given to participants for completing their blogs.

As a participant in the class, you will be asked to create and maintain a blog. Each week, you will be given the opportunity to post a blog. The content of your daily post is your choice; however, it should relate to the topics and issues being covered in class. You are encouraged to share your reflections on classroom discussions, reactions to information being presented in the class and readings, and/or thoughts on how the course is influencing the way you think about culture and diversity in schooling. You should attempt to ferret and think about those little statements, notions, and ideas that float by or within us all day that we avoid noticing, to write them down, to talk to ourselves about them, and lastly, to think about what they mean from within what we learn in this course. (Summer 2012 syllabus)

To interpret of the participants' development in CRRT using weblogs, Ladson-Billings' (1994) *teachers with culturally relevant practices encourage a community of learners* will be very beneficial. This facet of CRRT utilizes the section *I am because we are*. This section focuses on building a community of learners amongst classmates and having a high regard for urban communities. Although Ladson-Billings refers to the *teacher building a community of learners*, this theme under CRRT is used to understand how each participant is encouraging a community of learners amongst his cohort and how they see themselves as part of the students' community—*I am because we are*. Additionally, Gay's notion of *learning cooperatively and successfully* will allow for interpretation of ways each participant applied what he is learning in the culturally responsive course. Gay (2000) states, "I am more interested in students'

understanding what they read, analyzing critical issues, and applying the knowledge they acquire to teaching situations” (p. 187). I used pattern coding (Miles & Huberman, 1994) to establish themes as they emerged. I also used analytic memos and journaling to specifically identify characteristics of CRRT—focusing on segments of data that illustrate a community of learners, critical thinking, and discussion amongst the cohort, while also looking for comments that illustrated double consciousness.

*1.2b synthesis paper.* Each participant’s synthesis paper from his culturally responsive pedagogy course was used as the first introspection and retrospection interview. The following directions are given to participants for completing the synthesis paper:

An important part of being a good teacher is being able to reflect on your learning, teaching, attitude, and growth. The purpose of this assignment is for you to reflect upon and synthesize what you have learned throughout the course regarding issues of diversity, equity, privilege, language, access, and opportunity in U.S. schooling and culturally responsive pedagogy. Using your blogs, readings, class discussions, activities, and experiences, respond to the following questions. Your synthesis should indicate your learning during the semester as well as questions the course content may have raised for you. Here are some of the questions you are to respond to in the synthesis paper: what three issues presented in the course raised the most thought for you personally, describe and explain in detail what knowledge, skills, attitudes and dispositions you would want a student to have after their time with you. Your response should indicate your understanding of the sociocultural and political context of the specific student population you are charged to teach, describe the possible challenges you will face in meeting the needs of your students and creating your desired learning environment, outline the ways

in which you are able to educate a student to develop the characteristics listed in part, your response should attend to your experiences, knowledge, dispositions, skills, etc.

The synthesis paper illustrated the participants' thoughts toward culturally relevant teaching and the three most imperative topics he felt needed to be addressed. The synthesis paper also reflected his disposition toward culturally relevant practice after the first semester of teacher preparation program. To be clear, examining the student's synthesis paper was an exercise in looking for ideas that correlated with all of the themes within the CRRT framework. After open coding was completed, I began specifically coding for ideas that reflected Ladson-Billings' (1994) and Gay's (2000) ideas of critical consciousness, language appreciation, cultural congruence, and liberation from oppression; however, it was determined that the participant's synthesis paper spoke broadly and was not confined to one theme under CRRT.

The synthesis paper also aimed at exploring double consciousness. After open coding was conducted, I coded for ways participants reflect on Du Bois' notion of self-consciousness, self-realization, and self-respect, while also investigating whether the participant spoke to his own oppression and how that effected his psyche. Ultimately, I identified words or phrases that illustrated either CRRT, double consciousness, or both.

*1.2c mathematics teaching and learning project.* The third extant course document used was the Mathematics Teaching and Learning Project. This assignment is generated in the fall of the program. During this time in the program, participants have completed 17 credits over the summer and are currently taking four courses. In addition to coursework, participants are placed in urban schools with mentor teachers for the first of two student teaching experiences. In this assignment, participants were asked to select a mathematical concept, administer a pretest, analyze the data, use the findings to inform and plan instruction, and conduct a posttest and post-

implementation analysis. This document was used to understand what each participant is considering when attempting to meet the needs of the students he works with during the day as part of student teaching. Additionally, I was seeking to understand if there were any considerations to being an African American male when creating this assignment. The same procedures for the introspection and retrospection analysis were used with this document. Thus, the participant brought the mathematics teaching and learning project to the 2<sup>nd</sup> introspection and retrospection interview. After a member check was conducted to interpret whether conclusions drawn from the 1<sup>st</sup> introspection and retrospection interview were correct and whether any changes needed to be made after reflecting on the interview, I shifted focus by asking questions that focused on the mathematics teaching learner project, which reflected Ladson-Billings (1994) notion of *culturally relevant teaching helps students develop necessary skills* which focuses on building bridges that meet students where they are and where they need to be to participate fully and meaningfully in the construction of knowledge. Gay's notion of *math and science achievement* was also used as a guide to generate questions. Gay (2000) suggests culturally responsive teaching extends beyond curriculum content. Instructional delivery may vary according to students' different learning styles to foster high achievement for minority students. After the second introspection and retrospection interview, I made a copy of the mathematics teaching and learning project and gave the original copy back to the participant. I informed the participant that there would need to be one more member check and final interview. It was determined that I would contact the participant within 3-4 weeks, after all data had been examined, to conduct the final interview. Once the participant left the interview, I de-identified the data source, uploaded it into NVivo, and stored the data in the participant profile, which is located in a file cabinet under lock and key. Additionally, I sent an audio-file to the transcriber.

Once the transcriber emailed the transcriptions of the 2<sup>nd</sup> introspection and retrospection interview, I coded the data source, used memos and journaling to reflect upon what was emerging. After Initial Coding, I began looking for characteristics that are reflective of the CRRT themes— *It embraces different learning styles and languages and uses diversity, care, and home culture as a bridge to foster academic success; It values the whole child and seeks to construct knowledge rather than providing information.* This theme includes characteristics of Ladson-Billings *culturally relevant teaching helps students develop necessary skills* and Gay's *mathematics and science achievement.*

*1.3 CRRT field documents.* Two samples of documents representing field work (student teaching) in the fall and spring are included for analysis. These types of data are important as they indicate how the participants are enacting the CRRT curriculum in urban classrooms. The field observations illustrate what, if any, changes have occurred during the duration of teacher preparation.

*1.3a Fall Observations (3 documents)*

*1.3b Spring Observations (3 documents)*

As part of the student teaching experience, field supervisors observe participants. Each observation is in concert with a lesson that focuses on culturally relevant pedagogy and strategies learned in the urban teacher preparation program. At least three observations are conducted during the fall semester and three observations are conducted during the spring. Observations include a rubric that utilizes quantitative (numeric scoring) and qualitative feedback (verbal remarks) and is designed to identify students' strengths and weaknesses. The observations are shared with the participants at the time of the observation and then recorded for program purposes.

Each observation was copied, de-identified and uploaded into NVivo. The de-identified document was placed into the participant profile. After I initially coded the supervisor observations, it was important to look for comments and scoring that suggested participants' implementation of CRRT, as identified by Gay (2000) and Ladson-Billings (1994). This data source was also extremely beneficial because it furthered understanding of how participants are developing in the program. The supervisor evaluations in fall and spring assisted in identifying each participant's development as a culturally relevant responsive teacher during the field experience, but there were few fall observations that only included a numeric score. Although numeric scores are important, the numeric observations greatly differed from the observations with text. Thus, notes and memos were made to indicate the scores and how the participant was doing in CRRT practice, but more consideration was given to the observations with text. Please note the fall observations that only included numeric scores were minimal. The majority of the fall observations included the supervisor's notes and commentary. All spring observations included both commentary and numeric scoring.

The iterative research technique became critical at this point because it required consistent back and forth examination of all data sources to interpret how each participant was developing and whether the observations aligned with other required tasks. For example, if the supervisor observations indicated that the participant was struggling with high teacher expectations, but the synthesis paper and mathematics teaching and learning project expressed high regard for teacher expectations, it required me to examine each data source closely to understand and interpret what was happening. To be clear, the iterative technique will be used consistently throughout data collection and analysis. I used the term 'critical' because the supervisor evaluations are the only identical research tool (i.e., the supervisor evaluation forms

are the same); therefore, when examining the supervisor observations from year one, there was explicit evidence that illustrated how far the each participant has come in his development.

2. *Participant introspective document analysis.* Merriam (1998) reminds us that interviews are critical when conducting case studies because they allow for further examination of the research questions. A prominent feature in this study is a modified use of introspection and retrospection (Scarino, 2005) as part of the interview process. During introspection, each participant was asked to examine, take notes, and reflect upon an artifact generated while he was in the teacher preparation program. These documents served as a source of analysis and discussion on CRRT and being African American male teachers. During retrospection, I investigated whether certain events took place that caused transparent connections to future outcomes (Miles & Huberman, 2006). Having the participants conduct an introspection analysis by examining their artifacts and then critique their work through a retrospection analysis allowed for the whole story to connect. Two introspective and retrospective interviews were conducted.

2.1 *First introspection/retrospection interview.* The synthesis paper (1.2b) served as the first of two introspection and retrospection interviews. The participant was asked to locate his synthesis paper and would have one week to examine and reflect upon this document. The participant was not given a set of questions to guide his thinking about the documents; rather, participants were asked to review and report any salient ideas that emerged. I encouraged each participant to jot down notes, but it was not mandatory. During the 1<sup>st</sup> introspection and retrospection semi-structured interview, I had a list of questions that would be specifically asked, while also allowing room for the participant to venture off and discuss topics that may not have been considered when designing the questions. Examples of questions asked during the first introspection/retrospection interviews include:

- As you review the synthesis paper, how would you describe your thoughts regarding culturally responsive pedagogy<sup>2</sup> during this early time in the teacher preparation program?
- What was it about these 3 topics that resonated with you, and do you still find them to be the most important?
- During our phone conversation, you indicated that you would like to be referred to as Black or African American. How do you distinguish these terms, and why do you prefer one over the other?
- How would you describe how you felt in relationship to other members of your cohort—did you ever think about your Black male identity during conversations and assignments?
- How do you think your race had an impact on your experience? How does being a Black male prepare you for culturally responsive pedagogy and urban schools? As a participant in the culturally responsive pedagogy course, what knowledge and experiences did you bring that prepared you for the teacher preparation program?

The introspection and retrospection semi-structured interview focused on his interpretation of the document, the process of creating the document, and how he felt as a Black male student in a teacher preparation program. The 1<sup>st</sup> introspection interview varied in time for each participant—ranging from 30 minutes to approximately 2 hours. After the introspection and retrospection interview was completed, the participant and I discussed when the next interview

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<sup>2</sup> Although this study utilizes CRRT as a paradigm to examine what participants learned while in the teacher preparation program, the participants are not familiar with the acronym—CRRT. They are familiar with the program language, which happens to be culturally responsive pedagogy. Thus, I will use culturally responsive pedagogy when speaking with the participants, and based on the responses, I will code utilizing the components of CRRT.



would be conducted, and the participant was asked to locate his mathematics teaching and learning project. Once the participant left the interview, I immediately uploaded the audio file into an audio-recording computer file (i.e sound organizer) and sent the audio file to the transcriber. Approximately one to two days after each transcription was sent, the transcriber emailed the interview back. The transcription was identified by the subject number, uploaded to NVivo, and stored in the participant's profiles. I Initial Coded and placed words and phrases into open nodes in the NVivo program. Then, I used NVivo line-by-line coding and analytic memos in the right hand margins to determine all information that focused on CRRT tasks and double consciousness. Once line-by-line coding was conducted, I created pattern codes, which assisted in creating large themes and sub-categories. Pattern codes assisted by reducing large amounts of data into analytic units and allowed me to do second-level coding with more focus and provided a foundation for the cross-case analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Pattern codes also became very beneficial for the iterative process. I was able to move around different data sources and identify connections and themes in a very organized and structured way.

*2.2 Second introspection/retrospection interview.* The Mathematics Teaching and Learning Project (1.2c) document was reviewed to identify themes that spoke to the CRRT framework. The second introspection and retrospection semi-structured interview began by revisiting the synthesis paper. A member check was conducted to ensure the interpretations and conclusions drawn were accurate. The first member check ranged in time according to each participant—from 30 minutes to 1 hour. After the member check was conducted, the interview transitioned by focusing on the mathematics teaching and learning project. Examples of the second introspection and retrospection semi-structured interview include:

- When you completed this assignment, what was your thought process in determining students' needs?
- When designing this task, how did you consider your identity as a Black male?
- How important was it for you to include images and ideas that reflect the students in the class?
- At the time you completed this assignment you had completed a couple of semesters of the teacher preparation program, how would you describe your experience at that point?

The mathematics teaching and learning project created a space for each participant to reflect upon where he was in CRRT development. It also warranted critique of his pedagogical practice and how he was scored by the instructor. This portion of the interview varied in length of time for each participant—ranging from 20 minutes to 1 hour. Once the interview was completed, I made a copy of the mathematics teaching and learning project and gave it back to the participant. The participant was then notified that it would take approximately one month to analyze and code all data. Once the participant left the interview, I uploaded the audio-file into an audio file program –*sound organizer*--and sent the audio file to the transcriber. The transcriber returned each transcription one to two days after receiving the audio file. All data was Initial coded, interpreted, and findings were made clear. I explained to the participant that he would be contacted using his preferred choice (i.e. call, email, text) to schedule the final member check and final interview.

Unfortunately, one of the participants did not bring his project, but was able to talk about it in-depth. The participant was unsure of where it was, but indicated he would try to locate it. After one week, the participant contacted me to report that he had found it. I drove to the participant's house to obtain the project. The next day, I de-identified the project, uploaded it

into NVivo, and placed both copies (the participant copy and the de-identified copy) into the participant's profile. I provided the original document to the participant at the beginning of the final interview.

After all de-identified projects were uploaded into NVivo and stored in the participant profile. I Initial coded and created open nodes, I conducted line-by-line coding and identified words and phrases that reflected the CRRT framework—*It embraces different learning styles and languages and uses diversity, care, and home culture as a bridge to foster academic success; It values the whole child and seeks to construct knowledge rather than providing information.* Any words or phrases that spoke to the CRRT framework were organized into pattern codes using NVivo. Then, I organized the data into themes.

3. *Final interviews.* The final interviews included the 3<sup>rd</sup> member check and where the participant is now in his pedagogical practice. The final interviews were completed after all data had been examined and memos had been recorded on all documents. I contacted each participant and explained that all the sources have been analyzed and it was time to review each network display.

The final interview was a semi-structured interview that focused on understanding where each participant is teaching currently, how they feel as Black males in the teaching profession, and what are the current understandings and implementations of CRRT. Examples of the final interview questions include:

- Where are you teaching now?
- Where are you in your stage of development for becoming a CRRT?
- What are your current thoughts of CRRT?

- How would you describe the difference of being a Black male student in a teacher preparation program as compared to working as a Black male teacher in an urban school?

The interviews varied for each participant and ranged in time from 25 minutes to 1 hour and 15 minutes. Three of the final interviews took place at the university setting and one interview was conducted off campus. After the final interview was conducted, the final member check was completed (explained below). Once the participant left the interview, the audio-recording was uploaded to *sound organizer* and sent as an audio file to the transcriber. The transcriber returned all transcriptions within one to two days after receiving the file. The transcriptions were uploaded to NVivo and Initial Coded using pattern codes. After Initial Coding, I reread the codes and identified all comments that related to CRRT, double consciousness, or both, into various themes. The final interview assisted by describing the experiences of Black males in an urban schools and how CRRT is conceptualized today.

4. *Member check(s)*. I met three of the participants at the university to review findings from the introspection and retrospection interviews. One participant preferred to meet off campus closer to his house. Fortunately, the location off campus consisted off a quiet space that could only be opened using a key. There were a total of three member checks that occurred at the beginning of each interview. All member checks varied in time—lasting from 25 minutes to 1 hour and a ½.

During each member check, the participant explained how he felt about the results and whether there was anything he felt needed to be changed. All member checks were recorded using an audio tape-recorder. Two of the member checks were transcribed and examined to identify what needed to be changed. The participants provided additional information that was pertinent to the study and could be coded and placed into categories or subcategories.

The member check served as an opportunity to reflect on the interpreted data and included the participants' interpretation of the analysis. This approach provided guidance for how to proceed with data analysis—revisiting the data iteratively—to examine the development of the participants' data in different times.

The final member check was conducted following the final interview. Each participant was given a network display that illustrated his story. The network display was organized into themes and presented the topics and ideas that emerged most frequently. During the final member check, the participant reviewed the chart for approximately 10 to 15 minutes. Once the participant indicated that he was finished, I turned on the audio-recorder and asked the participant to tell his story using the chart and questions from causal network verifications. I monitored closely to observe whether the participant had any difficulty. After the participant told his story, I asked if there were any questions or concerns. I also encouraged the participant to identify how he felt about his story and whether any changes needed to be made. I took notes while listening to the participant's commentary. After the member check was completed, I thanked each participant for participating in the study. Each participant indicated that he was disheartened that the study was coming to an end, and to let him know if there are any plans to do a follow-up study.

#### *Data Collection Analysis*

A data analysis chart is provided in Table 2 that outlines the timeline and alignment between research question, data source and data analysis steps. All existing program data were examined in first cycle (Initial Coding) and second cycle. Pattern coding was used to group segments of data into clusters (Miles & Huberman (1994). I moved the interrelation of pattern codes into a within-case display. I used journaling, memos, and NVivo for understandings of

how Black males develop CRRT and whether double consciousness is manifest in their experience.

I reviewed the data and utilized iterative techniques, which allow for transition between data to identify how the participant's experience unfolds. After I read the memos and reexamined all data sources, Initial Coding (Saldaña, 2009) was used for all data to identify what themes emerged. As I continued to discover details that helped illustrate how these African American males were developing and elements of CRRT the participants' demonstrated, I placed this information into each participant profile. After all Initial Coding was concluded and each participant profile was completed, I met with each participant to conduct a member check. Following the within-case analysis and member checks, I moved into cross-case analysis using the four participant profiles for CRRT and double consciousness. I interpreted what themes emerged from the data that help illustrate how these experiences are both similar and different. The cross-case analysis served as the final data analysis procedure and was used to answer how double consciousness manifest in the experiences of African American males in an urban teacher preparation program. All interview data, member checks, and cross-case analyses was examined through the use of NVivo qualitative research software to assist with coding and establishing categories and subcategories.

### *Trustworthiness*

To examine how double consciousness manifests in the experiences of Black male teachers, a multiple case study was conducted. I began by using NVivo to create map codes and form network displays. This allowed me to reexamine codes that appear unique to one case and

helped identify data again for missing cases. In the case of Allen, I was not able to draw conclusions that would answer the research questions. By going back to the research questions with a focus on double consciousness, I was able to synthesize the data once more and make conclusions.

The pattern code matrix provided definition of major codes, participant definitions/descriptions, examples/quotations and data sources. By doing this, I avoided the danger of identifying patterns too soon and too quickly—it forced me to concentrate on those that could be explained through multiple sources and required pattern clarification. It also forced major codes to become qualified and to determine the conditions under which it holds true. By providing more precise ways of verifying pattern codes, I was able to strengthen the external validity (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Case analysis meetings were held to discuss single cases through examination of emerging causal networks and maps conducted through NVivo. The case analysis meeting required me to translate pattern codes into variables to build a logical chain of events. By running reports through NVivo, I was able to compare variables to draw a line between pairs of variables that co-vary (Mile & Huberman, 1994). I verified causal networks through feedback with participants. The member check consisted of the participants examining and providing feedback as to 1.) What errors do you see, 2.) How are you interpreting this, 3.) How accurate do you consider the network to be, and 4.) Are there any important elements missing (Miles & Huberman). From the participant responses, I was able to determine whether the findings were trustworthy.

#### 4 WITHIN CASE FINDINGS

Du Bois' (1903) explanation of double consciousness is "a peculiar sensation." Research that adopts the construct of double consciousness becomes incredibly complex when seeking to define the psychology and emotional characteristics of a Black male. For example, the research question in this study *How does double consciousness manifest in the experiences of African American male students in an urban teacher preparation program* uses the word 'manifest', which may be defined as "able to be seen". Thus, the definition is, in part, paradoxical because double consciousness is neither easily seen nor easily defined. However, once its framework is grasped, double consciousness provides an introspective view of how racial and gender discourse can be used to impart transformative education through CRRT pedagogical practice.

Collins (1991) notes, "individuals who have lived through the experiences about which they claim to be experts are more believable and credible than those who have merely read and thought about such experience" (p. 209). It is argued here that understanding double consciousness requires an "insider" role to comprehend its manifestation (Merriam, S. B., Johnson-Bailey, J., Lee, M.-Y., Kee, Y., Ntseane, G., & Muhamad, M., 2001). Thus, I bring lived experiences with double consciousness to this study and have relied upon Du Boisian theories to explain its connection with cultural responsive implementation. This chapter presents the case analysis focusing on the four participants, Nia, Allen, Dan, and Peyton. The findings reveal examples of double consciousness and CRRT implementation using data sources. Each case brings its own unique story and is described through major codes and patterns that emerged through the analysis represented in networks, illustrating their interactions. Explanation of the patterns are presented with subset codes that comprise each category. Italicized patterns

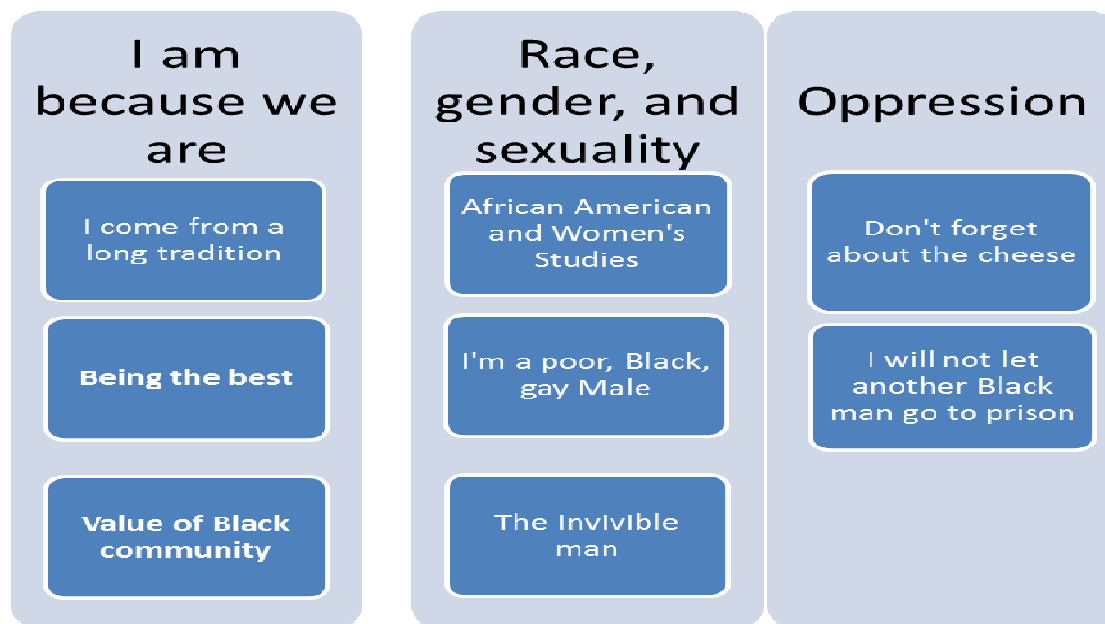


represent NVivo major codes. Although each case is distinct, similarities emerged that were used in the cross-case analysis presented in chapter 5. Each case concludes with a summary that connects findings to the research questions and focuses on how double consciousness influenced each teacher's understanding of, reaction to, and implementation of CRRT in elementary classrooms.

### **Case 1: Nia**

Nia is the first case described in this chapter. By analyzing the data using Nvivo, I was able to interpret data from multiple data sources and create pattern network displays. Miles & Huberman, and Saldana (2013) speak to the effectiveness of making meaning of multiple data sources for the reader and conclude, "they need, if not deserve, a concise delivery of what we analyzed. And in this highly-visual culture, showing rather than telling can make a more effective and memorable impact on our audiences" (p. 108). Nia's pattern network illustrates that Nia's values and beliefs focus on: *I am because we are*, Race, gender, and sexuality, and Oppression.

**Figure 3. A pattern network for Nia’s casr study**



### *I Am Because We Are*

*I am because we are* is an African proverb that is a moniker for African Centered Education. Nia’s conception of *I am because we are* includes recognizing, appreciating, and placing yourself within the African community—everything is connected to what it means to be African. Nia finds comfort in feeling connected to African Centered Education and believes his experiences with African Centered Education contribute to his work as a culturally responsive educator. Often wearing traditional African clothing such as dashikis, Nia embraces African Centered Education’s holistic approach of collective growth and transformation. He utilizes his teachings of African Centered Education to foster community, excellence, and strong commitment to education in his students. He currently lives in an urban community similar to the one he teaches in, which enables him to stay connected to his students’ experiences. Ladson-Billings mentions *I am because we are* in her work and states that Asante’s (1998) among others,

African Centered framework are instrumental in the development of culturally relevant teaching. Ladson-Billings (1994) contends, “The decision to conduct the research in this manner was strongly influenced by Asante’s notion of “Afrocentricity” and Collins’s black feminist epistemology” (p. 146).

*I am because we are* includes Ladson-Billings’ framework of creating an atmosphere of extended family, providing care from teacher to student/ student to teacher/ and student to student, rising and falling together, and encouraging each other (Gay, 2000). As Gay suggests, “expectations and skills are not taught as separate entities but are woven together into an integrated whole that permeates all curriculum content and the entire *modus operandi* of the classroom” (p. 30). *I am because we are* considers how the teacher places him or herself within the communities of his or her students, how much time does he or she spend within the community, how does he or she exhibit care for the community, and how do his or her lessons place value on the community?

*I am because we are* pushes the primary aim of African-centered philosophy to unite African peoples by reinforcing the idea that there is no “I.” The teacher must see the classroom, community, him or herself, and the students as one interrelated subject. Once these entities become isolated into individual objects, the collective communal spirit dissolves. The belief in “we” strengthens collective unity, culture, spirituality, and respect for all people.

In Nia’s entry interview, Nia applied the teachings learned from his understandings of African Centered concepts when he drew a graphic organizer using the word “Community”. Attached to “Community” by straight lines were “The Jones Mentality,” and “No I in Team” and “I am because we are.” Even before entering the program, Nia saw community as central to his

way of being. In his first introspection and retrospection interview, Nia illustrates his commitment to *I am because we are* by stating:

In May semester, I was like ‘This was the right decision. This is it.’ And that feeling kind of stayed with me, even as we moved into the more nuts and bolts of teaching. Because this dealt with pedagogy and not necessarily instruction. But walking into it, I came in with this idea of being an agent for change. But not in that white savior/black savior complex. I have skills to offer and I have amassed those skills and I want to share. It’s not fair to me to sit here and hoard these skills. Because someone shared them with me and I, in turn, should do the same. And all of that kind of stuff informs and undergirds my ideas about pedagogy and teaching (member check).

After several discussions with his cohort, to maintain community Nia would thank everyone for participating, engaging, and for being open minded (weblog). Nia speaks to the notion of establishing a community of learners amongst the cohort so students will depend on one another for emotional and academic support as they endure the academic rigors of The Guiding 100. Examples such as “Keep pushing” and “We can do it” are all found on Nia’s weblog; his communication with his cohort provided encouragement. Nia also makes a concerted effort to remind the cohort how much he enjoys their discussions and group work. While his support seems to demonstrate care for his cohort members’ progress, Nia also displays trust for his cohort by sharing the anxiety he feels regarding particular assignments.

Nia has valued community since his experiences as a young, Black child in New Orleans (Nia refers to New Orleans as the “Chocolate City,” a term of endearment often used by Black

people to describe cities with a strong African American cultural identity.) From experiencing the embodiment of the “it takes a village to raise a child” approach in his “Chocolate City,” to establishing strong connections as an adult with future teachers in The Guiding 100, Nia has a long tradition of engaging, listening, and working with others to further academic growth. His long tradition embeds childhood lessons of racial discourse, a love for the Black community, and living up to a family tradition of “being the best.” The next section explores Nia’s long tradition and explains the CRRT elements he exhibited prior to entering The Guiding 100.

*I come from a long tradition of being the best.* Nia comes from a long tradition of valuing education. Although his grandfather was working class, Nia indicates that his family and surrounding community always pushed him do his best. His grandparents knew the difficulties for African American men and informed Nia that he could not just be “good,” he has to be the best in order to be successful as a Black man in America. Nia emphasized the importance of being the best in his first introspection and retrospection interview and his first member check. He explains:

I navigate my way through that space [The Guiding 100], being raised that you know you have to be better than them--your best. You can’t be OK, you have to always be superior. That was what my grandparents [said], particularly on my mom’s side because they were a bit more worldly. My dad’s side is very stuck in New Orleans. But that side had been places. So they said in their world, unless you’re better than them, they’re not going to even pay attention to you. Having that behind me and knowing that I always have to know my stuff, I always have to be ready and be prepared. Having that mindset put me in a different place when

dealing with that. I never found myself with “Well, I work hard.” We all work hard. I have to be the best.

Nia’s disposition on being the best is a cultural value many Black people internalize when operating in White spaces (introspection and retrospection 1; member check 1). His grandparents were exposed to this “peculiar sensation” and Nia laments that as a Black man, he has no choice but to counteract other peoples’ stereotypes of him. Although double consciousness is primarily an oppressive condition, Nia illustrates how it can be used to shatter deficit ideology and prejudice. Being the best is an idea that each case shares and has direct double consciousness implications. This concept will be explored further in Chapter 5.

Nia’s long tradition of valuing the Black community and working with others was instilled at a very young age from older generations. He finds that living within the urban community and sharing knowledge with others provides a space where everyone is learning—*I am because we are*. While Nia’s focus of I am because we are is transparent across data sources (e.g. entry interview, weblogs, and 1st member check), his communal respect for the cohort and his professors is tested through his double consciousness. Beneath his confident demeanor, he develops a sense of uneasiness. His identity as a Black man and his questions of whether he is “the best” or “good enough” reshape his experiences in *The Guiding 100*.

### *Race, gender, and sexuality*

*Race, gender, and sexuality* embed characteristics, understandings, and social constructions that target an individual’s identity. Examples of Race, gender, and sexuality include, but are not limited to, Black, White, Hispanic, Native American, Asian, male, female,

transgender, gay, bisexual, etc. Nia defines race and gender as an interconnected, conflated topic that cannot be separated. His background in Women's Studies prepared him to not isolate identity; rather, he examines identity holistically. When examining multiple forms of oppression, Nia argues that sexuality and gender must be included in the conversation to truly understand the multiple ways oppression operates. For example, Nia may have never experienced Black male oppression in the African Centered groups he is a part of; however, Nia has experienced Black and gay male oppression in those groups because, to some in his community, he is now seen as disgraceful to his racial group and the cause of African Centered Education. There are other instances when Nia looks at oppression and argues that oppression looks completely different when gender is included. Nia notes, "A Black male and Black female may both be oppressed, but their stories of oppression may sound different due to gender—yet it's still oppression" (introspection and retrospection interview 1).

Nia identifies as a gay Black male who is committed to dismantling racial and gender norms. *Race, gender, and sexuality* explore Nia's experiences growing up with oppressive structures working against him as a Black and gay male. His multiple identities have bearing on his experiences in The Guiding 100. When asked to describe his experiences as a Black student, Nia quickly indicates that race and gender should never be separated because both elements provide the full context of one's experiences. Once the question was altered to reflect race and gender, Nia indicates, "Being inside of The Guiding 100 is a very idealized kind of environment. You're in one of those environments where there are lots of progressive people. Of course, progressive people can be racist" (introspection and retrospection interview 1). Although Nia feels that his experiences were rich and enjoyable, he admits being a Black male in The Guiding 100 Urban Teacher Preparation Program has obstacles. Given his experiences in the African

American Studies and Women's Studies Program, and as previously mentioned in the section above, African Centered Education, he believes he was much more in tune with the subtle racialized and gendered differences that occurred during his time in The Guiding 100.

*Race, gender, and sexuality* highlight the complexity of being a Black male in The Guiding 100 and, in a larger context, being a Black and gay male in American society. Although Nia does not identify his sexuality as an issue while in The Guiding 100 locale, his experiences outside of the school setting cannot be separated. Nia speaks to homophobia, bullying, and how cultural responsiveness can be used to educate future teachers and students about gay acceptance. Nia's identity often encompasses his race, gender, and sexuality when he refers to his experiences. For example, he often states "I'm a Black gay male" and "Being a Black gay male has its difficulties" when recounting past incidents. His experiences dealing with oppression have encouraged him to contest homophobic bullying, racism, and gender inequality. When examining how Nia's multiple identities affect his double consciousness, Nia claims that double consciousness has been a feeling he experienced prior to the Guiding 100 on a micro-level but was intensified once noticing he was one of the few Black males in the program.

*African American studies and women's studies.* Nia was extremely confident when he entered The Guiding 100. His great success with academics and experiences from African American Studies and Women Studies prepared him for some of the topics presented in The Guiding 100. For example, he read *DreamKeepers* before entering The Guiding 100 and had explored topics on oppression. After re-reading *DreamKeepers*, he states, "*DreamKeepers* is always a blessing and a great read. I love the teachers they discuss...I certainly want to be that kind of teacher for a student. I have to focus on active instruction, high standards,



professionalism for myself, and so much more” (weblog). He felt that he had much to contribute with topics on race, gender inequities, sexuality, and class oppression.

From his development in the African American Studies and Women’s Studies programs, Nia is well-read and able to associate his experiences as a Black man in America with historical representations of racial and gender oppression. He stated, “I don’t feel like I have an American experience; although I do have an American experience, but you know--not that mythological land of the free...kind of stuff. I don’t feel like that’s my experience” (introspection and retrospection interview 1). Nia understands the oppression forced upon Black males, women, gay people, and gay Black males. His American experience is in question because he has never been able to be free of doubt, unlike his White male counterparts, because of his Black male classification.

When people see him, Nia believes his Black male presence is what is noticed—however, he questions what thoughts, and perhaps, stereotypes are aligned with what they see. Once there is interaction, he wonders whether his sexuality comes into question and whether he is still viewed as a “man” categorically. These feelings have caused Nia, at times, to walk within the veil, to see himself and operate in a condition whereby he performs in a manner that works to offset societal stereotypes.

*I’m a poor, black, gay man.* Nia brings to The Guiding 100 his love for intellectual conversation and debate. Nia entered the program already with an understanding of community. His devotion to educating others on community, sexuality, classism, and the school-to-prison pipeline is evident across cases. His commitment to academic and social responsibility is clear as he encourages his cohort members to question the narratives that are spoken about urban

communities. With such serious commitment to the urban community, Nia still struggles with gaining acceptance as a gay and Black male. Growing up in “Chocolate City” and currently living within the inner city, Nia tries to debunk traditional stereotypes regarding what it means to be a male. He notes, “Just because I’m gay, people want to now label me as non-male...as if I lose my gender because of my sexuality” (member check 2).

While in the Guiding 100 Urban Teacher Program, Nia explored sexuality and race in his weblogs, synthesis paper, and entry interviews. In his synthesis paper, Nia covers sexuality and states, “This problem hits very close to home as I have studied gender and sexuality quite extensively. It does not surprise me that the literature on sexuality in classrooms is limited” (weblogs). He finds that if students are not properly educated, many victims of bullying will have to suffer because of their sexuality. Nia argues, “Similar to the ways that the stereotypes portray African Americans as ignorant, Gay and Lesbian students are also labeled and it marks them as target” (synthesis paper). Nia is committed to making a difference for all students whom endure oppression. As he puts it, “I’m intentional on being an activist” (introspection and retrospection 1).

In his 1st introspection and retrospection interview, Nia indicated, “Not only am I a Black man, I’m a poor, Black, gay, man.” Nia has struggled in the past with his identity. While in the Women’s Study program, Nia recounts feeling isolated and different because he was the only male in some of his courses—often feeling as if he was forced to speak for all men. He also experienced isolation within many African Centered meetings and programs because of his sexuality—feeling as if he would be shunned for being gay. Nia brings these feelings of isolation—particularly regarding his race, gender, and sexuality to his Guiding 100 experience.

The next section explores his feelings of being silenced. Nia's double consciousness limited his voice because he was afraid of being the "Angry, loud, Black guy" (introspection and retrospection interview 2; final member check).

*The invisible man.* According to Nia's 1st introspection and retrospection interview and his final member check, he proclaimed that he is an "Angry, loud, Black guy" seeking to become a culturally relevant educator. He questioned several things that have strong implications with his double consciousness: Was he good enough? Do professors and his cohort members become disgruntled when he raises his hand to speak because of a reputation for talking too much, talking too loud, or talking over people? Given that he has a strong connection to the CRRT communal characteristics, he begins wondering whether others would rather have his voice remain on the outside of the conversation.

This created double consciousness because instead of participating, Nia began wondering if his professors and cohort members saw him ready to speak and felt amongst themselves "Not you again." Nia entered the program with the feeling *I am because we are*. He felt that this was part of his academic and social responsibility stemming from African Centered Education. However, Nia quickly learned that applying voice is not always welcomed. Similar to an experience in undergraduate school whereby a Black professor told him he was talking too much, he brought this feeling with him to The Guiding 100. Nia knew to succeed in White spaces he had to navigate in a manner that was counter to the perceived stereotype that all Black people are loud. Thus, Nia became silent.

He describes this experience as therapeutic. He was no longer waiting to speak and his blood did not boil when he heard something incorrect. Rather, he heard what his cohort members

said and would take note of how he could use this information as teachable moments for the future. Although Nia learned from this experience, it is important not to overlook the double consciousness that exists. In his quest to become a culturally responsive educator and place high regard for his cohort community, Nia began to operate as the proverbial Invisible Man.

In understanding this feeling through a double consciousness lens, this stereotype created a veil for Nia. He began silencing himself because he didn't want to fit into the stereotype of the "loud and angry Black man." Nia's position is similar to Ellison's (1952) description of the Invisible Man when he states, "I am invisible you see...when they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination—indeed, everything and anything except me" (p. 3). Once an individual becomes voiceless, he begins to become invisible. While Nia represents a strong personality with sharp intellect, a "warring of two souls" manifests when he is eager to contribute thoughts but feels compelled to remain silent because of stereotypes his counterparts in the cohort and his professors may have. As time passed, Nia claims, "I learned how to navigate in White spaces." Ultimately, Nia began to listen more.

### *Oppression*

Oppression is an important topic for Nia across data sources. Oppression is defined here as a mental, physical, and emotional constraint enacted through transgressions from one's individual or group's power that is then used to usurp another individual's or group's upward mobility. Oppression creates dehumanization, scorn, and psychological damage for those affected by it and limits economic resources, privilege, and certain inalienable human rights. There are multiple forms of oppression (e.g. language, class, racial, sexuality, ageism, etc.). And,

those that are oppressed are not the only ones whom suffer. Oppressors suffer from a humanistic malfunction whereby taking ownership over another individual's rights becomes self-gratifying.

Nia believes through practicing cultural responsiveness, oppressors and oppressed will become liberated. After rereading *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* while in the first semester, he recalls his amazement seeing how the oppressed become the oppressors. Nia labels this process as a 'model of cruelty'. He is reminded to never approach a situation with an 'eye for an eye' mentality because everyone becomes blinded. Nia is compelled to change oppressive conditions in American culture. He finds that oppression forces people to change their identity and cultural values by assimilating into America's "melting pot." Nia notes during his 1st introspection and retrospection interview and final member check, "America has us thinking that we're supposed to be one thing—one flavor." *Oppression* focuses on Nia's commitment to social change. His recommendation to embrace diversity and dismantle the school-to-prison pipeline is highlighted.

*Don't forget about my cheese.* In understanding Nia's charge to change the ideologies of American culture, he finds that America forces people to change their identity in order to assimilate. Nia explains his conception of the melting pot by noting, "When you throw several different types of cheese into the melting pot and they all begin to melt, you lose the flavor that each cheese brought" (introspection and retrospection interview 1). His purpose is to transform the ways young students conceptualize knowledge and to value the diversity and experiences all students bring to the classroom. As he indicates, "You must be responsive to your students if you are going to make a difference in transforming education" (introspection and retrospection interview 2). He finds comfort in difference and understands that diversity brings excitement.

Rather, Nia would rather have people see and appreciate their differences and uniqueness—everything does not have to be the same.

As mentioned previously, Nia contends that textbooks and curriculum must be more diverse. One explanation for how individuals become oppressed and see things with a monolithic lens is due to the lack of cultural appreciation in schools. Nia argues that teachers, administrators, and the whole educational system operate under a “one size fits all” approach, which limits individual expression, and which may explain homophobia, racism, sexism, and the school-to-prison pipeline. Many students who are not able to assimilate into the “melting pot” become targets of bullying, tracking, and labeling; thus, students tend to drop out when they don’t feel valued. In the next section, Nia examines the school-to-prison pipeline and its effect on Black boys.

*I will not let another Black male go to prison.* When preparing his synthesis paper and reflecting on his assignments during the weblogs, Nia condemned the school-to-prison pipeline. He lamented, “I will not allow one more Black male to go to prison” (weblog). Growing up in New Orleans, Nia understands the high number of Black males that are incarcerated. In order to create a fair and more just system for urban school students, one of Nia’s suggestions is to “Fund all public schools equitably” (synthesis paper). He finds that if public schools were better funded, students will have more opportunities for extracurricular activities. In his synthesis paper, Nia argues, “As the prison industrial complex becomes more and more profitable, the less emphasis we will see on improving the conditions of urban school students.” Thus, if cultural competence is embedded, cultural responsiveness will create opportunities for students to see the connections between schools and their communities.

As a prison abolitionist, Nia's education in The Guiding 100 was monumental when he began learning about the school-to-prison pipeline. He states, "I have realized for a long time the ways that schools are looking more and more like prisons." Rather than blame the students, Nia questioned the desired behaviors for students and learned to investigate his own personal biases. He wondered how behavioral expectations impact the school-to-prison pipeline. Thus, Nia realized that valuing difference, forming personal relationships, and avoiding classist stereotypes were imperative as a culturally responsive teacher.

Nia uses his cultural responsiveness as a means to inspire his young Black boys and girls. Nia tries to represent himself as a Black male role model, father, and friend to his students because he understands the stereotypes he has faced; thus, he tries to model behaviors and practices so his students will understand how to combat the oppressions they face. He recognizes that he may be the only Black male face his students see on a daily basis, so he is encouraged to do his best. Much like the other cases, Nia has difficulty encompassing cultural responsiveness in every lesson, which is something he is determined to improve.

### **Summary**

Nia understands that effective culturally responsive instruction does not happen overnight. Nia, much like all other participants, understands what it means to be a Black male teacher and the pressures that come with this title. He is sometimes overwhelmed with wanting to ensure that he is representing best practices for his Black students. He indicates that cultural responsiveness takes time and looks much different depending on the grade level. The assignments and experiences in the program reaffirm his belief that he wants to be the teacher

that encourages not discourages, the change agent that transforms knowledge, and the example of a Black male that illustrates positivity to urban school students.

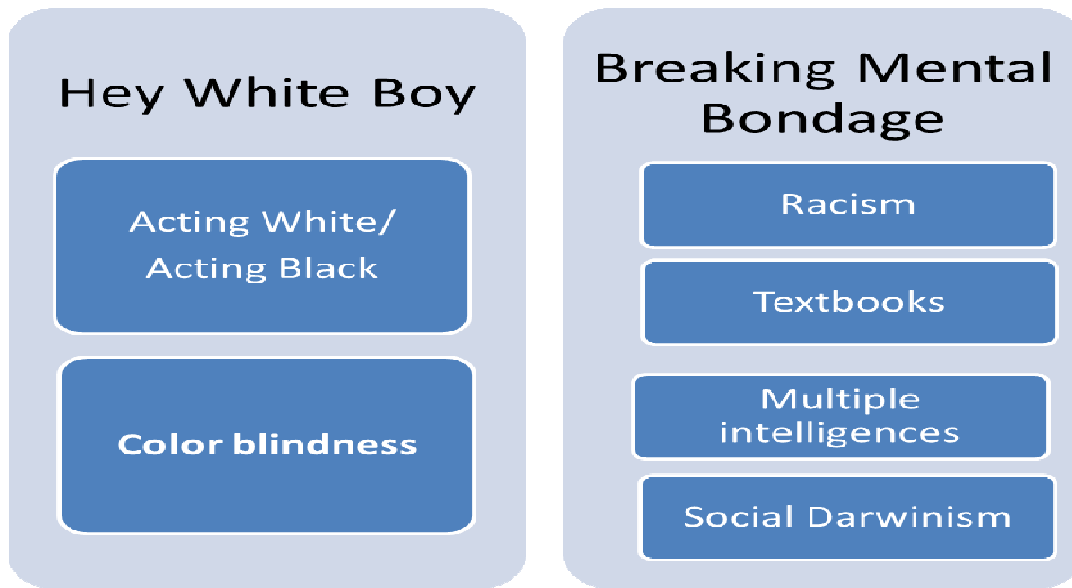
Nia's double consciousness is transparent. He represents the epitome of what Ellison (1952) refers to as the Invisible Man. He is highly intelligent, articulate, and always willing to give an opinion. However, Nia suffers from not wanting to be seen as the stereotypical Black man. He loves debates and has a thirst for knowledge, but over time in the program, he altered what made him who he was to make others more comfortable. He questioned whether he had a "target" on his back from his White professors. He was never really sure how his cohort and professors saw him. Was he the poor, angry, gay, Black man? Was he seen as a problem? Were his supervision scores and other suggestive comments provided because of his race? These questions lingered in Nia's subconscious and he began to operate in a manner that he felt would cause him less scrutiny. Although there were times where he questioned if he was "good enough," Nia decided that he would just work harder and exceed expectations the next time. When Nia states, "I don't feel like I have an American experience," this feeling compels Nia to hold onto something that he feels he does have, such as the strong commitment to African American Studies, Women Studies, and a long family tradition of striving for excellence.

### **Case 2: Allen**

Allen is the 2<sup>nd</sup> case described in this study. The pattern network displays two major themes: Hey White Boy and Breaking Mental Bondage. The major themes illustrate Allen's difficulties with feeling "othered," his pursuit to eliminate oppression to gain liberation, and how



he feels educators must remain vigilant when transforming educational practice, as illustrated in his pattern network



**Figure 4.** A pattern network for Allen's case study

The first section will focus on *Hey White Boy*. Du Bois predicted that the problem of the 20th century is the color-line. Allen, much like the other cases, serves as proof that the color-line problem has extended beyond the 20th century.

### *Hey White Boy*

*Hey White Boy* is an introspective portrayal that details the issues of identifying as a Black man in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. While Allen indicates that he is a Black male, he also recognizes

his mixed heritage of Filipino and European ancestry. His physical features created problems with acceptance from his peers—including African Americans, Whites, Native Americans, and Hispanics. Allen reflects on his K-12 experiences and still has memories of being labeled as “White Boy.” Allen reflects, “Whether it was African Americans, Native Americans, or Caucasians or whether it was at lunch or at recess, whether it was friends or people I didn’t know...people called me ‘White boy’” (final member check).

Allen didn’t have an extended experience in K-12 Black schools, which is far different from the other cases. Allen changed schools often; sometimes his schools were predominantly Native American, predominantly African American, predominantly Caucasian, or predominantly Hispanic—this placed him in a space whereby his racial difference always drew scrutiny from peers. Due to the texture of his hair, the structure of his eyes, and the shape of his nose, Allen’s physical characteristics often times looked much different than his counterparts. He had strong African features according to non-African Americans, and he had strong European features according to African Americans; thus, Allen never knew where he stood on the color-line.

Allen’s experience is much like Du Bois’ beginning conception of double consciousness. Du Bois internalized the “How does it feel to be a problem” sentiment that many of his counterparts overtly or covertly displayed—particularly while Du Bois attended Harvard. Allen felt that tension, the ‘warring of two souls’, which created an internal conflict that effects the way Allen saw himself and how he saw other races. When asked to describe how race impacted his K-12 experience. Allen states:

Growing up, looking at the history of how certain races were treated. At certain instances in my life I felt like I was going to miss out on opportunities or being

treated inferiorly just because of that. I really did as a child, view things as black and white, with good reason a lot of times. Growing up, I was always an outsider. I was mingled in with a lot of different cultures and a lot of times there were few other African Americans in those situations and it was hard to relate to those other cultures (introspection and retrospection interview 1).

His difference usually brought stereotypes of who he is and what he could do simply because he is Black. He learned that to overcome stereotypes, like the other cases, he felt he had to perform at his best. Allen remembers the Native American students were the most disconnected from him, while Caucasian students were most accepting. Allen has never forgotten his oppressed conditions as a child. However, as he reflects upon his schooling experiences, Allen is most pleased with his time spent at an HBCU. He remarks that this was the first time where the color-line was not a problem. He felt at home. Allen states, “It was one of the first times he found people I could relate to...similar backgrounds, family values, religion...things like that” (introspection and retrospection interview 1). His K-12 and undergraduate experiences undoubtedly impacted his time spent in The Guiding 100 Teacher Preparation Program. Allen began tackling certain concepts that were symbolic of the racial problems he encountered. The next section will focus on a topic that was identified in multiple data sources. The data category of *Acting White* used in NVivo will be placed in quotation marks as such “Acting White,” to distinguish Fordham and Ogbu’s (1986) *Acting White* from how I applied the category in my data.

### **Acting White.**

“Acting White” is a component of double consciousness whereby Black individuals are labeled as abandoning the Black culture and aligning with a more academic mindset that emulates Whites. In doing so, the Black individual risks losing cultural acceptance from other Black individuals whom don’t buy into academics; placing the individual labeled as ‘acting white’ in a sense of duality (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). While wanting to aspire to do well academically, there is a question of identity—does this represent a Black American who wants to do well, or does this represent a Black American who wants to be White? This leaves the Black individual in a conundrum—how can he or she do well in school while maintaining a connection to Black culture?

Allen grappled with racial formations while reading *DreamKeepers*. Ladson-Billings addresses this question with the idea of cultural competence. One example would be to use rap music to engage students who may or may not connect with content instruction. By bringing in rap music, Ladson-Billings (1994) showed that Black students will buy in, without fear of being labeled as ‘acting-white,’ because cultural competence encourages academic excellence and builds a bridge that connects to how students’ live outside of the school structure. Allen began to challenge the notions of “Acting White”. Allen states:

Acting white resonated with me because I felt alienated at times by my fellow black peers due to my desire for enrichment. Personally, I find the idea of acting white as preposterous and full of fallacies. From my understanding based on research, acting white is a psychologically oppressive method designed to discourage blacks and other minorities from seeking education thus confining minorities to a constant low level of thinking (synthesis paper, member check).

He is aware of the challenges Black students face when trying to navigate in a space that does not always see “school as cool”, but finds that concept to be “an oppressive method designed to discourage Blacks and other minorities from seeking education and confining minorities to a constant low level of thinking” (introspection and retrospection interview 1).

Allen not only challenges the notion of Acting White, he began to question the term “Acting Black.” When Allen attempts to investigate by asking people what acting Black means, he has yet to receive an answer. He explains, “When people say ‘You’re acting ‘ghetto,’ what does that even mean? You don’t even know what the definition of ghetto is. There’s no such thing as acting black and acting white, those are just cultural things.” Allen believes Acting Black is another way to demean the confidence level, the self-esteem of African Americans. If you’re “Acting Black,” Allen contends that it is negative because traditionally African Americans are said to not care about education. Conversely if you are “Acting White,” Allen feels that the perception is that the individual is performing well academically. He argues that, ultimately, these terms are mechanisms used to keep the Black community in disarray.

While in The Guiding 100, Allen recalls certain racial stereotypes and misconceptions that he knew were present. There were times where Allen was cognizant of his speech, tone, and interactions in class. And, as he recalled, he felt he was labeled as “Acting White.” Allen indicates in his 1st introspection and retrospection interview the difficulty of being a Black male in graduate school—particularly in education. He states:

There’s the added pressure to, not be better, but do your best in the way you present yourself to people.... It was always in the forefront of my mind that I

want to conduct myself in a certain manner and present myself in a dignified manner (introspection and retrospection interview 1).

Across data sources, Allen examines race while in *The Guiding 100*. He understands the inequities Brown and Black student populations face in public schools. He saw the Black students and the White students in his cohort form cliques, but felt that cliques were merely formed based on general interest. While this left Allen frustrated and unsure of how to react, he also felt that cohort members went out of their way to make people of other races feel a certain sense of comfort. Allen assumed that some of his counterparts were disingenuous and their ignorance created distance amongst some of his cohort members. This topic was revisited in the 1st member check when Allen stated he felt uncomfortable about comments that were made from his White counterparts during a discussion. Allen replied, “At that particular moment, it definitely did. Just to think about it again, that’s something that a lot of Black males—me, personally, just in terms of discrimination, being marginalized, treated differently—yeah, it opened up some things that were maybe hurtful growing up”. Once an individual is affected by race, as Allen has been, it becomes a mission to combat that which has caused the most anguish.

*Colorblindness.* Data revealed that Allen’s experiences have created a colorblind mentality. Although he recognizes that race is used to oppress people, he asserts that it does not exist. In Allen’s introspection and retrospection interviews, member checks, and synthesis paper, he argues that race does not exist. It is a part of the “mental bondage” that creates division amongst people. He states:

I’ve learned how it’s [race] a social construct and how scientifically it doesn’t really exist. So I felt like this was something I definitely wanted to explore more.

As an educator, I wanted to implement that to people around me. It's not as important or as visible as society tries to make it seem. I was definitely interested in learning more about how it was originally started, how it's used to oppress people...so many dimensions to it (member check 1).

The Guiding 100 provides Allen with a new way of examining race. Given that Allen experiences the effects of racial dynamics as an adolescent, he is quick to dismiss the very thing that caused him so many feelings of isolation and despair. Allen's colorblindness is liberating because he no longer sees people through the binary lens of Black and White. However, his new position on race also creates confusion. He states, "Race doesn't exist although I know it does." Although he is willing to admit racism exists, he does not want to give race power. He seeks to diminish the role of race because of its psychological ramifications. When asked about the racial cliques in his cohort, he stated the cliques were formed off of general interest—race was not involved. When asked whether he felt stereotyped because of his Black male identity, he believed he was but indicated his gender may have been more of a problem than race. He dismissed the notion of using his Black identity to create his mathematics teaching and learning project, but indicated that he wanted to ensure he was a positive image for his Black students. In Allen's introspection and retrospection interview 1, he argues:

It's a powerful mechanism to keep people divided and just in terms of the psychological aspect. It's a good way to keep people's self-esteem low and make them feel inferior. It seems like a silly idea when you really think about it and have the information. The whole slave trade and the atrocities and holocausts in Africa and South America. They have things to reinforce the idea. It wasn't just

“You’re inferior because of your color.” It was war and bloodshed and psychological damage to people really believing that they are inferior because of race ingrained in them so much. It lasted so long and you had generations who were forced to accept it through no fault of their own.

Allen’s colorblindness is complex. He sees race and understands its divisive tools, but he also uses race to liberate others. By providing a positive Black male identity for his students, he wants to illustrate that, as Black people, they can accomplish anything. Yet, within the same breath will contend that it does not exist. His double consciousness manifests in his culturally responsive practices. While Allen works to be a change agent and challenge race formations, he is also concerned with being placed into certain categories because of his Black male identity. His behavior of monitoring his dress and speech to appease his counterparts is also a ‘mental bondage’, but he understands he must alter cultural behaviors to succeed. Thus, Allen’s primary concern is *Breaking Mental Bondage* because he finds that race and its implications limit progress for minority people.

### *Breaking Mental Bondage*

*Breaking Mental Bondage* is a concept Allen created while in The Guiding 100. In Allen’s synthesis paper, he describes the mental bondage slaves were subjected to, and how this form of oppression led African people to resist being labeled ignorant, ugly, and subhuman. In time, African people were able to gain certain liberties. However, the scars that remained left African people at war with themselves. This mental bondage was used to create division amongst minorities. Allen believes that too many Black people are subjected to stereotypes, economic inequities, and limited education. He intends to *Break Mental Bondage*, and is committed to



challenging racist and classist ideals. Allen believes teachers are the key to challenging hegemonic practices that are used to limit the potential of minorities—particularly Black people.

While in *The Guiding 100*, Allen first began exploring topics focused on urban students and race. Rather than take everything at face value, he wanted to be knowledgeable of various viewpoints so he could model for students the CRRT characteristic of *transformation and reconstructing knowledge*. By reading and synthesizing the information given to him in *The Guiding 100*, he was able to debunk the common misconceptions of “poor people are lazy” and “black people are ghetto” and focus on how to improve the educational system. He recounts, “To get that kind of information turned my world upside down...I felt like this was something I wanted to explore more. As an educator, I want to implement that to people around me.” (weblog; introspection and retrospection interview 1) His experiences during *Guiding 100* propelled him to begin questioning and digging deeper for accurate knowledge. He wanted to explore the oppressive forces that created isolated experiences for himself, and how oppression has created historical limitations for Black and brown people.

Allen believes one of the major problems with perpetuating racism, stereotypes, and misconceptions are textbooks. His practice of questioning knowledge is reflective of Ladson-Billing’s (1995) proclamation for teachers to review and question knowledge to be culturally responsive. Allen’s primary motivation stems from disproving stereotypes attached to urban school students and communities. Allen finds that this requires teachers to extend beyond textbooks as the primary source of information. His journey as a Black male teacher requires him to include images and representations of the students and their interests. Allen finds that textbooks do not do an adequate job of creating multiple positive images for Black students. His

charge to move beyond the textbook is rooted in the premise that most textbooks perpetuate “mental bondage”—it is up to the culturally responsive teacher to dig deeper. Gay presents the textbook controversy in her work by indicating:

Most textbooks used in schools are controlled by the dominant group (European Americans) and confirm its status, culture, and contributions...The largely uncontested authority and pervasiveness of textbooks are important reasons why understanding their treatment of ethnic and cultural diversity and their effects on student learning is essential to culturally responsive teaching (p. 113).

Allen claims that textbooks may be a starting point for teachers to use for satisfying standards. However, the teacher must bring in other material (e.g. books, speakers, and movies) that reflect a positive outlook of the cultural lineage of the students. If this is not done, Allen fears that the students will remain in “mental bondage” by seeing themselves as slave representations, rather than the kings and queens they are.

Breaking *Mental Bondage* requires creating real-life connections. On Allen’s mathematics and teaching learning project and his supervisor observation scores consistently reflected, “Nice job on connecting your lesson to real-life application”. All data sources indicate that Allen is committed to making content relevant to students’ lives. Allen finds that students will continue to buy into negative stereotypes unless teachers form student relationships and include images of the students that represent their interest. Although Allen’s commitment to connecting content to students’ lives is seen across data sources, he admits that this task requires a lot of work. Students may know you have their best interest and you care for them. However, to break *Mental Bondage*, the students must understand how this lesson can be applied to their

everyday lives on a consistent basis. Allen explains, “You could be sitting at lunch with your students in conversation and something that is shared could be used as a future lesson. This is what draws students in...that relationship...that connection (introspection and retrospection interview 2).”

According to Allen, *Breaking Mental Bondage* requires teachers to recognize multiple intelligences. He finds that many students have multiple intelligences, but some students are afraid to demonstrate academic excellence because they are bombarded with the notion that being educated is "Acting White". Allen wants to eliminate this *Mental Bondage* by teaching students that their minds are full of intelligence and it has nothing to do with the color of their skin or their ethnicity. Failure has nothing to do with I.Q., poverty, race, or language, but it has to do with teachers' willingness to see each and every child reach the peak of his or her inner capabilities.

Lastly, Allen argues that Social Darwinism creates mental bondage. In his synthesis paper, Allen argues:

In order to effectively educate each of my students, I must neutralize exclusivity associated with Social Darwinism. As a committed educator, I am appalled by the elitist dogma of Social Darwinism in education because it perpetuates the structural exulting of certain groups over other groups. As a committed educator, I feel it is my job to implement a more just system that is beneficial to all of my students.

Allen feels that social Darwinism contributes to the inequities many urban school students face. With the understanding that race is a social construct with no biological basis, Allen believes the effects of social Darwinism divide society and benefits those that are deemed as the preferred group. Allen finds that transforming the ways society feels about race will enable those that are oppressed to gain their rightful place in society. Allen wants to be the agent of change that helps create a society that is free of individuals and groups being placed in boxes and judged according to their racial or class status.

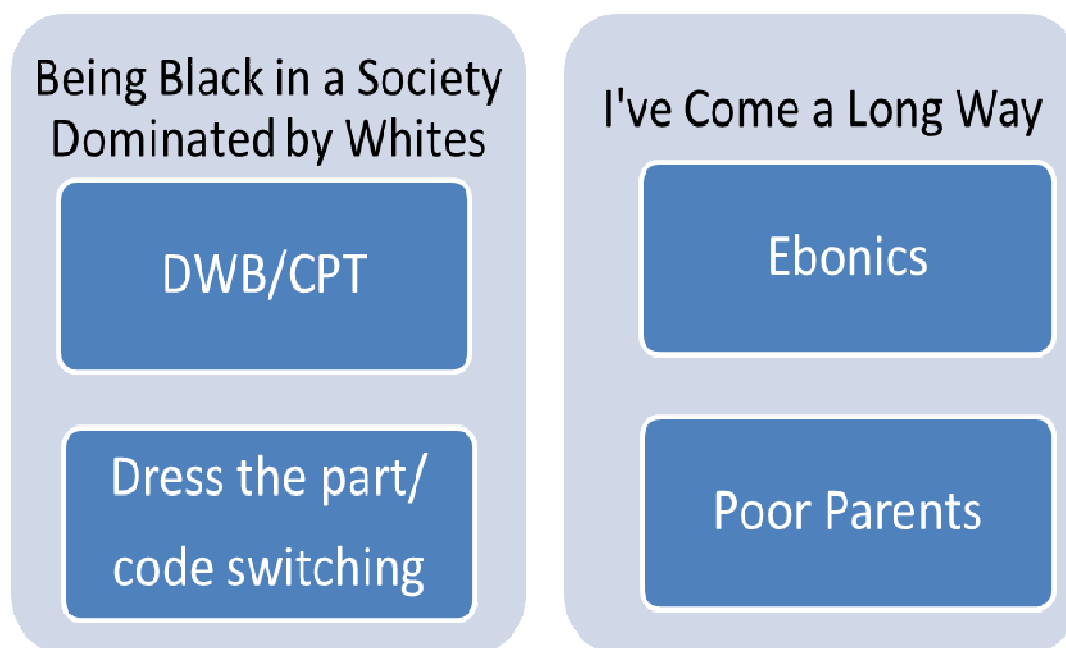
### **Summary**

Allen has a unique experience as a Black man in The Guiding 100. He has been stereotyped much of his life and works diligently to weaken the effects stereotypes have on urban school students—particularly students of color. He understands how racial oppression, such as “Acting White,” has worked to keep Black students in a *Mental Bondage* in thinking that academics is not acceptable for Blacks whereas “Acting Black” represents ‘thuggery’ and is appropriate. Thus, he now sees race through a colorblind lens. His double consciousness manifests by his attempt to consistently create an image to alter his counterparts’ perceptions of Black males. Although he enjoyed his experience in The Guiding 100 and has learned a lot from his professors and cohort, he admits that there was pressure as a Black man in the program, and that pressure still looms as a Black male kindergarten teacher. He needed to speak a certain way and always try to be the best while in The Guiding 100 and still finds himself always trying to be the best because of his Black male status as a teacher. He has not remained consistent with CRRT implementation and now focuses his attention on being more consistent so he can develop real relationships with his students next school term.

### Case 3: Dan

Dan is the third case in this study. After creating a network display, two major categories emerged: Being Black in a Society Dominated by Whites and I've Come A Long Way.

**Figure 5. A pattern network for Dan's case study.**



Each theme explains Dan's experiences as a Black male in The Guiding 100 and the double consciousness he bears within and outside of the program. Dan confronts the ways Black males are stereotyped and, much like the other cases, works hard to ensure that he makes his counterparts and professors comfortable.

*Being Black in a Society Dominated by Whites* focuses on Dan's experiences with DWB (Driving While Black), CPT (Colored People's Time), and following certain dress codes and speech patterns that force Dan to live "within the veil." Additionally, Dan speaks to how race is used as a measure to track Black students into remedial classes—creating a psychological effect which leads to a high dropout rate amongst urban school students.

*Being Black in a Society Dominated by Whites*

Dan begins his reflections on his experience in The Guiding 100 Urban Teacher Program by focusing on driving to and from school. He knew of racial profiling and previously experienced it with friends when he was younger. As he got older, he claims that he would always ensure that he did everything he could to obey the laws and look nonthreatening because he didn't want to encounter a DWB (Driving While Black) episode. DWB is an expression used within African American culture that draws attention to police profiling. Thus, when an African American is driving, particularly in an isolated area, fear of being harassed by cops for being Black is referred to as DWB. Given that Dan wanted to look appropriate when coming to school so he wouldn't be labeled, as Dan says "as a thug or hoodlum" (introspection and retrospection interview 1) and understanding the ramifications of DWB, Dan was in constant fear of being stereotyped before, during, and leaving college campus. His dress, speech, and tardiness created a psychological condition that made Dan see himself through the eyes of the oppressor.

Dan makes a conscious decision to "dress the part" when coming to school. Dan finds that dressing in a manner favorable amongst his White counterparts will render success. For example, he wore his pants securely around his waist, a polo or dress shirt, and casual shoes. Conversely, he avoided baggy pants, large shirts or hoodies, and tennis shoes; as he did not want to be perceived as a 'thug'. Yet, there is a deeper meaning. It appeared that his double consciousness made him feel as if he would be stereotyped, or threatening, simply by wearing comfortable clothing—thus, he was conditioned to dress the way he thought would be appealing to his White counterparts and professors.

Dan also believes in the importance of code-switching. He feels language is important and does not want to say anything that will remind his White counterparts and White professors that he is a Black male. In his first introspection and retrospection interview, Dan notes:

I'm very conscious of my appearance. Especially if I'm going out in public because sometimes if you're dressed a certain way, people feel threatened by you. Especially as a Black male. I make sure I look a certain type of way. I'm very conscious of it because I understand how society is. Sad to say, people have a fear of Black males in society. So I'm very conscious of it. I try to use correct English. I'm not perfect but I don't use a lot of slang when speaking with people. With my friends, I'm not as conscious with it, but in a professional setting, I'm more conscious of it.

In addition, Dan prides himself on being on time to refute the stereotype that black people are always late. CPT, or "Colored People's Time" is a colloquialism used to describe a negative stereotype regarding Black Americans arriving late to appointments. Within the Black culture, it is common when speaking to a friend to remind him or her not to arrive on "Colored People's Time," but actually on time. While this is common within the Black community it is assumed that other races and ethnicities stereotype Blacks for being late, as well. To avoid being stereotyped, Dan indicates that he always does his best to reflect a positive representation of Black males. Dan's experiences with the "stereotype threat" is similar among all the cases. Dan enters the program with the belief that he has to do his best and, more importantly, he has to finish (introspection and retrospection interview 2 and member check 2). He believes the odds are stacked against him—he's the 'underdog'. Given that Dan is a Black male from an urban community, he believes society has determined he will fail. Thus, he wants to ensure that he proves to everyone in his cohort that he is not a statistic that they may believe him to be. He hopes his time spent with his cohort members and performing at his highest level will dispel any misconceptions they may have toward Black men.

Dan's feeling of double consciousness appear clearly. He consistently navigates in a manner that appeases his counterparts. DWB (Driving while Black), CPT (Colored People's Time), and altering his speech and dress style for the sole purpose of trying to navigate in an oppressive society are all psychological ramifications of double consciousness. He is never able to embrace his cultural norms, such as language and dress while on campus. He cannot show up late without feeling like he will be scrutinized and seen as "The Black guy that is always late". If the stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson, 1995) continues, it is one illustration that Du Bois' theory that the 'problem of the 20th century is the color-line' has extended well into the 21st century.

### *Tracking*

While Dan was working as a business analyst in 2007, he overheard a radio broadcast that indicated 50% of Black students entering kindergarten that year would eventually dropout during their K-12 experience. In his 1st introspection and retrospection interview, he stated, "I wanted to change the world—particularly for Black students." He believed that he had not succeeded unless others that looked like him succeed, as well. Dan entered the program with CRRT characteristics of seeking to become an agent of change. He believed he would be a positive influence for students of color—particularly young males. He wanted to dismantle the tracking system and promote academic success for all urban school students. Given that he was placed in a college prep or vocational tracking system, he felt many students were recipients of classist and racial oppression.

When Dan started the 9th grade many years ago, he was given a choice to follow the college preparatory track or the vocational track. This experience helps him look at the tracking



system with a scrupulous eye. He notes, “Today kids are tracked from the time they start school. Usually those kids stay on the same track until they leave school and once they leave school their school tracking usually determines their role in society” (introspection and retrospection interview 2). Dan always wondered how much parents knew about tracking and feels that this is another ploy from those in power to deceive the lower classes. He finds that tracking has a negative effect on students’ self-image, which limits the student from reaching their full potential.

Once students begin to feel “I’m not good at math,” because of classes they are placed in that is different from the mainstream, a complex is formed and they begin to not try. Although Dan explains that students do need extra assistance at times and there are classes that can assist, he finds the disproportionate rate that Black urban school students are tracked extends beyond merely wanting to help. Dan summarizes by stating:

Once they get to middle school, they try to separate the kids. They put the gifted ones in a classroom, the middle ones in a classroom—and the kids know they are separated. It affects their self-esteem and at some point, they’re like “The hell with school.” And once they’re old enough, they’ll drop out. (introspection and retrospection interview 1).

Dan relies on cultural relevance to change that mindset because, as Gay (2000) has explained, you have to work hard to transform students’ ideas. Dan believes his experiences as a Black male place him in a great position to curtail the current tracking system that leads to high urban school student dropout. Dan compares his experience as a minority to the oppression of

Indigenous people, Hispanics/Latinos, gays, and finds that he understands what minority groups go through, which he finds helps him be a better teacher.

He believes his experiences of facing the same stereotypes and doubt encourage him to work hard in transforming others that stereotypes oppress; thus, he tries to ensure that other minorities are prepared for encountering the obstacles to come. He states, “You understand that you’re looked at differently...you already understand that these kids might feel like they’re different because you’ve felt that way” (member check 1). Understanding what minorities go through helps to minimize labels that are associated with Black students. If teachers reduced labels, Dan indicates that “You will be able to see the rich experiences students bring with them to the classroom and are able to keep students out of the tracking system” (synthesis paper).

Dan has witnessed urban school students being labeled as learning deficient and sees teachers are entering the classroom with low expectations. He has seen teachers give up on students and overheard remarks that clearly show how the students are thought of. “They will end up in jail” is one example of some of the comments Dan has heard (member check). Dan understands that some students need more care and intervention and if things continue to go in the direction they’re headed, it will be difficult for the students to succeed (introspection and retrospection interview 2). However, Dan is not ready to give up on the students nor is he ready to quickly label them.

Dan finds that cultural responsiveness is the best strategy to use for urban students (GQ 4). He believes cultural responsiveness can be used to challenge stereotypical labels within urban communities and schools thereby replacing these labels with terms that reflect diligence, intelligence, and respect for humanity. Dan believes “liberty and justice for all” is really a falsehood (synthesis paper and weblogs) and finds that this statement which serves as the

cornerstone for America is really referring to those with wealth and rather than individuals who are minority. Yet, through education, students can become liberated and will demand justice because they will have the ability to construct new truths for themselves and the communities they reside (introspection and retrospection interview 2). Although Dan's current CRRT practices reflect *I am because we are*; his beliefs when entering the program appeared far more deficit thinking. He had certain ideas regarding language and poverty that needed to be addressed. Hence, Dan has come a long way.

### *I've Come A Long Way*

In this section, Dan illustrates how far he has come in his culturally relevant teaching practice. He began this program with deficit ideas regarding poor parents and Ebonics. Over time, Dan began to hone in on cultural responsiveness and learned to construct a different outlook regarding Black impoverished parents and Black vernacular. *I've Come A Long Way* reflects Dan's transformation and his current ideas with implementing cultural responsiveness.

Dan expressed views concerning 'poor parents' in urban communities when he entered the program (entry interview). He felt, "Education in urban areas is not stressed by poor parents". In his entry interview and synthesis paper, Dan makes comments that reflect a 'savior mentality' whereby he will save urban students from their negative views on education. Although Dan was in the beginning development of cultural responsiveness, data illustrates that he was concerned with making a difference in urban schools. As he continued to matriculate in The Guiding 100 Program, he noticed that his ideas had shifted. He expressed in the first introspection and retrospection interview, urban parents living in poverty are often misunderstood. He notes, "It's not that they don't care. Many of them are working multiple jobs and don't have time to assist in

the manner they would like.” Dan currently has a high regard for all of his students’ parents, which he finds to be critical in cultural responsiveness. He now understands the hectic work schedules many of his students’ parents have, so he attempts to interact with them at a time more convenient.

### *Ebonics*

Dan exhibited transformation with regard to how he felt about Ebonics. In discussing the idea of Ebonics on his weblog, Dan illustrates that he believes Ebonics is “merely slang.” He felt like Ebonics was influenced by hip hop music that was not needed in mainstream society. By the time Dan wrote his synthesis paper, he realized that it represents cultural values. Dan writes, “To truly empower a student, you should not shun different languages because it represents a major piece of who they are.” He decided to embrace Ebonics so that all students would be recognized for their cultural diversity. However, he wants students to understand that in the classroom, Standard English is the appropriate language. Ebonics is to be spoken at home or with your friends outside of the school context. Dan indicates that Ebonics speakers actually have two languages. Thus, he has the mindset that other teachers should “embrace it rather than criticize it” (introspection and retrospection interview 2). Dan states, “If you’re here in school, I wouldn’t encourage it, but I wouldn’t look down on it, either. I would just explain to them that we’re in school and in school we have to teach and practice Standard English. When you’re at home, it’s OK to speak the way you want to speak.” Dan avoids telling a student that Ebonics is not a language—meaning he does not want to offend the student, but he also wants his students to understand that Ebonics should not be spoken in professional settings.

Dan was asked if he allows ESOL students to use their home language to converse with one another in the classroom. Given that Dan already indicated that he values students' home language, Dan immediately said "Of course." Dan was then asked whether he allows students who may use Ebonics to communicate with one another in the classroom. Dan replied, "Only outside...not in the classroom." When Dan was asked to reflect on the differences between Spanish and Ebonics, Dan stated that it is his job to make sure Black students are learning proper English. Dan began reflecting on whether he had been denying one group's home language while valuing the other. When he reached that aha moment, Dan regrets, "I've been oppressing my Ebonics speakers" (member check 2). Dan mentioned that he was going to find a way to make sure Ebonics speakers are valued while also ensuring they are learning proper English—a commitment for all of his second language speakers (This will be discussed in Chapter 6 as a limitation).

Dan previously felt that teachers should correct students when Ebonics is heard spoken in the classroom because it will hinder an individual when he or she has to go into the real world. However, Dan concludes that if teachers embrace it, students will become empowered. Dan's outlook on Ebonics speaks of a duality that he possesses. He wants Black students to feel valued, but he understands the penalties for not speaking English. Thus, Dan speaks to his students about code-switching. He informs his students that code-switching will limit his White counterparts from placing him into a box of 'Black inferiority'. Thus, Dan prides himself providing his students what they need to succeed. He informs students that Ebonics, Spanish, etc. are important languages and they should feel proud being bilingual and trilingual students. Yet, to succeed in America, he instructs students to pay attention and take command of standard English—without proper English, there will be a long and difficult journey ahead.

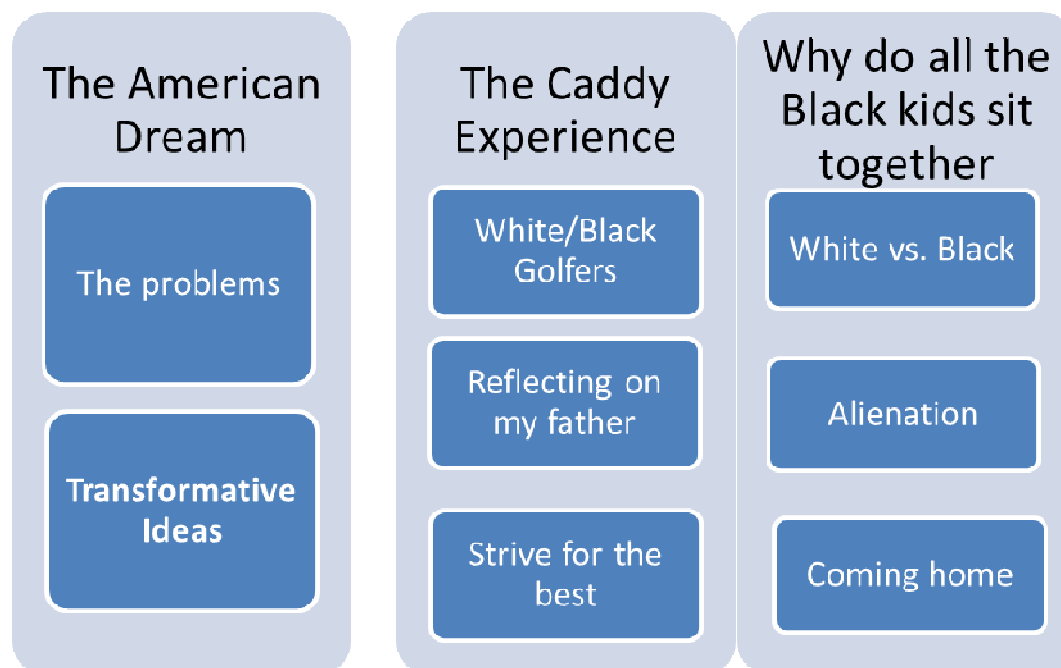


### Summary

Dan now works at a predominantly Black school teaching 5th grade. He contends that his racial anxiety has shifted from trying to dismantle the stereotypes his cohort members and professors may have had to now trying to alter the stereotypes many Black students have of themselves and other Black students. Dan suffered from wanting his counterparts and professors to see him as one of them instead of as “something else.” Dan quickly notices he was one of the few Black males amongst the cohort and faculty. Given that he is aware of the stereotypes Black males carry, he is cognizant of the effects of Ebonics, CPT, and DWB. Thus, Dan always ensured that he spoke well, showed up on time, and dressed appropriately to ensure he was nonthreatening. Dan’s double consciousness explains his feelings toward Ebonics. Although he values home languages and second languages, he feels Ebonics should only be spoken outside...on the playground. Yet, Spanish speaking students are welcome to speak their language in the classroom. As a Black man living in America, Dan wants to ensure his students—particularly his Black male students—do not emulate anything that may impede their progress. Dan is committed to reducing the number of strikes society may impose on young Black males, which provided Dan with a deficit outlook toward Ebonics. However, by the time Dan finished *The Guiding 100*, he was able to value its difference. He now prides himself on emulating a positive example of a Black male for his 5<sup>th</sup> grade students, which can be rather cumbersome because of the huge expectations placed upon him from the faculty, parents, and community members.

### Case 4: Peyton

Peyton is currently a 5th grade teacher in an urban school. Like many teachers, when he looks over his class and tries to imagine his students' future lives, he wonders how many of them will try to currently obtain "The American Dream." Although "The American Dream" is something that many people aspire to gain, Peyton has a different outlook of how "The American Dream" reinforces racism, duality, and separatism. Thus, he seeks to transform the oppressions that are rooted in "The American Dream" so everyone will have a fair chance of obtaining it. Examples of Peyton's experiences with "The American Dream" features the *The Caddy Experience*, which illustrates Peyton's first recall of double consciousness and reveals the complexity of adjusting to his Black male identity. *Why do all the Black kids sit together* focuses on Peyton's struggle of trying to break down the walls of segregation. He finds himself in the middle of a racial divide and struggles with where to situate himself.



**Figure 6.**  
A  
pattern  
network  
for  
Peyton's  
case  
study.



*“The American Dream”*

Peyton is intent on capturing the true “American Dream”. He discusses the concept of “*The American Dream*” across data sources, which was encouraged from his experiences as a young child. When asked to explain this concept in the first introspection and retrospection interview, Peyton insists that his focus on “The American Dream” began from the culturally responsive pedagogy course offered in the first semester of the Guiding 100 program. He believes that currently “The American Dream” is an illusion that deceives people into thinking that “if you do this, you will get here” (introspection and retrospection interview 2). Yet, when focusing on urban school students, he believes they are typically placed into positions that make it far more challenging to obtain “The American Dream.” This meritocratic approach has left students brainwashed into believing that the purpose of education is strictly to obtain a good job and make a lot of money (weblogs). He argues that the purpose of education extends beyond monetary value. He states:

Education frees the mind which makes us all unique and versatile individuals. In my opinion, I believe the purpose of education is to connect us to something or someone. Education is the tool that cultivates generations of people of all nations and backgrounds into outstanding productive members of society. However we fight this continued notion that the purpose of education is to gain this so called “American Dream” (introspection and retrospection interview 1).

Peyton contends that “The American Dream” creates monolithic structures whereby language, race, and class are used to oppress students. Much like Nia’s concept of *Don’t forget about my cheese*, Allen’s *Breaking Mental Bondage* and Dan’s issue with *tracking*, Peyton believes “The

American Dream” is perpetuated in schools by encouraging urban school students that they can overcome anything as long as they work hard; yet, this approach ignores the economic and racial struggles these students bring to the classroom. The moment students bring something different (i.e. language), Peyton argues that teachers begin tracking and stereotyping these students (synthesis paper). Peyton seeks to be an agent of change by transforming and creating a new “American Dream”. His mission is for students to appreciate their diversity, while recognizing the intellectual value of education. Peyton’s attempt to redefine “The American Dream” is rooted in the idea that power corrupts. He wants an “American Dream” that is free of oppression. Thus, he is not opposed to the idea of “The American Dream”; he just doesn’t agree with the current ideas that “The American Dream” promotes because so many marginalized groups are excluded, and the ones that have obtained “The American Dream” typically oppress the individuals that have not.

Although Peyton’s focus on “The American Dream” began in *The Guiding 100*, his first experience with “The American Dream” was at fourteen years old. Peyton witnessed two pivotal learning experiences 1.) If you work hard, you may still end up in a subservient role, and 2.) the oppressor can actually be someone from your own race. The next section will focus on Peyton’s *Caddy Experience*. *The Caddy Experience* illuminates Peyton’s first experience with the peculiar sensation of double consciousness.

### *The Caddy Experience*

Peyton began to have a feeling of double consciousness at the tender age of fourteen when he received his first job as a golf caddy. His father was a golf caddy for several years and had secured the position for Peyton. Not knowing what to expect, he remembers his father telling

him to listen and don't cause any trouble. Peyton exclaims, "A lot of that was also in my dad, because he would be the one talking to me on the side saying 'Make sure you represent,' because he felt like this is the man. Not 'the man' like he's all that, but as an African American male you have to make us look good in their sight" (introspection and retrospection interview 1)". Peyton recalls being called "boy," receiving sly remarks, and being yelled at if he "messed up" shortly after his first day on the job. Although Peyton was fourteen, he viewed "boy" within a historical context of White men referring to Black men as "boys." While the White golfers were rude at times, it was also the language used, the looks they gave, and the mannerisms they displayed that caused Peyton to feel the peculiar sensation Du Bois describes in double consciousness. To not jeopardize his father's career, Peyton would remain pleasant, smile, say "yes-sir," and perform the task that was asked. While the members of the golf club would have their own conversations and camaraderie, Peyton exclaimed he felt much like the "field-nigger" there to serve the slave master (introspection and retrospection interview 1). Peyton has never forgotten this feeling. As he retold this story, tears formed in his eyes as he remembered the internal pain. He declared during the interview that he wanted to scream out at times—"stop calling me boy".

Perhaps the most troubling piece of this story is that there were two Black men whom were members of the golf club. One individual never came to the golf course; however, the other Black man was a present face. To his surprise, Peyton found that the Black man was far more rude and harsh than the White men. Peyton recalls some of the White golfers saying, "Take it easy" to the Black golfer. Peyton feels that the behavior of the Black man is symbolic. He expected so much more from an individual whom shared his race, who is a part of the Black experience in America. Peyton never imagined that oppression would come from someone

whom looked like him. This was Peyton's first example of double consciousness—not only his own double consciousness but the Black golfer's as well.

In retrospect, Peyton feels the Black golfer wanted to be so much like his White counterparts, that he felt he had to oppress Peyton. Peyton suggests, "I believe the Black golfer felt if he showed more contempt for me, they would let him into their circle" (member check 1). Peyton then made reference to "*The American Dream*" and stated, "You see what I mean". When Peyton was afforded the opportunity to read *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* while in The Guiding 100, he was able to better understand the Black golfer's actions. "The whole time, the oppressed is trying to either be like the oppressor or to be approved by the oppressor. It goes back to the caddy thing (introspection and retrospection interview 1)." By targeting Peyton, a young Black male, Peyton believes the Black golfer felt it would somehow separate him from a Black identity, which would render acceptance into the White golf club (member check 1).

These experiences are a part of Peyton's journey as a Black man. He has difficulty thinking about this event—particularly the role his father played. He recalls in the first introspection and retrospection interview and the first member check, he never understood how his father could smile for so long. While his father was revered as one of the best caddies, Peyton could not understand how he could play the subservient role. Once Peyton got to college, he eventually asked his dad "How can you do this job? Don't you get tired of being the Black caddy?" His father replied, "A man has to do what he's got to do. I'm going to use them for what they got. And just get what I can get from them and that's it." After hearing his father explain that it was about the money, Peyton felt:

But at the same time, either he put on a real good act or he built relationships with these people so somehow they would say that they liked him. He was a really popular caddy there. He worked there for years and everybody respected him. But even in my psyche, it was like “ Slave masters had favorite slaves, too.” You’re a good boy, you talk well, you speak well. Even from [the film] *12 Years A Slave*, you have exceptional so-called niggers. So my mind was like “That may be good to you, but I’m not trying to be a caddy serving these guys. I want to be where they’re at. I want to be the one who is actually a member there (introspection and retrospection interview 1).

This experience provided Peyton with the idea that “The American Dream” has people brainwashed. He could not understand how his father could work at a job like this for years, and say it’s all for the money. From Peyton’s point of view, his father bought into “The American Dream”, but it rendered a subservient role. This encouraged Peyton early in his life that he would have to go to college, be the best (a pattern found across all four cases), be successful, and work to ensure Black people—particularly men—liberate themselves from the oppressive state of double consciousness. Peyton felt he needed to be the best...not for himself, but for the entire generation of older Black men—particularly his father.

Peyton has indicated that he always strives for the best—particularly when he entered The Guiding 100 Teacher Preparation Program. Peyton recalls being exposed to a lot of different races and ethnicities, and there was a certain amount of pressure to shine and represent the Black male. Similar to the other cases, Peyton finds that teaching in an urban school requires him to do his best because he is one of the few Black male faces in the school building. He notes, “They say we need more African American males in the school—so there’s still that pressure because

they're looking to me like I'm going to save the school"(final interview). Although Peyton feels overwhelmed, he does find the pressure as a teacher a little easier than dealing with the pressures of being one of the few Black male teachers in The Guiding 100. He is excited to be given the opportunity to pull the genius out of his students. Due to his experience as a caddy, his urban schools and collegiate experience at an HBCU, Peyton recalls that he was unsure of himself (introspection and retrospection interview 1) and knew he would need to speak correctly, dress a certain way, and conduct himself in a manner he thought would be appealing to his White professors and White counterparts. However, Peyton' double consciousness made him fearful of how his race would impact his grades and matriculation through the program; this compelled him to work much harder and challenge the 'low expectations' associated with being Black.

A driving force behind his commitment to academic excellence is the admiration he has for his father. His father did not go to college. Peyton recalls his father telling friends, neighbors, and White golf club members, "We in school" (member check 1). When Peyton spoke to older Black males and told them of his accomplishments, the smiles rendered were similar to his father's expression. Sharing successful academic experiences with others who did not have such opportunities, gave Peyton a sense of pride and the drive to do well no matter the cost.

He understands that many older Black males were not placed in positions where college was an option. Unfortunately these Black males were cast out of the pursuit of accomplishing the 'American Dream', which is one of the reasons Peyton wishes to transform it. He understands that too many are excluded from "The American Dream". Peyton looks at his opportunities, such as entering The Guiding 100 Urban Teacher Preparation Program, as a luxury that wasn't afforded to previous generations. Thus, Peyton acknowledges the responsibility that comes with

representing Black males and, like the other cases, he is compelled to do his best so that older Black males will be proud of him. He wants to represent the epitome of overcoming obstacles and tell his story to a younger Black male so the diligence, scholarship, and academic excellence will continue. As Peyton notes, “It is not about me as an individual. It’s about everyone that pitched in and got me to this point”. Peyton is committed to the *I am because we are* CRRT component and hopes that he makes older generations of Black males proud of his accomplishments.

Peyton’s experiences with race and class provide him with the courage to change the way race is viewed. Not only does he want to transform the way education is perceived, but he also wants to challenge the Black and White binary. The next section will focus on Peyton’s confrontation with racial divide in The Guiding 100 Urban Teacher Preparation Program.

### *Why Do All the Black Kids Sit Together?*

This section illustrates Peyton's experiences while in The Guiding 100. He brought many rich experiences to the program and never imagined that feelings of separation and duality would follow. *Why do all the black kids sit together* is situated as a subcategory because it extends Peyton's feelings of double consciousness from *The Caddy Experience* to The Guiding 100. His feelings of being the best, making his father and older Black men proud, and his conception of "*The American Dream*" all speak to his resilience and the tough decisions he made while in The Guiding 100.

After the first semester, Peyton noticed that the cohort became racially divided. Being one of the few Black males, Peyton's Black cohort members assumed that he would stand in allegiance by only sitting with the Black students. However, due to his adolescent experiences and the content he was learning regarding cultural responsiveness, Peyton's actions represented the CRRT characteristic *It values each student's unique culture, while showing appreciation and understanding of others' cultures*. Peyton felt the need to do something different. He deliberately sat with the White students. Peyton wanted to tear down the walls of racial segregation for his cohort community. His bold stance created an internal conflict. His actions of sitting with the White students made him experience a new feeling. Instead of feeling 'different' from his White professors and cohort members, Peyton now felt different from his other Black cohort members. Peyton also visited parties and gatherings held by his White cohort members—sometimes resulting in being the only Black individual, he recalls, "It started off small. First, someone would throw an event and people would just come. Then, it started getting to where



only certain individuals would come. It ended with me showing up and only White people would be there—it turned into racial cliques”(introspection and retrospection interview 1). Although he was accepted by his White cohort members, he felt he never was a part of them—much like Du Bois’ experience while at Harvard and Allen’s experiences at K-12 schools. During the 1st introspection and retrospection interview, Peyton would sometimes shake his head in a “no” type manner when he described the culture of the cohort, and he could not understand how this had happened to individuals preparing for cultural responsiveness.

Peyton began questioning whether he had made the right decision. Did he abandon his people to live up to the expectations of cultural responsiveness? Was he perceived as “Acting White” because he deliberately interacted with White people in class? There were several questions Peyton had for himself, and he indicated he would rest on them. During the final interview, Peyton recalls when he decided to deliberately sit with the Black students from the cohort. Although he felt being purposeful in racial separation contributed to the problem with *Why do all the Black kids sit together*, he wanted to see what it was like. He recounts, “It was the best class I ever had since being in the Program”. He felt ‘at home’, ‘no pressure’. In contrast to sitting with his White cohort members in which he had censored his speech and mannerisms, he felt as if he had limited acceptance. However, when sitting with the Black students, for the first time he spoke freely. He didn’t worry about how others perceived him when he opened his mouth. He didn’t question how his race played a factor. He was happy that he made the decision and indicated that he would ‘sit with the Black kids’ for the rest of the semester. He felt as if he had membership.

### Summary

Peyton provides transparent examples of how double consciousness manifest in his experiences of becoming a CRRT. “The American Dream” illustrated that people have been deceived into thinking hard work undoubtedly renders success. He believes “The American Dream” supports meritocratic ideology, which negatively affects urban communities and schools. *The Caddy Experience* provides Peyton with a peculiar situation that created ‘two warring souls’. He was able to reflect upon his experiences and find comfort in doing his best to make older Black men proud of his accomplishments and peace in sitting with his Black cohort members. Peyton began The Guiding 100 with trepidation and uncertainty. He was unsure whether a Black man from an urban school and HBCU background was fit for The Guiding 100 Urban Teacher Preparation Program. Peyton was cognizant of altering his speech and ‘dressing the part’ to gain success in the program. He learned while in the program that racial division can exist even in a program that seeks to create change agents in schools. *Why do all the Black kids sit together* troubles Peyton throughout his experience and challenges his perceptions of creating a new “American Dream”; in the end, Peyton chose what felt the most comfortable.

## 5 FINDINGS: CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

In this study, four male African American elementary school teachers reflected upon their experiences during The Guiding 100 Urban Teacher Preparation Program. Two theoretical frameworks were applied to the design of the study: CRRT and double consciousness. Specifically, the focus of the study is to understand the influence of double consciousness as it relates to the understanding of CRRT while in the program and implementation as teachers in

urban schools. Findings from the within case analysis were presented in chapter four for each case. Chapter 5 presents the cross-case analysis using patterns from the within case analysis to investigate the common themes that emerged across cases. Findings from chapter 4, case analysis meetings, analysis memos, journaling and reexamination of the NVivo reports (i.e. word counts, node charts according to participant source, and tree nodes) were used to create pattern codes. I examined each high frequency node to ensure the data was across cases. After examining the high frequency nodes, I returned to the within case analysis to investigate whether the cross case data was able to effectively answer each guiding question. I used pattern networks to generate a causal network.

From this investigation, it was determined that double consciousness is a ‘peculiar sensation’ that all of the participants experienced prior to and during The Guiding 100. The participants illustrate how double consciousness can be used as a mechanism for creating change agents who are determined to challenge stereotypes and hegemonic systems (e.g. school to prison pipeline, tracking, language, sexuality, etc.) The causal network is displayed below.

### **The Cohort Journey**

Nia, Allen, Dan, and Peyton describe the experience of becoming a teacher as ‘a great decision’. As identified on their weblogs and introspection and retrospection interviews, the participants describe their experience as ‘eye-opening’, ‘a breath of fresh air’, and ‘the right place for me’. Each participant was exposed to empirical research and culturally responsive modeling that prepared him for his future work as a teacher.

Although each participant entered with varying degrees of CRRT, the program offered multiple opportunities through coursework and field practice to conceptualize what CRRT looks

like in practice and implement CRRT with professor's and supervisor's guidance and support. For example, Allen and Peyton entered with CRRT components *I am because we are* and *it embraces different learning styles and languages and uses diversity, care, and home culture as a bridge to foster academic success*. The participants were asked on their entry interview to identify what they knew about urban schools and how teachers can best communicate with students who come from different backgrounds.

Allen and Peyton used these questions as opportunities to challenge deficit ideology. Their responses include "Teachers need to have an open mind, understand the needs of parents as important (e.g. work schedules), and there seems to be disconnect between urban communities and schools..." Allen and Peyton illustrate care for urban students and parents, while also working to build a bridge that strengthens the bond between urban schools and students' home culture. Both participants express commitment to reframing rapport with parents because they feel teachers and parents must work together to positively effect a student's life.

Nia entered The Guiding 100 with the community focus of CRRT—*I am because we are*. He was acutely aware of the importance of community and wanted to use his knowledge and skills to encourage teachers and society at large to restore value and belief in urban communities. Dan's example of quitting his job to challenge the dropout rate amongst urban school students is an example of *it imparts knowledge so that students confront oppression in all forms and are empowered to transform hegemonic ideology and practice for the betterment of the school and global community*. Dan comes into the program inspired by the notion that he is destined to change the tracking system and high dropout rate by encouraging students to resist the temptation of letting others define their success.

Each participant wanted urban schools and teachers to utilize multiple intelligences to assess student knowledge. While Dan was adamant about creating rubrics and restructuring standardized tests to ensure all student knowledge was accounted for, Allen, Peyton, and Dan spoke to more funding for urban schools to include the arts and extracurricular activities that encompass a wide range of educational opportunities. Additionally, each participant felt that lessons should be created in a deliberate fashion of transforming knowledge. For example, Allen wants to use an activity conducted in *The Guiding 100* whereby students will write various stereotypes down according to groups (Black, White, female, rich, etc.) and generate discussion surrounding the stereotypes attached to each group (synthesis). Peyton includes examples in all of his lessons on the mathematics teaching and learning project a section that illustrates how the teacher will seek to transform knowledge.

All of the participants loathe labels that present urban school students as at-risk or ESOL students as being less smart; instead of assuming that urban school students are at-risk due to poverty, language, or low enthusiasm, the participants respond by asking what are teachers doing to establish connections with their students. Forming relationships was critical across cases. Each participant feels that a teacher is able to obtain more buy-in if the student feels a connection with his or her teacher. Additionally, each participant finds that a critical component of cultural responsiveness is to ensure that the lessons connect to students' everyday lives. When explaining their mathematics teaching and learning project, all four participants indicate that their reason for teaching a particular mathematical concept was to connect it to their students' lives; therefore, when looking at activities, the participants included familiar food, drinks, and the local community to establish buy-in from their students.

*Representations of Double Consciousness in The Guiding 100*

Each case reflected on discussions and videos that were shown during the beginning stages of the program, and although the topics raised insight and were thought provoking, the participants were divided on how they felt regarding the conversations. While Dan and Nia exclaimed that the cohort discussions were enjoyable and informative, Peyton and Allen, at times, felt frustrated by some of the racial assertions made by their White cohort members. It is important to note, all cases expressed positive and negative emotions at different times in the program. For example, Dan felt that his Black male identity was placed under a microscope; which is reflective of the emergence of feelings of double consciousness and an unexpected uneasiness. On the one hand, discussing race was liberating for the participants in this study because they felt it helped their White counterparts and other ethnicities understand the oppression Black people have endured in America. Such discussions may be productive when engaging in taboo conversations, such as race; however, the participants indicated that there were comments made that left them frustrated. Allen discussed his frustration by indicating he did not understand how his White counterparts could be so naïve (member check 1; synthesis paper), while Dan expressed anger that the wrong thing could be said and tempers may flare. On the other hand, racial discussions draw attention to members of the group who represent those racial experiences. While having discussions or watching videos, the four Black males felt that “all eyes were on them.” Note that cases represented different years in the program—from 2008-2012 and yet all felt this microscopic lens. Although this study did not focus on Black females in the program, it may be that others in the group also felt this uneasiness. Ultimately, what the men reported was that this program provided a sense of empowerment but at a price. Oppressed individuals may find comfort in discussing the unfair treatment that has been caused to them

historically; yet, there is also a feeling of pressure when identifying with that oppression, and, at times, the oppressed members feel compelled to speak on the topic because now they are viewed as the experts—as if they have to speak for the entire oppressed group.

Dan and Allen became frustrated at certain comments that were made from their counterparts' thoughts and ideas regarding racism—feeling as if “You all can't be this ignorant” (Allen—introspection and retrospection interview 1). Yet, although Dan felt frustrated at times, he also felt that his cohort members—particularly his White cohort members—were willing to engage in the conversation and respected his points of view, they just may have been misguided in some of their thinking (introspection and retrospection interview 1). Peyton commented on his weblog that he was really impressed with the reactions of his White cohort members after viewing a Civil Rights video. He notes:

It seemed like when we were beginning to have the discussion after the civil rights video, it was like us—African Americans, ‘yeah, we know that.’ In our hearts we'd seen it all of the time. We were more connected to it because it was our people and it hurts us. But I was surprised at the affect it had on those who were not black. “Man, that's such a terrible thing.” And it was just like—we should be like that. We should be like “Man, It's such a terrible thing.” Because it happened to our ancestors. They went through that. You never know, one of their ancestors could be beating ours. But it shows you that violence is violence, hatred is hatred, evil is evil. When it's wrong it's just wrong. It's not wrong for one people. The act, the spirit behind that, is wrong. And when you've got good people and they see that, they're going to be affected, regardless of what race that is.

Peyton's experiences with his cohort members illustrate a contradiction to his double consciousness. Given his experiences as a Black male, he assumed that his White counterparts would not empathize with the struggles of Black Americans. Once he witnessed their reaction, he was surprised. Yet, this experience did not alter his views of being stereotyped and ensuring he spoke properly around his professors and cohort members—meaning he still operated under an assumption that they would associate him with a Black identity, which he thought would place labels upon who he is as an academic.

Nia, while patient, used moments like this to try and educate his cohort members, but began feeling as if he spoke too much. It is important to note that each of these findings is complex. Dan's and Allen's comments indicated that there is a duality. In one instance they felt there were comments over time that frustrated them in regards to others not being aware of certain struggles Black people have encountered; however, they also felt that the cohort members were thoughtful and, at times, understood issues relating to the Black community. Thus, findings conclude that Dan and Allen enjoyed their cohort experiences and were able to learn from one another.

Each case describes the discussions as meaningful and necessary. The discussions provided debate and ways to share personal thoughts that might help the overall community. While Nia eventually became silenced for fear of being labeled as the Black man, he also expressed early on in *The Guiding 100* that, "Today was interesting for me. We had a moment of conversation which proved to be quite interesting. We have really grown close as a cohort but there are still conversations that we haven't had. There are still things to learn and still questions that many of us have for each other" (weblog)." It is important to note that Nia's identity as the loud talker has a historical context. He indicates that during his undergraduate experience, his



Black professors would identify him as 'loud'. The findings from the cross-case analysis reveal that the discussions offered opportunities for questioning one another and sharing topics of taboo that may become dispelled after engaging with others. However, these interactions eventually created distance and rifts amongst the cohort over time. In the beginning of the program, students had the opportunity to grow as a cohort and challenge each other. However, over time, the cohort began to grow apart.

### *Racial Segregation*

All participants spoke to the cliques that were formed during the program. While Allen believed that the division in the cohort was caused because people separated according to their interest, Dan, Peyton, and Nia believe the division was caused by racial separation. Peyton's thoughts on the experience of racial cliques were discussed in-depth in his within case. To extend the idea of *Why do all the Black kids sit together*, Dan indicates, "At first, it was a large community. Everyone associated with one another. But it did it become very cliquish. A lot of times, it was based on cultural background or racial identity (introspection and retrospection interview 2).

The idea of racial separation is very telling. Questions are raised to whether racism or prejudice were the leading cause of division, or whether Allen's theory of sitting together because of similar interest is correct. To understand this phenomenon, I revisited *Why do all the Black kids sit together in the Cafeteria* by Tatum. Tatum (1997) states, "The pattern of social isolation of both Black and White students is a visible symbol of the continuing legacy of the past and present systems of inequity" (p. 214). Peyton's depiction of this event was one that describes resistance to commonality. He wanted to "do something different." Yet, when he

decided to sit with the Black students toward the end of the program, he described it as a “coming home” event—something that just felt right. It appears that due to Peyton’s double consciousness, he began to understand the ways he operated was, in part, to represent a certain identity that made it comfortable for his White counterparts. He was living within the veil. His identity, in part, was superficial because as he indicates, “Although I sat with them, I never really considered myself a part of them” (member check 1). He felt that they saw him as the Black male student, instead of as a student. He felt that he was the “one Black guy at the party” opposed to just being a guest at the party. Over time, his “warring of two souls” had grown tired. He states, “It was sort of like the caddy thing” (member check 1). He grew weary of trying to live up to an expectation of representing the Black male to appease cohort members. He decided that sitting with his Black cohort would remove him from the veil—no longer having to mask or hide his Black identity.

Peyton’s, Nia’s, and Dan’s observations that racial cliques formed is also reflective of Tatum’s position that there is a historical component of racism that drives social isolation. The historical component of racism that drives social isolation is not limited to schools. The same isolation may be found in urban schools, which are highly segregated, as well as segregated churches, segregated neighborhoods, segregated bars, etc. This is not to argue that these spaces espouse racist views; rather, the observation suggests that there may be historical significance regarding social patterns that makes an individual feel more comfortable associating with others with whom they share ethnic or cultural characteristics. Thus, de facto segregation is just as divisionary as blatant racism, which may explain why these participants operated from a double consciousness condition. Aside from school, none of the participants reflected that they had rich and plentiful experiences with other races/ethnicities, which makes it easier for them to assume

that their counterparts were either racist or ignorant of Black experiences. This ultimately led to the participants to use the historical component of racism to encourage them to do their best, reflect a positive image of Black males, and be skeptical of the perceptions of their counterparts and professors.

This predicament leaves those that experience it with feelings of confusion, and in all four cases, compelled to incorporate CRRT characteristics to transform society. Their experiences with race, class, tracking, sexuality—feeling different—provides impetus for enrolling in a program whose mission includes using cultural responsiveness to provide opportunities to reconstruct the way knowledge is given and received. Thus, it is interesting that there would be a racial separation or a perceived need to debunk certain stereotypes with a program like The Guiding 100. Further, each of the four cases discussed reasons for joining The Guiding 100 and was thankful that the program offered opportunities to explore race, gender, sexuality, class, and language. As Nia notes, “I am so grateful to the way that this class has framed my experience in the program” (weblogs). Therefore, when examining how the participants witnessed the cliques being formed—particularly Peyton—he risked breaking down this wall of racial division at the cost of his or her own racial identity.

Notwithstanding the racial, cultural, or similar interests whereby these cliques were formed, each participant reflected examples of the CRRT component *I am because we are* and have participated in discussions, events, and viewed videos that focus on the importance of strong communities. While this study does not seek to definitively answer this question of how cliques, racial or not, could form in a cohort designed to foster collectivity, it will be important to consider this topic for teacher preparation programs. If teacher preparation programs prepare

future teachers to work in a culturally diverse world; how does racial segregation during instruction targeted toward the aim of dispelling segregation influence future teachers understanding and implementation of educationally equitable practices?

It is important to note that while the participants expressed certain instances of alienation and isolation because of their Black male identity, each case expressed a sincere fondness of his cohort experience. The discussions, trips, activities and assignments may have at times been “intense” or “overwhelming.” Yet, they each reflected on the community that was formed and the professors they had. When examining the data resources (e.g. interviews, member checks, weblogs), there were several comments that showed the rich and wonderful experiences shared between the cohort.

Nia and Dan reported examples that occurred while in the program as teacher candidates that fostered social justice, community engagement, and working peacefully together to resist oppression (e.g., field trip to historical site). In reflecting upon this particular experience, Nia states, “I try to situate myself inside of the movement” (weblog), while Dan laments, “It is difficult seeing streets that were so prosperous for Blacks at one time....I hope this trip has a positive impact on us when we become educators” (weblogs). Allen reflects upon a visit to a local lodge and was grateful to participate in a “team activity” that focuses on strengthening bonds amongst future teachers. He notes, “As teachers, we are going to have to work in teams to be effective...this visit was very beneficial” (weblogs). Nia and Peyton recall a weekend retreat where the cohort spends a weekend engaging in culturally responsive activities, discussing research articles from the culturally responsive pedagogy course, and engaging various topics that highlight social justice practice. Both Nia and Peyton mention the retreat as a moment in the

program where they felt connected with the cohort community and were happy to engage difficult topics. Given that establishing communities of learners is important when seeking to become agents of change, the weekend retreat is important because it removes cohorts from the academy and places them into a relaxed, nonthreatening environment that encourages students to think and speak more freely. The retreat is offered during the 1st semester of the program and focuses on creating bonds amongst the cohort by using culturally responsive applications and teamwork building activities.

This drives the question: if there were experiences that caused anxiety, duality, separation, and tension, how could the experience be endearing (This phenomenon will be discussed further in Chapter 6.)? While there are several questions that are presented, one of the major indicators of double consciousness is how participants respond to the stereotypes and labels placed upon them. When participants are described as “living within the veil,” the term indicates that the person is hiding pieces of his identity, such as his personality and other characteristics for fear that he will be stereotyped and placed into a particular category. The next section will highlight how the participants perform to stereotypes.

### *Pushing against stereotypes*

Steele & Aronson (1995) introduced the term ‘stereotype threat’ and describe it as a psychological condition whereby individuals perform differently when there is a focus on race. Steele & Aronson found that African American students performed better on standardized tests when their race was not included, which means that race becomes an important factor when measuring performance. It is argued here that perceived stereotypes may render pushback.

Although the participants in this study were aware of the stereotypes associated with Black males, each case was determined to work harder to debunk that stereotype.

There was no way to hide their gender and race; therefore, participants used their racial and gender identities as opportunities to push for equitable treatment. Nia spoke to his *Race, gender, and sexuality* as a way to share with his cohort his ideas on homophobia and racism. Nia wants to debunk certain conceptions about male behavior and regarding gay men and black men (synthesis paper, weblogs, introspection and retrospection interviews). Dan consistently addresses race on his weblog discussions regarding stereotypes and, as he continues to learn more about the oppression Black people face, he includes recognizing multiple intelligences from urban school students. Dan does not want future generations of Black students to continue to be stereotyped. In reflecting upon stereotypes in the program and why he worked to disprove them, he notes:

Just being one of the minorities in there and living in society, you already think—"they think I'm not good enough or I'm not as smart." It does motivate you. It's just something in me that says I have to finish because they probably think I can't do this. Or I'm not smart enough to do this. I have to make sure it's done because they're expectations are "He'll leave" or "He'll drop out." I'm the type of person where if you tell me I can't do something, I'm going to try my best to prove you wrong...I think it might have them look at people as individuals more, rather than a race. People will still have their stereotypes because, being a black male in the program, you're still a minority. You represent a very small percentage of the whole, so I don't know if that will change stereotypes but maybe it will have them look at people as individuals rather than a general race.

Whether the stereotypes from other cohort members were real or perceived is of less importance than the fact that the participants were preoccupied with working to refute the stereotypes. Although each case reacted differently to perceived stereotypes, they all shared the concern that they were real and needed to be addressed. Whether it was Dan's insistence on showing up to class on time, Nia's learning to listen more, Allen's attention to speaking articulately around others, or Peyton's commitment to being seen as knowledgeable and educated, purposeful actions to dispel stereotypes were observed in all four men. Peyton articulates,

One of the ways that I try to not be that stereotype; by doing other than what it says. Being ignorant—I'm going to be knowledgeable and educated. Not being a statistic—I'm going to college, graduating, taking care of my family, not going to jail, just being respectful...I'm particular of this while I'm in school...to be as intellectual as possible and really don't sound ignorant. Like you're educated and it's a tough thing to talk about because when we talk about it in class or discussion...there's a lot of the negativity or stereotypes—you see it. As I grow older, you see some who try not to be the stereotype and some who are falling into the stereotype...we don't like to be labeled because I'm not a part of that. I'm not one that does that. But I'm labeled with those people that do. Why? Because of the color of my skin? Which I guess is mainly the part where I felt uncomfortable....(Introspection and retrospection interview 2).

Their experiences with double consciousness—seeing themselves through the eyes of the oppressor—appeared to confront the realities of stereotypes and in some way served as

motivation for them to make change. Serving as a change agent is another mutual pattern found in all four men and is discussed in the next section.

Each participant had prior experiences with racial stereotypes, which affected his experience when entering The Guiding 100 in positive and negative ways. The participants' prior experiences with double consciousness prepared them for "doing their best" because as Nia's grandmother states, "You're a Black male, you have to be better than them." If the participants were going to succeed, all cases believed that they must dress and speak a certain way to "navigate in white spaces" and be successful; if not, they would be stereotyped and placed into a category that reflected low expectations. Previously, Nia heard from a Black professor that he was loud while in the African American Studies Program, which gave him a complex regarding Black people and loud speaking. Allen had been called "White boy" through much of his adolescent years, and he grappled with the idea of "Acting White." Dan had been exposed to DWB, which caused him to dress and speak in a nonthreatening manner when around his cohort and supervisors. Peyton had endured subtle forms of racism from both Black and White people, which caused him to confront racist practices amongst his cohort.

Their experiences as Black men made them aware of how the world saw them—particularly their cohort and professors. They wore their black male identity as a badge of honor, while also "playing the game" to be successful in a White space such as the university. Each participant spoke of honoring those that had come before them. They all understood their position as Black men in college and felt they were fulfilling an obligation that was bigger than them; one where they were obliged to parents, grandparents, community, and friends. For each of



the participants, their identity as men was extremely important. Each case discusses the feeling of being one of the only males in *The Guiding 100* and when teaching in an urban school.

*The gender identity.* As Nia indicates, you can't separate race from gender. The feeling of being one of the only males spoke volumes. All cases recall that the lack of representation of males was noticeable, awkward, and extended beyond racial boundaries. When asked about the racial implication of being in *The Guiding 100* and whether their race impacted the assignments/lessons they created, Allen states, "It's definitely something that I thought about. I think I thought about it more from a male perspective as opposed to a black male perspective. Just because there's a very limited amount of males, in general, in education (introspection and retrospection interview 1).

The feeling of gender isolation did not have the same bearing as race. There was no indication that the participants felt they were stereotyped because of gender, or that they had to represent males in a certain manner; however, being in a predominantly female profession made them feel different from the other participants. This sentiment was especially true for Nia. His experiences of being one of the only males in his Women's Studies Program were similar to his experiences in *The Guiding 100*. Although the participants never expressed experiences with sexism or feeling isolated because of their gender, they did state that there was an obvious differential between the numbers of male students as compared to the number of female students in the program. There was no gender role they felt was needed to be portrayed, such as being the dominant or protective male. Notwithstanding Nia's position that his sexuality sometimes raises questions as to whether he is a "real man"—he was not made to feel insecure about his sexuality. However, being males in a heavily-female field continued beyond their experiences in *The*

Guiding 100. Each participant described their role as Black men in the elementary school; the need to perform multiple roles and acknowledged feeling pressure to represent Black men in a positive light for urban school students.

*CRRT as an urban teacher.* Each participant noted that he is regarded as the disciplinarians of the school because of his gender. There are certain expectations as Black men in elementary school that they are forced to bear and the pressure of exemplifying the image of what a Black male should be creates anxiety regarding failure to perform up to the high level of expectation. As the cases indicate, there is a pervasive sense of pressure. This pressure stems from functioning as a father, brother, friend, and mentor to many of the students who do not have male figures in their lives. As Black men, the participants explained that they know they have to be the best so they can model positive characteristics for their students. Allen explains:

Just being a black male teacher, again, as I said before. There's not a lot of black male teachers, so people expect you to be very good at what you do and you're representing for a lot of different people. You kind of do stand out so you have to be your best at all times, and I feel like there's kind of an added pressure, especially working in urban African American schools, there's pressure to fill a void that maybe a lot of students don't have a positive male role models. There's a lot of positive female role models in the school, but maybe not a lot of positive male role models traditionally. So I feel like there's an extra emphasis on filling other voids, as opposed to just being an educator (final interview).

Allen describes a notion that is larger than just being a Black male teacher. As the participants have indicated, they are wearing multiple hats to fill the void of absentee fathers for many urban

school students. This is not to say that there are no Black male fathers or that other communities do not experience father absenteeism, this is to say that in the participants' experiences, they see a lot of students without fathers in the household. Thus, pressure may be linked to this obligation to be a father figure for these children. When reflecting on his experiences of being a Black male teacher, Nia states:

I feel a tremendous burden, particularly with my male students. Particularly with the ones who I know have no male figure in their life... They're getting a male teacher, who looks like them and who is genuinely interested in their well-being and their development and them growing. It's a burden. I feel like I have to be the best teacher I can be for them. When you talk to parents and you realize how much you are needed. Their parents are like... that kid calls your name and talks about you all day long. And the girls need it, too. I realize that the girls need it just as much as the boys do; but with the girls, what I feel I need to be is a lot different. The boys need me to be firm. The girls need firm, too, but the girls need a hug, too. Being somebody's dad, I'm not used to being that... That's what they need. As much as they need direction, as much as they need someone who's going to be stern and firm, they need someone that's going to love them, too (final interview).

Nia's "burden" is another example of the experience Black men face. His experiences, from representing the Black male voice while in The Women's Studies Program, to portraying a fatherly role for all of his students without fathers in the household, are similar, yet different. The similarity lies in his belief that he must represent a certain image and portrayal so people will gain a certain viewpoint that is not common in their spaces. The difference is in the idea that representing a Black male image in a Woman's Studies Program will not have the same effect on

individuals' lives that a Black male teacher will have on students. Peyton continues expressing the pressures of being a Black male teacher by noting:

It shifted from the program—it's the same but it's not. The expectations are still high. It's still the piece of "I have to do my best," but the focus and the attention is on something else. In school [university], it's like you see all of these White folks or these different ethnicities all together and you want to shine and you want to represent the Black male; but in elementary school there are a lot of black teachers, but I'm still the black male. I'm still the male. They say we need more African American males in the school—so there's still that pressure because they're looking to me like I'm going to save the school. So there's still that kind of pressure where they're looking at you and saying you're an intricate part of these kids' lives and you make an impact just by being here. (final interview)

Here Peyton explains the expectations of being a Black male in an urban school. There is no room for error; he has to do his best. He understands that he has an obligation to be at the school. As he indicates, his mere presence is making a difference. Being the Black male in the school, he is competing against the thoughts many of the teachers, parents, or students may have regarding Black males.

### *Social Justice Commitment*

For the participants in this study, questions of identity were strongly influenced by context. For example, Nia's experiences growing up in "Chocolate City" and witnessing the strong sense of community shared among the residents inspired him to create a staunch community cohort and work together to challenge wealth distribution in urban areas. Given his

prior experiences with homophobia, he is concerned with the ways gay students are bullied because of his previous experiences and wants his cohort members to join together to bring awareness to homophobia in urban communities. Allen was determined to reconstruct the idea of “Acting White” and operate from a color-blind lens due to his experiences in K-12 schools—being called “White boy” from his peers and being labeled as “Acting White” inspires Allen to educate and speak out to his cohort about these topics. Dan’s experiences with the tracking system in high school where he was forced to choose between the vocational track and college-prep track encouraged him to discuss ways of dismantling the tracking system with his cohort. Additionally, when he heard a radio broadcast in 2007 that indicated 50% of the Black male kindergartners in 2005 would drop out of high school, Dan applied to The Guiding 100 because he wants to change help young Black students labeled at-risk to see the value in education. Tracking also affects Peyton. In his introspection and retrospection interview 2, he states:

To me, it felt like my city, that I was born and raised in, is a setup. Because you have twelve elementary schools, you have two middle schools, you have one high school. So what else do you expect? You’re left with a city full of kids that you throw into this one building and what do you expect? They may not even make it to high school. My sisters didn’t make it to high school. I guess that’s why it touches home so much. Both of my sisters”.

Peyton’s experiences with tracking notwithstanding, his confrontations with race at the age of fourteen also manifests in his experiences in The Guiding 100. The White golfers compelled him to challenge the notion of *The American Dream* by sitting with his White counterparts in hopes of tearing down the racial division in class; however, his identity as a Black man was questioned

by his other Black cohort members. This gave him the idea to challenge the idea behind *The American Dream*—similar to Allen’s *Mental Bondage*, Nia’s *Don’t forget about my cheese*, and Dan’s *Being a Black male* in society dominated by Whites—each case critiques America’s treatment of diversity, whether that be race, class, sexuality, or language. It is argued here that, contrary to Freire’s theory of the oppressed becomes the oppressor, these participants’ experiences with double consciousness encourage them to combat oppression for the advancement of future generations of oppressed people. *I am because we are.*

*Urban school students.* They all shared similar sentiments regarding valuing urban school students. Peyton argued that, “Teachers are quick to label things they don’t understand (weblogs; synthesis paper)”. Each participant had different topics that were explored when focusing on the urban community, but they all demonstrated a strong commitment and care. In Nia’s synthesis paper, he focuses on the criminalization of urban youth and argues, “As an educator of urban youth...I have to be especially aware of some of these systems put in place. One of the most dangerous pitfalls is the criminal justice system. African American and Latinos only account for a small percentage of the American population but are increasingly overrepresented in prisons.” Dan, Peyton, and Allen focus more on multiple intelligences and the need for teachers to understand the gifts urban school students bring with them. As Peyton notes, “They are all geniuses” (all data sources). All cases share the same thoughts on language urban school students bring to the classroom. They each want to see more value placed on ESOL and Ebonics speakers. While there may be different opinions, from Nia, Allen, and Peyton’s acceptance of Ebonics in the classroom to Dan’s perspective on using Ebonics outside of the classroom, they each indicate that language is representative of the community and cultural norms; thus, schools should embrace these differences rather than label and shun them.

Each participant grew up in urban communities and understood the labels that were associated with these areas. Although Dan went to private schools and magnet schools, they each have the experience of attending urban schools and have witnessed firsthand the monetary inequities students in urban schools experience. Their experiences provide a gateway to connect even more. As Dan indicates, “I’m the underdog”, or as Nia suggests, “I’ve seen a lot of poverty in ‘Chocolate City’—when coming out of a space that has negative labels attached to it, there is also an unmistakable pride that encourages ‘coming back’ to work with others on reinvesting in the community. Nia speaks to this by indicating “I still live in the urban community because I want to stay connected with the students I teach” (introspection and retrospection interview 1).

One data source used in the study (i.e., the synthesis paper) illuminated the participants’ change agent stance by exploring topics that spoke to resisting racism, classism, and sexism, understanding multiple intelligences, heterosexism and gender inequities, and the stereotype threat. The synthesis paper included a letter to the president that focused on repairing many of the ailments that plague urban schools. Although there were different topics explored, such as the No Child Left Behind program and providing more funds for the arts and extracurricular activities, each participant exposed issues with urban schools that needed to be addressed. Their letter was written with honoring urban schools and its communities, while also recognizing the disparities between how urban schools are treated in comparison to more affluent schools.

### **Summary**

The participants describe their experience with mixed feelings. While the participants share joyous experiences from The Guiding 100, each participant suffered from a state of duality. The experiences of growing up as a Black male impacted the ways they matriculated through the

program. Each participant shared stories of having to protect their Black male identity by seeking to 'become the best'. This, in turn, may have altered their perceived notions of how their White counterparts and professors see them. In their cohort journey, they all experienced times of happiness and frustration. They all attempted to establish community with their cohort and made several attempts to share with their cohort how oppression affects urban school students. During their journey, each participant witnessed racial division amongst the cohort. Allen was the only participant that felt the cohort may have been divided according to general interest—not race. Each participant sought change for urban communities and wanted his cohort to join the cause. All four participants entered with different experiences that had impact on their identities as Black men. Nia struggled with his identity as a loud, gay, Black man prior to entering The Guiding 100 and felt tension from his White professors and cohort members that he needed to be quiet. Dan felt as if he always had to be on time to avoid the label of CPT (colored people's time) and felt he was an 'underdog' because of his Black identity. All four participants wanted to ensure they dressed neatly and spoke articulately to avoid the stereotypes aligned with Black men. Each participant spoke of several inequities that affect urban school students. Nia focused race, class, and language, but primarily spoke to gay bullying. Allen wanted to change the label of 'acting white'. Allen also felt that race does not exist. Peyton was concerned with the ways Black students are labeled in schools and wants teachers to remove their biases. All four participants want to dismantle the school to prison pipeline because they feel there is a specific target on Black urban school students. Although Nia and Dan initially struggled with culturally responsive implementation during supervisor observations, by the end of the program, all four participants performed exceedingly well on their culturally responsive tasks. The entry interview, weblogs, synthesis paper, and mathematics teaching and learning project proved to be great data



resources for tracking their journey. All four participants are teaching in urban schools but admit that cultural responsiveness is difficult to maintain. While there was enormous pressure of being one of few Black males in The Guiding 100, each participant expressed that there is an overwhelming amount of pressure as a Black male teacher in an urban school. Double consciousness was presented in a variety of ways and had different manifestations for each participant. While Nia chose to remain silent for fear of being labeled the loud, Black guy, Dan's behavior regarding racial implications remained skeptical throughout his program experience. Allen chose to see things through a colorblind lens because of all he has endured as an adolescent, while Peyton chose to remove himself from 'the peculiar sensation' of double consciousness by beginning to sit with the Black students.

## **6 DISCUSSION**

This study provides insight on how double consciousness manifests for Black males in an urban teacher preparation program designed to foster cultural responsiveness. The research found that prior experiences with double consciousness perpetuate Black males' oppression and forces them to see their perceived selves through their White counterparts' and professors' eyes. Double consciousness has a twoness that causes distrust of those that are perceived to be oppressive while also inspires individuals to 'be the best'. Cohort communities are a great way to facilitate a community of learners but if not managed carefully can lead to racial and ethnic separation. After graduating from the teacher preparation program, the participants were inconsistent with their cultural responsiveness but were charged to use the teaching profession as a means to create positive change for others.

I conducted a multiple case study to bind their experience through time and space. To generate findings, multiple data sources were used that include: entry interview, weblogs, synthesis paper, mathematics teaching and learning project, fall and three spring supervision observation rubrics, introspection and retrospection interviews, member checks, and a final interview. Extant data sources were examined to identify their teachers' journey while in the program (i.e. entry interview, weblogs, synthesis paper, mathematics teaching and learning project, and fall and spring supervision observation scores). The extant data utilized participants' artifacts to examine if double consciousness and CRRT were evident in their journey through The Guiding 100 Urban Teacher Preparation Program.

The selection requirements specify that participants identify as a Black or African American male, have completed The Guiding 100, and are currently teaching in an urban school. The research questions allowed me to determine whether the program contributed to participants' understanding and implementation of CRRT and if double consciousness contributed to their CRRT pedagogical position. By providing opportunities for the participants to discuss their experiences before, during, and after the teacher preparation program, I was able to focus on their CRRT characteristics and experiences with double consciousness, determine whether their CRRT understanding and experiences with double consciousness increased while in the program, and how CRRT and double consciousness are evident in their experiences since finishing the program.

I began this dissertation with the determination to examine Duncan's call for more Black male teachers. Similar to Lynn's (2002) exploration of Black male teachers, he too felt that Duncan was missing major pieces of the Black male teacher conversation. Although Black male

teacher shortage represents one concern that must be faced, the participants discuss high-stakes testing, the school-to-prison pipeline, discipline, and racialized identities as a different set of challenges that must also be confronted. Thus, while CRRT works to counter these issues, being a Black male teacher will not work in isolation. Rather, educational reform must meet the new challenges of today if we are seriously committed to the idea of usurping the historical problem of equity for Black students. Ladson-Billings (2013) states, “Every generation has its own task and our task is not more difficult than that of those who went before us. Our task is not harder than chattel slavery. It is not harder than sharecropping or legal segregation. In the grand scheme of things, the task to educate our children is nowhere near as difficult as the tasks our ancestors took on. Educating our children is the most important task we face because “stakes is high!” (p. 110). While this idea seems clear, teaching becomes an arduous task when teachers are at risk of being reprimanded due to low test scores. In an examination of New York public schools, Hursh (2013) concluded that teachers are under enormous pressure to produce high scores on standardized testing. In fact, testing is one of the primary indicators of whether a teacher is successful. He contends, “...Students’ test scores will be used to decide whether teachers will be rated highly effective, effective, developing, or ineffective, and those rated ineffective or developing will be required to receive additional professional development” (p. 575). Hursh’s critique of high-stakes testing is exemplified in the automaton ideology that the participants characterized in this study.

Although the participants graduated from a culturally responsive program and indicate that cultural responsiveness is highly needed in urban schools, each participant indicates an uncertainty of using CRRT when faced with being reprimanded for low test scores. Ultimately, Duncan’s call for more Black male teachers is needed; however, searching for meaningful ways

to ensure success amongst Black k-12 students—particularly males—must not end with a targeted racial and gender agenda. Duncan must look at educational dilemma more holistically. In other words, how will Black male teachers ensure the success of Black K-12 students if they are merely delivering standards based instruction for fear of being rated ineffective? As Ladson-Billings suggests, indeed the stakes are high, but increasing Black male teacher recruitment to increase student achievement amongst Black male K-12 students seems to be a halfhearted approach.

I encourage Duncan to continue his recruitment efforts, but I also challenge him to examine structural policies (e.g. school-to-prison pipeline) and inequitable funding that continue to stifle academic success for Black students. Additionally, the Teacher Education field should consider the past experiences of Black male teachers. How has the schooling process shaped their beliefs regarding the educational system? Findings from this study indicate each participant sought social change for K-12 students. Their charge to create change in urban public schools—in part because of their experiences in K-12 urban schooling—represents that there is more work to be done to ensure Black students are succeeding. Although it is plausible a Black male may be able to relate to the racialized experiences of Black students, this does not guarantee opportunities to implement CRRT. Furthermore, understanding the affect of double consciousness requires a cultural shift whereby teachers and students of all races need to be exposed to the duality racism creates.

During this study, the participants told compelling narratives that indicate how their Black male identity impacted their teaching journey. Their journey is comprised of positive examples of family and community involvement, cultural pride, and commitment for change. The

participants utilized an inner consciousness that was nurtured from friends, community, and family that compelled them to be the best. Each participant also quickly recognized the difficulties of living as a Black man, which made him acute on how to navigate in White spaces. The participants' experiences will be discussed in five sections according to the research questions: experiences with the cohort community, experiences they entered with, experiences with responding to CRRT assignments, their CRRT experiences as teachers, and their experiences with double consciousness.

### **Experiences With The Cohort Community**

The Guiding 100 is an urban teacher preparation program that specifically focuses on utilizing cultural responsiveness to teach urban school students. Much like Weiner's (2000) depiction of urban teacher preparation programs, The Guiding 100 believes that teachers must be well prepared to accommodate the various diversity urban school students bring. This program provides several opportunities to engage the cohort on the contributions of marginalized groups and creates empowering opportunities for the cohort to solve problems that affect urban school students and communities. The participants in this study remarked that they felt more invested with the program when given the chance to explore topics that reconstructed understandings of marginalized groups—particularly Black contributions. The participants experienced what may be referred to as *Black Power* (Hartigan, 2010). Black power involves being proud of the contributions of Black people and understanding the great legacy which has been passed down. Du Bois' (1992) notes, "...so far as his own people are concerned, he is in direct contact with individuals and facts...It gives him a social world and mental piece" (p.173). Echoing the words of Du Bois, the participants' emotions when discussing Black achievement illustrates that teacher preparation programs must provide more opportunities to include Black

accomplishments (Agnew, Mertzman, Longwell-Grice, and Saffold, 2008; Hartigan, 2010). This inclusive approach creates an impassioned desire to help future generations reconstruct their ideals regarding marginalized groups (Gay, 2000). The participants indicated that the cohort encourages them to utilize culturally responsive experiences in the classroom because it will provide urban school students an opportunity to feel connected to greatness (Hilliard, 1995; Du Bois, 2009).

Each participant in this study enjoyed his cohort experience. Each spoke of various learning opportunities that were provided and how the information learned could be used in their teaching practice. The cohort trips, learning activities, group work, and assignments were, at some times, overwhelming, but enjoyable nonetheless. The community feeling amongst a teacher preparation cohort provides members an opportunity to grow and learn together and provides shared experiences that encourage motivation of one another (Dinsmore and Wenger, 2006). The cohort community provides opportunities to explore race, class, gender, and other topics that empower future change agents (Banks, 1995; Hoffman, 1996). For example, Nia was pleased to discuss sexuality when that topic arose because he felt that cohort members had misunderstandings of gay men, and he felt compelled to lend his voice to the conversation. Dan felt like he would change the world after graduating from the program because he felt his cohort experience provided him with multiple social justice causes to join (Lynn, 2006). Although each participant reported that his experience in the cohort was wonderful and full of engaging learning opportunities, there were moments whereby their racial and gender identity created frustration. The participants indicate that they felt as if there were times whereby their Black male identity was caused anxiety (Jennings, 2007; Sapon-Shevin & Chandler-Olcott, 2001).

The cohort provides multiple strategies for how to utilize cultural responsiveness for pre-service teachers' future work (Pabon, Anderson, and Kharem, 2011); yet, the participants also expressed their disappointment when their cohort members illustrated their lack of knowledge regarding historical representations of Black contributions (Dinsmore & Wenger, 2006). Furthermore, three out of the four participants in this study indicate that racial lines were drawn amongst the cohort (Seifert, K., & Mandzuk, D. (2006). All of the participants expressed that this division happened over time. Within the first semester, everyone seemed close; however, by the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> semester, racial cliques had been formed.

This finding is critical for teacher preparation programs. Cohort communities are a vital tool for preparing future teachers, yet, if the proper attention is not given, they may also become a counterintuitive representation of what the program is trying to instill (Dinsmore & Wenger, 2006). For example, the Guiding 100 seeks to prepare future culturally responsive teachers. Yet, within this very program separation and division exists. This presents a huge problem for teacher preparation programs because the pre-service teachers may take these separatist ideas into the classrooms with them.

### **Experiences they entered with.**

Current research suggests that Black male teachers bring a plethora of experiences with them to the education field, which may assist in their culturally responsive practices (Dancy, 2011; Du Bois, 1903; Lynn, 2006). The four participants all brought examples of CRRT to the Guiding 100 program. Nia sought to transform homophobic bullying and create a community within the cohort. Allen was determined to challenge the notion of 'Acting White'. Dan was compelled to change the urban school dropout rate pattern; and, Peyton was charged to transform

the ways urban school students are perceived. Although each participant entered with CRRT experiences, he continued to build upon his preconceived ideas and began challenging themselves to think differently. For example, Dan entered the program with predispositions regarding poor parents. However, his ideas changed as he continued to be exposed to culturally responsive literature. Another example can be found in Allen's feelings towards race. He began the program seeing people in terms of Black and White, and once exposed to activities, discussions, and literature, he soon began deconstructing the notion of race and argues that it doesn't exist.

This finding speaks volumes to teacher preparation programs and K-12 schools. If taught properly and enough time is granted, pre-service teachers are able to extend upon their ideas about race, class, gender, etc. (King, J., Hollins, E. R., & Hayman, W. C., 1997). Each participant showed growth in the CRRT understandings from the time he entered the program to the time he exited. It is important to note that each participant entered with a CRRT agenda. To be clear, each sought to work with urban school students because they related with his experiences (Martino & Rezai-Rashti (2010). Thus, it is not quite clear how much growth would have been made if the participants had entered with negative views of urban school students. Therefore, much like The Guiding 100, teacher preparation programs must be careful in their selection process so they can continue to build upon pre-service teachers' culturally responsive beliefs as opposed to starting from ground zero.

### **Experiences with responding to CRRT assignments.**

The first CRRT framework examines the concept of I am because we are (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Mbiti, J. S., 1969). The focus of this CRRT component is Ladson Billing's (1994)



community of learners and the teacher sees themselves as part of the community. Gay (2000) mentions the idea of learning cooperatively and successfully, but she credits Ladson-Billings as the driving force behind community practice. All four participants attempted to build community with their cohort to establish academic success, while also encouraging their cohort members to value urban communities. Given that all four participants have are from urban communities, I believe that there admiration for urban communities comes from their prior experiences. Given that they all lived in urban communities at some point in their lives, I find that one of the primary reasons they wanted to return to the urban community is to encourage fellow teachers to challenge their notions of urban school students (Davis, Ramahlo, Beyerbach, & London, 2008; Kunjufu, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1994 ). An example of the participants high regard for urban school students is evident when Peyton indicates in his first introspection and retrospection interview teachers have to challenge the ways urban school students are viewed or when Allen argues in his entry interview that it is important to begin by looking at what teachers are doing rather than blaming the urban school students. Peyton indicates that since he is from the urban communities, he is determined to bring changes to the institutional racism that effects urban communities (Ladson-Billings, G., 1995b; Gay, 2000; Lynn, 2010)

*I am because we are* is vital to the success of urban school students. It creates an opportunity for teachers to work with one another to transform the educative process in urban schools and also instills communal pride within K-12 students. *I am because we are* encourages the success of all students in the school and works to gain school participation from parents, community members, local school agencies, and teachers and students so that everyone has an invested interest in students' success.

The second CRRT component focuses on *It imparts knowledge so that all marginalized students confront oppression in all forms and are empowered to transform hegemonic ideology and practice for the betterment of the school and global community*. All participants discussed their commitment to challenging the various forms of oppression that impacts urban school students' lives (Brown & Butty, 1999). Nia focuses on race, class, language, and sexuality. After reading *DreamKeepers*, Nia discussed the importance of moving beyond the textbook so students can be properly educated about differences. One of Nia's primary concerns was to end bullying gay students. Thus, the findings suggest that prior experiences with oppression leads to creating new opportunities for marginalized groups (Lewis, & Toldson, 2013). This finding is important because it extends the current research of how teachers are able to use cultural responsiveness to bring social change (Durden and Truscott, 2013; Lynn, 2006; Pabon, Anderson, and Kharem, 2011).

The third component of CRRT *It embraces different learning styles and languages and uses diversity, care, and home culture as a bridge to foster academic success*. All of the participants recognize that students who bring their home language to the classroom are often marginalized. Dan feels that ESOL students are tracked into remedial classes and labeled merely because they speak a different language (Valenzuela, A., 2009).. Peyton, Nia, and Dan discuss the positive effects of utilizing cultural responsiveness to reach Ebonics speakers because they are often marginalized (Perry & Delpit, 1998). Embracing different learning styles and languages is critical to the development of marginalized students. Ladson-Billings (1994) and Gay (2000) indicate that one of the ways teachers can become culturally competent is by appreciating the various learning styles and languages urban school students bring. Utilizing care to bridge the gap between school and home culture will create a space for urban school students to feel valued

for who they are, which will ultimately reconstruct the negative perceptions they may have of themselves (Payne, Y., Starks, B., & Gibson, L., 2009; Toldson, I. A., Owens, D., 2010; Way, N., Hernandez, M., Rogers, L. & Hughes, D., 2013).

The fourth component of CRRT is *It requires critical self-reflection in order to value and show appreciation of others' cultures*. All of the participants showed appreciation for other cultures. In the synthesis paper, each participant discussed the atrocities that have happened to other racial/ethnic groups. For example, Nia discusses how the Native Americans were 'wiped out' and need to be treated more equitably. Across data sources, particularly the mathematics teaching and learning project, participants indicated that they were charged to model behaviors that exhibit care and compassion for all students. This finding is important because it illustrates how individuals whom have suffered from oppression or marginalization are encouraged to value other individuals who may have endured similar treatment.

Unfortunately, Peyton was the only participant that expressed importance of self-reflection. Thus, it became apparent that more thought must be given toward how teachers are reflecting upon their practice (Ladson-Billings, 1994). If teachers do not reflect upon their pedagogy, they will never understand what they can do to make their lessons better.

The fifth component of CRRT is *It values the whole child and seeks to construct knowledge rather than providing information* did not render many examples from the participants. Peyton is the only participant that discussed teaching the whole child. He focuses on health, hygiene, and establishes personal relationships to better understand what his student need to be successful. According to this study, participants value community, imparting knowledge, different languages

and learning styles. However, there was not much attention given to the importance of teaching holistically.

### **CRRT experiences as teachers.**

Each participant admits the level of difficulty to include cultural responsiveness depending upon the grade level. However, as Ladson-Billings (1994) and Martinez (2012) indicate, there are various ways to get students of all ages involved. Much like Martinez used hip-hop to connect with her students, teachers must begin to use multiple strategies to form a connection with students (Banks, J. A., & Banks, C. A., 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Gay, 2000). There was also concern regarding the amount of time it takes to prepare a culturally responsive lesson, while having to perform to high-stakes test mandates. Each participant finds CRRT imperative to utilize with urban school students because he understands the need for students to see themselves in the lesson and to appreciate their cultural difference. However, after leaving the program, all 4 participants admitted that they have to remain consistent and learn how to implement it every day. For example, Dan indicates:

I deal with kids who, a lot of them don't see the incentive of education. But I think if you make it culturally responsive, they show more interest in it. I've seen that. If I give them an assignment to where they have to...that includes their family in it, they're more interested in it as compared to just giving them a worksheet. So I still believe it's necessary in school. But I just have to make sure that I get more focused on it. Some of the focus got away with the changing of the standards, with CRCT and writing tests. But I do think it's very necessary in schools (final interview).

Dan illustrates common concern amongst many culturally responsive teachers. Culturally responsive teaching should not be viewed as an add-on. It must be a part of a teacher's pedagogical compass. For example, during this study, 3 out of the 4 participants discussed when they use cultural responsiveness in their classrooms. Only one indicated that it's just a part of who he is as an educator. Hence, utilizing culturally responsive teaching is different from being a culturally responsive teacher. Nia asserts that he doesn't think about it when he does it, it is a part of him. He tends to remember afterwards and reflects, "Oh, I used culturally responsive pedagogy today" (final interview). Nia's statement is important. He came into the program with staunch CRRT components and has a long history of 'doing his' best. Yet, he has shied away from the very thing that brought him to the program—his commitment to challenging oppression.

Paris & Alim (2014) discusses the problems with remaining consistent with cultural responsiveness. They suggest that their new framework *Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy* (CSP) encourages teachers to sustain an understanding of diverse communities in "traditional and evolving ways" (p. 91). Thus, as neighborhoods, communities, and cultural norms shift, CSP plans to shift with the times. While CSP and CRRT illustrate how the culturally responsive field continues to evolve, it is important for teacher preparation programs to consider what is happening during teacher induction. How are teacher preparation program completers implementing what was learned? Although each participant in this study entered this program with zeal to change social injustices, they all have admitted that they are not consistent. This finding was very surprising and encourages me to investigate further how CRRT can be implemented more consistently.

### **Experiences with double consciousness.**

Although the research on Black male teachers has grown in the last two decades (Brockenbrough, 2012; Brown & Butty, 1999; Lewis, 2006, Lynn 2006), there still remains a lacuna when it comes to racialized experiences that Black males bring to teacher preparation programs. Understanding whether experiences with racial and gender oppression can enhance Black males' commitment to changing the social discourse and marginalization of targeted groups (e.g. racial, class, and sexual orientation) is critical for teacher preparation programs seeking to recruit more Black male teachers (Dancy, 2011). It is argued here that experiences with double consciousness must be examined for teacher preparation programs to effectively sustain positive learning environments for Black males and create spaces whereby identity is treated with understanding and sensitivity. Thus, Black male teachers effectiveness in the classroom will be less productive if deeply-rooted societal representations of Black males are not addressed and transformed (Graham & Erwin, 2011).

Teacher preparation programs must place more awareness on previous racial and gender experiences for Black males (Weiner, 2014). Black males must be provided with opportunities to embrace who they are from within the veil in order to become less skeptical of those that they see from beyond the veil (Sapon-Shevin & Olcott, 2001). This will provide a more nurturing environment for Black males to flourish and will allow them to focus on CRRT implementation rather than being consumed with how to alter their identity to navigate in White spaces. Furthermore, when teacher preparation programs incorporate positive historical representations of Black people, as seen in this study, it encourages cohort members to reconstruct Black identity and reveals pride from its Black cohort members.

This type of transformative education renders a reconstructed view of Black male identity and provides space for Black students to feel a part of the educational process rather than apart from it. When teacher preparation programs work to understand the complexity of Black male identity, and are able to transform the negative stereotypes surrounding Black male identity (Weiner, 2000), pre-service teachers in the cohort will be able to take this information with them to K-12 classrooms (Gay, 2000; Lynn, 2006), which may encourage more Black males to enter a profession whereby they are not objects but subjects (Asante 1998).

Much of the current research on Black males focuses on dropout rates, incarceration, the low percentage of Black male teachers, and the need for more Black males to serve as role models. It is argued here that it will be more beneficial to incorporate Black males' voice to shed light on how schools are dropping out on Black students (Hilliard, 1995), the school to prison pipeline (The Children's Defense Fund), and the various responsibilities that Black male teachers experience when becoming a teacher (Brockenbrough, 2012). By investigating double consciousness and CRRT, teacher preparation programs are able to better understand the complexity of Black male identity and how their experiences can be used as a social change conduit for all marginalized groups (Brown & Butty, 1999; Lynn, 2010).

This study provides personal narratives and experiences of current Black male teachers in urban schools and promotes awareness of what they endure prior to, during, and after graduating from an urban teacher preparation program. The current conversation regarding Black male teachers focuses on their ability to serve as role models to students of color; yet, this study exemplifies how Black male teachers serve many roles in the urban school classrooms. Similar to Irvine's (1989) findings on Black teachers serving as role models, she contends, "They are

cultural translators and intercessors for Black students, thereby directly contributing to their school achievement” (p. 51). Thus, the current conversation regarding Black male teachers must embed the unfair treatment and labels that Black boys endure during their K-12 experiences (Children’s Defense Fund, 2011; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Noguera, 2008; Steele and Aronson, 1995) and how racial and gender experiences within and beyond the school context create life-long learning opportunities for Black males, which may make it difficult to trust others that are perceived as an oppressing force. Black male teachers take these experiences in the classroom with them and the cultural translation that Irvine speaks of may unfortunately operate in antithesis fashion that includes lessons on why it is necessary to lose parts of your identity in order to navigate in White spaces (e.g. Ebonics).

Winkle-Wagner (2009) conducted research on Black female identity on college campuses and found that there was such an enormous amount of institutional racism and pressure to conform to the expectations from the college, peers, and professors. Black females were unable to develop their own sense of identity; rather, their identity was obscured by becoming something favorable for everyone else. Although Winkle-Wagner focused on Black females, the findings are similar to the four Black males in this study. Winkle-Wagner and Locks (2014) discuss the social ailments that marginalized groups bring to college by stating:

For example, experiences with racism, hostility, or not feeling like who a student is (one’s racial group, gender, sexual orientation, class, background) is the norm or standard on college campus can create tensions and dissonance in students’ attempt to develop themselves during college...It is our view that students cannot be fully included on college campuses unless they feel safe and free to develop during this process. In this



spirit, it is vital to have some understanding of the large body of scholarship that has offered ideas as to various processes, statuses, stages, or issues that students may experience during this process of development in order to know how to best work with and for students” (p. 116).

Although there is little research that specifically targets Black males in a master’s program cohort that includes their racialized and gender experiences and, moreover, how their double consciousness may affect their CRRT implementation, it is evident that social perceptions of race can either positively or negatively effect identity. From Clarke’s (1951) doll test experiment to Cross’ (1991) 5 stage nigrescence model, researchers have sought to understand how social perceptions of race contribute to Black identity. Yet, researchers to date have often overlooked the usefulness of Du Bois’ concept of double consciousness as a sustainable theory for understanding how racism effects Black identity. Particularly in the case of these four participants, the impact of double consciousness illustrates the gift and curse that Du Bois speaks of (Bruce, 1992). Seeing from within the veil allows Black males the fortunate position of understanding and appreciating who they are, and unless you understand the difficulty of living as a Black person in America, you remain oblivious to the nuances that reside from within the veil; yet, seeing from beyond the veil allows for understanding the psychological barring racism imbues. Seeing from beyond the veil creates a vantage point for Black people because they are able to predict the myopic view that perpetuates White supremacy—thus, as Du Bois put it, he is able to know them [Whites] better than they know themselves. However, Black males’ perception of racism has bearing on their identity. First, Black males may begin to act in accordance with the way they believe they are perceived thereby taking on a new identity that requires them to perform with an altered identity. Second, Black males become skeptical of all

Whites they encounter—assuming that each White person is guilty of perpetuating hegemonic or racist ideals. This is considered a curse because this skepticism stifles the potential growth of racial harmony and creates distrust amongst their White counterparts. On the other hand, seeing from beyond the veil encourages Black males to perform at their best when encountering their White counterparts and, as the participants indicate, helps navigate in White spaces.

Double consciousness led these participants to perform their best and demonstrate resilience. Although there is minimal research on Black male teachers—particularly how double consciousness manifests in CRRT implementation—there is ample research that examines stereotype threat (Steele and Aronson, 2004), Acting White (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986), Black identity (Cross, W.E., 1991; Rezai-Rashti, G. M., & Martino, W. J., 2010; Way, N., Hernandez, M., Rogers, L. & Hughes, D., 2013 ) and resilience (Allen; Gordon, Harper) for marginalized groups. Resilience not only illustrates the negative effects of racialized experiences for Black students, it also provides a framework for what marginalized students can do to overcome these obstacles.

Resilience may be defined as “using energy to achieve school goals in the face of adverse conditions” (Patterson, Collins, and Abbott, year, p. 3). Resilience is an important discovery for understanding how performing to racial perceptions led these four Black males to put forth their best effort in the cohort and in their teaching experience (Patterson, Collins, and Abbott). Not only did the participants exercise resilience in the cohort, but they also demonstrate resilience as Black male teachers with an understanding that their Black male identity brings enormous responsibility. Participants’ presence is perceived as an anomaly in elementary schools and they must assume many roles (father, mentor, disciplinarian, etc.), which encourages them to

be the best representation of Black men for their urban school students. Gordon (2004) researched minority college students and resilience in PWI's and found that the participants in their study, "...indicate that the actions of resilient individuals are guided first by how they perceive and interpret their environments. These beliefs then form the basis for purposive, planned, actions undertaken to move away from negative circumstances and toward more adaptive end states" (p. 123). Thus, as Sameroff (1989) also concluded, the environment has the ability to alter identity. Much like the four cases in this study, matriculating in White spaces encouraged them to alter who they were in order to gain success in the program, and although they may not have altered their identity as Black male teachers in urban schools, they understood that their identity placed them into positions whereby they felt a huge amount of responsibility to be the "saviors of the school" (Peyton, final interview).

An example of altering identity in their cohort experience can be found in Nia's silencing for fear that he would be labeled as the loud, angry, Black guy. Agnew, Mertzman, Longwell-Grice, and Saffold (2008) also found the silencing effect on males and persons of color in a teacher education cohort. They argue that it is imperative to "improve the cohort system to reduce marginalization and silencing of its non-dominant members" (p. 31). This begs to question whether resilience alone can determine the success of Black males in a cohort located at a PWI.

Allen (1992) conducted a national study of 1800 Black college students in HBCU's and PWI's and found that Black students at HBCU's outperform Black students at PWI's because of institutional dynamics—meaning the PWI's caused more stress on Black students because of their experiences with racial composition. Out of the 4 participants in this study, 3 of the

participants graduated from HBCU's prior to attending The Guiding 100. Peyton was the only participant who came into the program questioning whether he was fit to perform well at a PWI because of his prior enrollment at an HBCU and his K-12 urban school experience. He was unsure whether he was adequately prepared to be successful. However, he was able to use this doubt to perform at the highest performance level to convince his White counterparts and his supervisors that he belonged—resilience. Peyton, Nia, and Allen characterize their HBCU experience as a space that provided great security in who they are as Black men and scholars. Although there is much research that examines Black student performance at HBCU's and PWI's (Allen, 1992; Cross; 1997; Harper, 2012), there needs to be further examination of whether graduates of HBCU's feel adequately prepared when enrolling in graduate school at a PWI, and how does their Black male identity change when the student body population changes and they are forced to navigate in White spaces. While this was not the purpose of this study, it should be noted that the 3 participants spoke well of their HBCU experience and were able to embrace their Black male identity; yet, when transitioning to a PWI, all of the cases, including the case who attended a PWI in undergraduate school, altered their identity because they felt their Black male identity could be aligned against the social perceptions of Black males (e.g. ignorant, loud, hood, lazy, ghetto).

Harper (2012) conducted a qualitative study of 219 males and found that their success was contingent upon their ability to navigate in racially diverse spaces and their support from family and peers. Similar to Harper's study, the 4 participants in this study attributed their success to family and friends and were dependent upon their support systems as a means for empowerment. The four cases were also warned at early ages that you have to perform at a certain level when working in White spaces, which may explain the pressure felt when beginning

their cohort journey. They were cautious of their White counterparts and supervisors and constantly challenged their perceived interpretations of how they were viewed as Black men.

Looking through a double consciousness lens allows for researchers to understand how Black males feel they are perceived. And, because of this perception, Black males begin to focus on what it takes to navigate in White spaces opposed to reframing the condition that has forced them to operate with duality. This is dangerous for future generations of Black males. If Black males carry societal oppression with them into the classroom and, in turn, teach young Black males how to operate under this condition, one has to question how much progress is being made. In this study, each participant described feeling stereotyped, the need to do his best for the purpose of representing Black men, and altering his identity to seem “nonthreatening.” Thus, this raises attention to the identity crisis that Black males face. How can Black males be expected to operate in a space where they feel they have to hide their truer self?

The Guiding 100 is a program that seeks to transform oppression in urban schools, to encourage change agents, and to welcome diversity. Yet, even in this space, the participants were still unsure as to how they were perceived. They saw themselves through society’s stereotypes of Black males. An example of this can be found from Dan and Peyton claiming they understood that their White cohort members saw them as something else. Although they witnessed separation and division amongst the cohort, they all claimed that they never experienced racism, and yet, they still felt uneasy in this mixed-race setting. Instead of resisting the psychological oppression of altering their identity, the Black males in this study felt it was imperative to alter their identity to be successful. In *Of The Training of Black Men*, Du Bois (1903) states:

So here we stand among thoughts of human unity, even through conquest and slavery; the inferiority of black men, even if forced by fraud; a shriek in the night for freedom of men who themselves are not yet sure of their right to demand it (p. 68).

Teacher preparation programs must learn how to tear down the walls of oppositional duality for Black males in order to resist the temptation to alter their identities, so they can truly be liberated thinkers.

### **Implications for Urban Teacher Preparation Programs and Future Research**

The study draws attention to the lack of research given to Black male pre-service teachers. This research is innovative because it situates Black males' experiences under a CRRT framework to understand how double consciousness manifests itself in tasks designed to increase awareness of working with urban students. The research suggests (a) prior experiences with double consciousness perpetuates Black males' oppression and forces them to see their perceived selves through their White counterparts' and supervisors' eyes b.) double consciousness has a twoness that causes distrust of those that are perceived to be oppressive while also inspires individuals to 'be the best' c) cohort communities are a great way to facilitate a community of learners but if not managed carefully can lead to racial and ethnic separation d.) identifying with marginalization can empower individuals to use the teaching profession as a means to create positive change for others and e.) after graduating from the teacher preparation program, the participants did not remain consistent with their cultural responsiveness.

Although each of the participants in this study illustrate a different experience with race, sexuality, and class, they all understand how their identity must be negotiated to survive in white spaces and utilize resilience to perform well in the face of adversity. To understand and interpret Black males' experiences, simply using course documents would not have been enough. It was important for the participants to engage in conversation so that I may be able to obtain understanding of the personal experiences Black males bring with them; thus, the introspection and retrospection interviews became a focal point for Black males to reflect upon their racialized experiences. While the iterative process provided ways to move in and out of the multiple data sources, positioning their experiences according to the time an artifact was completed helped make their journey as Black male teachers more transparent. I was able to determine that the Black male experience, even in a space like The Guiding 100 who aims to promote equality and equity for all students, is not strong enough to grapple with 20 years of seeing from beyond the veil. As Du Bois (1903) indicates, this "peculiar sensation" can be a gift and a curse. It is beneficial that Black are granted with two sights—the sight of their truer self that rests within the veil and the sight of their oppressor who remains beyond the veil unable to see inside. Du Bois believes that this sight allows Black people the gift of navigating in white spaces whereas Whites would not be able to navigate as well in Black spaces because they have remained hidden within the veil. However, Black people can also see themselves as the oppressor sees them, which could foster a diminished sense of self.

Teacher preparation programs are encouraged to: (a) provide Black male mentors from the university or local school partnerships so Black male pre-service teachers in a predominantly White setting will be guided in holding on to their truer self while remaining successful in the program (b) mandate that teacher educators go through an intensive sensitivity training so that

they will be able to better understand the experiences Black males are bringing to the program (c) continue to build cohort communities throughout the duration of the program . The study found that the cohort community was both rewarding and essential to the participants as they moved through the program. However, the participants mentioned that it would have been encouraging to see more Black male professors. Teacher preparation programs should also consider who Black male pre-service teachers are partnered with during their field placements. Adhering to these suggestions may provide more comfort for Black male pre-service teachers as they matriculate through teacher education programs; it would engender trust between the Black males and their non-Black classmates and instructors, which I argue would limit the racial separation seen in this study. Lastly, it will provide opportunities to feel supported and valued after graduating from the program, fostering a community of learners.

### **Limitations**

I approached this study with my personal experience with double consciousness. Thus, it was important to keep a journal to keep track of personal emotions with the cases and findings in this study. Although I worked to remove my emotions and personal attachment, there was one instance where I tried to probe for clarification, while also indicating to the participant what he had said. During a discussion on Ebonics, the participant stated that he values all languages students bring to the classroom. However, he also indicated that he would not allow Ebonics to be spoken in the classroom. The question then shifted to whether he would allow ESOL students to use their home language. He stated that he would. I asked if he would allow his ESOL students to use their home language but not allow Ebonics speakers to use theirs, does he feel that the Ebonics speakers would feel valued. He indicated that he had not thought of that in that



manner and stated that he had been oppressive. This provided me with a great educational experience when trying to understand the difference between leading and probing for understanding.

The second limitation in this study was the small sample size. Although there were several data sources used that provided an in-depth examination, I originally sought six participants, which would have offered more perspective on the topic. The four participants provided a range of experience from 1 year of teaching to 5 years of teaching. However, the original plan was to have a range of 1 year to 7 years. Having a range of experiences offers a more well-rounded view of what teaching looks like after graduating from the program.

A third limitation is the usage of CRRT. Given that this is a new term, I could not explain its meaning until the end of the study. When defining CRRT, I simply told the participants of the goal to create a new framework and that Ladson-Billings and Gay were the models that would be used. Thus, there was not an elaborative explanation. This limitation became difficult because all of the language that was used throughout the study is 'culturally responsive pedagogy'. Therefore, when writing, it was difficult to use culturally responsive pedagogy because there may have been confusion for the reader. Therefore, I used CRRT when applicable or culturally responsive if the participant made a specific comment or if there was program data being detailed.

The fourth limitation in this study is that there was only one racial group and gender presented here. The Black male identity is very complex, and while this study provides insight with how race creates psychological barriers for Black men, there are still questions that focus on

how other groups respond in different racial settings. Thus, the topic was more narrow than if White males or Black females had been included.

The fifth limitation is the program's usage of the culturally responsive framework. Although the participants completed culturally responsive assignments and activities, it is unclear how cultural responsiveness has been framed from a program perspective. There is no data to indicate what culturally responsive characteristics were taught from the professors or what culturally responsive characteristics may have been ignored from the students. This limitation becomes important when trying to determine why the participants did not remain consistent with their culturally responsive practice.

### **Conclusion**

This study investigated Nia, Allen, Dan, and Peyton's experiences with double consciousness in The Guiding 100 Teacher Preparation Program. The findings indicate that they were seeing themselves through the perceived eye of their White counterparts and professors. This experience altered their speech, dress, and interactions with the White cohort members and supervisors. The most problematic and surprising find was the revelation that all four participants admitted to not being consistent with CRRT. Given that their multiple data sources indicate a high regard for CRRT, it was assumed that CRRT would be part of their pedagogical practice rather than infrequently implementing CRRT lessons.

While feeling stereotyped as Black males in The Guiding 100, they also endured the overwhelming responsibility of being one of the few Black males at their schools, which means they still feel it is important to perform their best and exercise resilience because they are representing all Black men. The findings from this research study have implications for future

research on how teacher preparation programs cultivate Black male pre-service teacher's experiences. Teacher education programs must continue to investigate how reform movements influence pedagogical practice. As educational reform continues, how will the participants respond to new policies as they continue their journey as a CRRT? Will the participants find it more challenging to implement CRRT five years from now? This finding will be critical to understanding whether the participants find it easier to adjust to educational reform as they gain more experience.

Secondly, this study illustrates that Black males' double consciousness is a gift and curse. The participants' gift was revealed through an unwavering determination to honor their race, family, friends, and community by performing at the highest level, which calls their White counterparts' predispositions regarding Black men into question. In other words, the participants were convinced that if their White counterparts were exposed to more positive examples of Black males, it will be easier for White individuals to challenge their personal biases, prejudices, and misconceptions regarding Black men. The curse creates a duality whereby the participants believed in the importance of honoring their culture, while also feeling compelled to shield it for fear of being stereotyped. Ultimately, the participants were operating under racialization—given that they felt stereotypes and misconceptions had been given to them, as Black males, they, in turn, worked to overcome these stereotypes. By working to diminish others' negative perceptions, the stereotype was indeed controlling their actions. This draws into question whether double consciousness manifest in the experiences of Black females. Does double consciousness affect their CRRT implementation? Furthermore, there needs to be further research on the experiences students bring to teacher education programs (i.e. gender, ethnicity,

sexuality). This will help determine what teacher education programs can do to foster diversity so teachers will be able to emulate cultural awareness and difference in their classrooms.

Further attention must also be given to HBCUs and PWIs and how spaces are created for Black males and females to nurture and embrace their identity? Given that Ladson-Billings suggests that the Black church instills an ethic of care that can be taken back to K-12 classrooms, do HBCUs and PWIs do the same thing? How do Black students perform when transitioning from an HBCU to a PWI? It will also be important to understand how other marginalized groups utilize their oppressive experiences to create social change. Given that the participants in this study neglected to address two of the CRRT components, this draws questions of how are teacher preparation programs modeling self-reflection, teaching to the whole child, and creating opportunities for students to construct their own knowledge? Lastly, CRRT is a new addition to the culturally responsive field. I hope to expand this framework whereby more teachers utilize this framework as part of their everyday practice to transform students' lives. To accomplish this task, more thought must be given to how CRRT can be a viable option for all teachers that are seeking change within K-12 schools.

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## APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Data Analysis Table

Research Question	Type of Analysis	How data is analyzed to answer question	Steps for analysis
<p>1. How do Black males describe their experience of development as a teacher in an urban teacher preparation program?</p>	<p>Initial Coding NVivo Coding Analytic Memos</p>	<p>Initial Coding of introspective/retrospective interviews and final interviews helps organize the data into discrete parts and compare the similarities and differences. Given that Initial Coding is open-ended, this type of analysis provided reflection on the nuances involved with being a Black male while in an urban teacher preparation program and provided participant's dispositions regarding CRRT since completing teacher preparation.</p> <p>NVivo coding was used during Initial Coding to identify words or phrases that were found in the qualitative data.</p> <p>Analytic Memos served as a method for reflecting on the coding process, how the research</p>	<p>1) Data from introspective/retrospective interviews and final interviews was 'digested' and 'reflected upon'.</p> <p>2) All codes during the 1<sup>st</sup> cycle will lead to further exploration and some codes were reworded as the study continues.</p> <p>3) Bits of data were identified using In Vivo line-by-line coding and identified what themes emerged.</p> <p>4) Create categories</p> <p>5) Data from all categories was identified and revised iteratively with subsequent analytic memos. themes that emerged from the data.</p> <p>Findings from question one's Initial coding helped to iteratively inform codes and themes from question 1.</p> <p>6) A member check was conducted at the duration of the study to ensure validity of the findings.</p>

		<p>developed, and the themes that emerged from the data.</p> <p>Findings from question one's Initial coding helped to iteratively inform codes and themes from question 1.</p>	
<p>2. What elements of CRRT are evident in Black male pre-service teachers as they enter a program designed to prepare teachers for culturally responsive practice?</p>	<p>Initial Coding Analytic Memos</p>	<p>Initial Coding of entry interviews illustrated what characteristics of CRRT Black males were evident as they entered the urban teacher preparation program.</p> <p>Analytic Memos served as a method for reflecting on the coding process, how the research developed, and the themes that emerged from the data.</p> <p>Findings from question one's Initial coding helped to iteratively inform codes and themes from question 1.</p>	<p>Process of Initial Coding and Analytic Memos:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Extant entry interviews were examined to identify what elements of CRRT were evident in Black pre-service teachers.</li> <li>2) After examining entry interviews, Initial Coding was used to identify words and phrases that illuminate characteristics of CRRT.</li> <li>3) Themes that emerged were placed into categories.</li> <li>4) Analytic Memos served as a method for reflecting on the coding process, how the research developed, and the themes that emerged from the data</li> </ol>

<p>3. How does double consciousness challenge African-American male pre-service teachers responsiveness to assignments designed to foster culturally relevant/responsive beliefs and actions?</p>	<p>Initial Coding</p> <p>Analytic Memos</p>	<p>Initial Coding of extant data (e.g. weblogs, synthesis paper, mathematics teaching and learning project) illustrated what characteristics of CRRT Black males were evident as they entered the urban teacher preparation program.</p> <p>Analytic Memos served as a method for reflecting on the coding process, how the research developed, and the themes that emerged from the data.</p> <p>Findings from question one's Initial coding helped to iteratively inform codes and themes from question 1.</p>	<p>1.) Data from all introspection and retrospection interviews, documents/tasks, and final interview (e.g. what are your current thoughts regarding CRRT; how did double consciousness manifest in your experiences) was chronologically examined, analyzed, and Initial Coded.</p> <p>2) Data from all categories was identified and revised iteratively with subsequent analytic memos.</p> <p>3) All interviews and data were placed into participant profiles and a cross-case analysis was conducted to identify what similarities and differences exists between cases.</p>
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## Appendix 2

Du Bois once described the talented tenth as a theory whereby the top 10 % would lead the way for the other 90%. This meant strong, intelligent Black men would need to procreate with the most suitable and talented Black women. The talented tenth provided an opportunity to show the world Black's true genius but would have a responsibility to use this knowledge to go back and pull up everyone else. By the 1940's, Du Bois admitted he was wrong. He felt that Black individuals who became successful were focused on excluding themselves from Black culture. With this realization, Du Bois created a new plan. In 1948, Du Bois removed himself from the talented tenth theory, and focused on creating something that would include all Black people. All Black people would be responsible for lifting up one another. There would be a new day whereby racial dignity, unity, and pride were ever-flowing through the veins of all Black people. Black people would take their rightful place on the stage of economic creation and intellectual preponderance. This theory that Du Bois created would change the entire landscape of Black America. He entitled this theory—the guiding hundredth!

In this study, The Guiding 100 was used as a pseudonym to describe the teacher preparation program. This pseudonym was selected to illustrate the mission of the teacher preparation program—providing an excellent and equitable education to urban school students. Much like Du Bois' theory of the guiding hundredth, the teacher preparation program believes that education is the way to eliminate social inequalities. And, just as Du Bois believed we must approach adversity from a group perspective, The Guiding 100 utilizes the cohort model to emphasize that change in education may only be achieved if we are working together.