

Studying Diversity in Teacher Education

Edited by
Arnetha F. Ball and Cynthia A. Tyson

Published for the
American Educational Research Association

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD PUBLISHERS, INC.
Lanham • New York • Toronto • Plymouth, UK

15

The Principal Facts

New Directions for Teacher Education

Jeffrey M. R. Duncan-Andrade

I may not change the world, but I will set the spark off in the mind that does.

—Tupac Shakur

INTRODUCTION

As we consider new directions for teacher education, we would do well to heed the following excerpt from James Baldwin's essay, "Nobody knows my name":

What it comes to, finally, is that the nation has spent a large part of its time and energy looking away from one of the principal facts of its life. This failure to look reality in the face diminishes a nation as it diminishes a person . . . Any honest examination of the national life proves how far we are from the standard of human freedom with which we began. The recovery of this standard demands of everyone who loves this country a hard look at [their self], for the greatest achievement must begin somewhere, and they always begin with the person. If we are not capable of this examination, we may yet become one of the most distinguished and monumental failures in the history of nations. (2004, p. 96)

Baldwin's essay offers a strategy for the nation to live up to its lofty ideals, one that demands the courage to confront the principal facts of our shortcomings and the creativity to correct them. Were we to engage such an endeavor, schools would need to play a significantly different role in our society, shifting from reinforcing the status quo to redefining it. Any such discussion of creating schools that prepare young people to take on the seemingly intractable forms of inequity facing our society will require us to seriously rethink our approach to teacher education.

The new direction for teacher education proposed in this chapter acknowledges the important progress we have made in our research on diversity in teacher education over the last several decades. The chapter pulls from important ideas such as critical pedagogy (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Freire, 1970), social

justice (Ayers, Quinn, & Stovall, 2009; Oakes & Lipton, 2002), multiculturalism (Banks, 2001; Darling-Hammond, French, & García-Lopez, 2002; Nieto, 1992), cultural relevance (Akorn, 2003; Delpit, 1995; Howard, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992), and caring (Noddings, 1992; Valenzuela, 1999) to make the argument that we must pay closer attention to the research on the social indicators of health if we are going to prepare educators to meet the challenges of working in urban and poor environments. To this end, this chapter examines some of the most cutting-edge, and also some of the most established, research in fields such as public health, community psychology, social epidemiology, and medical sociology to make the case that teacher education must engage with this research to improve our ability to address diversity in teacher education. This approach constitutes a rethinking of how we talk about research on diversity in our field. By extension, it shifts our approach in teacher education toward one that aims to develop educators better equipped to respond to the “socially toxic environments” (Garbarino, 1995) that emerge from racism, poverty, and other forms of oppression. Given the abysmal performance record of schools serving our nation’s most impoverished youth, it seems high time that those of us working to prepare teachers for those schools heed Baldwin’s advice and take a long look at ourselves. What we are doing is not working, and if we are honest, we will admit that it has not been working for some time—some might even argue it has never worked.

From this perspective, this chapter argues for teacher education to make a change of course. It begins by examining recent research breakthroughs in the aforementioned fields that are rarely discussed in teacher education. These fields have increasingly turned their attention to identifying and understanding the social indicators of health and well-being—for education, this is the idea that “place,” the conditions in which our students live, must be understood for teachers to be effective (Adelman, 2008). This research reveals clearly identifiable social toxins that young people face in the broader society and these are the “principal facts” for teacher education to confront. Drawing from these analyses, this paper chapter presents a pedagogical framework for educators to respond, treating the classroom as a microecosystem committed to “radical healing” (Ginwright, 2009) and “critical hope” (Duncan-Andrade, 2009). The chapter concludes with a discussion of pragmatic steps to be taken by teacher education to develop teachers that can meet the challenge of delivering this type of pedagogy.

The chapter is split into three sections, addressing the following three core questions respectively: (1) What are the material conditions that effect urban youth before they even step foot in our classrooms? (2) What does it mean to develop educational environments that are relevant and responsive to these conditions? (3) What conditions are necessary in teacher recruitment, training, and support to develop educators that can create these types of classrooms? Answers to these questions pose a challenge that must be met with vigor in every school, but the approach to such efforts must be specific to the context where that work is taking place. This chapter will focus on key principles for teacher educators that aim to prepare teachers to work in urban schools. Many of these principles are applicable for educators working in contexts outside of urban poverty, but I would argue they must be adjusted for that context by similarly committed experts in those communities.

SECTION 1: THE PRINCIPAL FACTS

Youth living in areas that are entrenched in persistent cross-generational poverty—typically overrepresented by youth of color—where the rate of violence (physical and institutional) is high and legitimate living-wage employment options are low, frequently attend public schools that are underresourced and have disturbingly low completion rates. David Williams, of the Harvard School of Public Health, argues that these conditions result in the “accumulation of multiple negative stressors, and there are so many of them [that it’s] as if someone is being hit from every single side. And, it’s not only that they are dealing with a lot of stress, [it’s that] they have few resources to cope” (Adelman, 2008). The accumulation of these negative social stressors can threaten hope for youth and inhibit academic performance (Finn, 1999; MacLeod, 1995; Valenzuela, 1999; Willis, 1977), social development (Adelman, 2008; Garbarino, 1995), and have serious long-term health implications (Syme, 2004; Wilson et al., 2008). The exposure to chronic stress associated with living in these types of “socially toxic environments” (Garbarino, 1995) is now thought of as one of the most, if not *the* most, significant contributor to poor health and academic difficulties for youth. By logical extension, teachers’ ability to pedagogically respond to these “unnatural causes” (Adelman, 2008) of inequality will deeply impact educational outcomes for students.¹

The implications of students’ exposure to chronic stress for teaching and learning are profound. Consider Maslow’s (1943) hierarchy of needs, which defined a person’s primary human needs (food, clothing, shelter, safety) as prerequisites for pursuing needs higher up on the scale (such as education). When we connect the dots between Maslow’s framework and the latest research on unequal access to the social indicators of health (Adelman, 2008), a serious dilemma is revealed for urban youth whose exposure to unremitting stressors leaves most (sometimes all) of their primary human needs under constant attack.

According to Williams (as quoted in Adelman, 2008), “in our society today, everybody experiences stress. In fact, the person who has no stress is the person who is dead.” The body’s stress response “calls forth the release of adrenaline and renocritical hormones” (such as cortisol) that have positive adaptive and protective functions for the body, including increased memory and muscle function (McEwen & Seeman, 1999, p. 2). Under normal conditions (see figure 15.1), the body’s heightened response is maintained for an appropriate amount of time and then slowly recedes during a recovery period. However, urban youth of color are often faced with repeated or unremitting stressors such that their bodies are denied the necessary recovery period (see figures 15.2 and 15.3).

New research (Adelman, 2008; Geronimus et al., 2006) has reinforced findings that under these social conditions, the normally protective and adaptive function of the stress response is lost, as the overproduction of “stress mediators” is toxic to the body. According to medical and public health researchers, these conditions produce an “allostatic load” (McEwen & Seeman, 1999) that results in “weathering” (Geronimus et al., 2006). Allostatic load refers to the “cumulative negative effects, or the price the body pays for being forced to adapt to various psychosocial challenges and adverse environments” (McEwen & Seeman 1999, p. 3). Over time, this load stacks up and produces the effect of weathering on the body, which recent re-

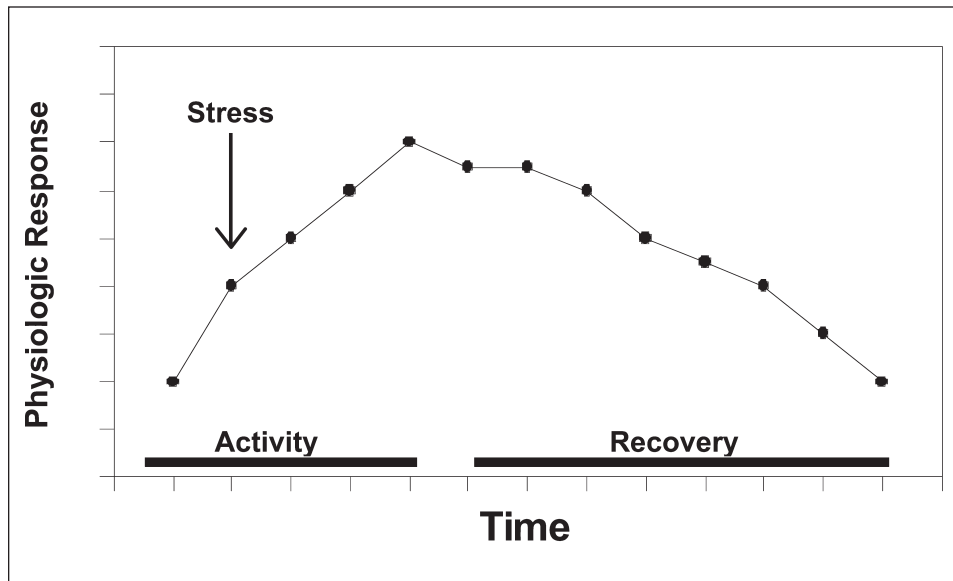


Figure 15.1 Normal stress response. *Source: McEwen & Seeman, 1999, p. 6.*

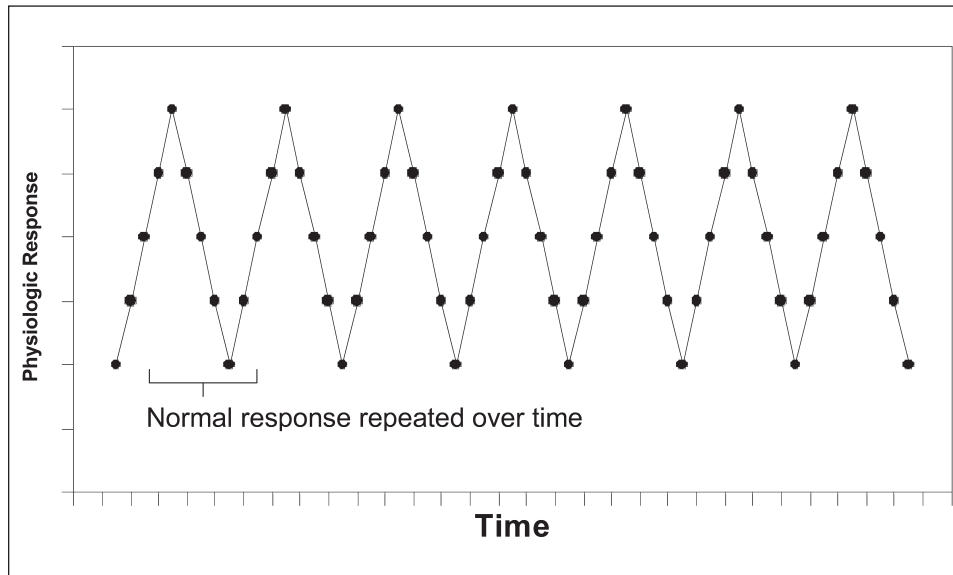


Figure 15.2 Repeated hits from "novel stressors." *Source: McEwen & Seeman, 1999, p. 6.*

search (Adelman, 2008) has shown to be a major cause of diseases plaguing modern society (heart disease, cancer, type II diabetes, and hypertension).

For young people whose lives are replete with social stressors over which they feel little control (racism, poverty, violence, environmental toxins, gentrification, police

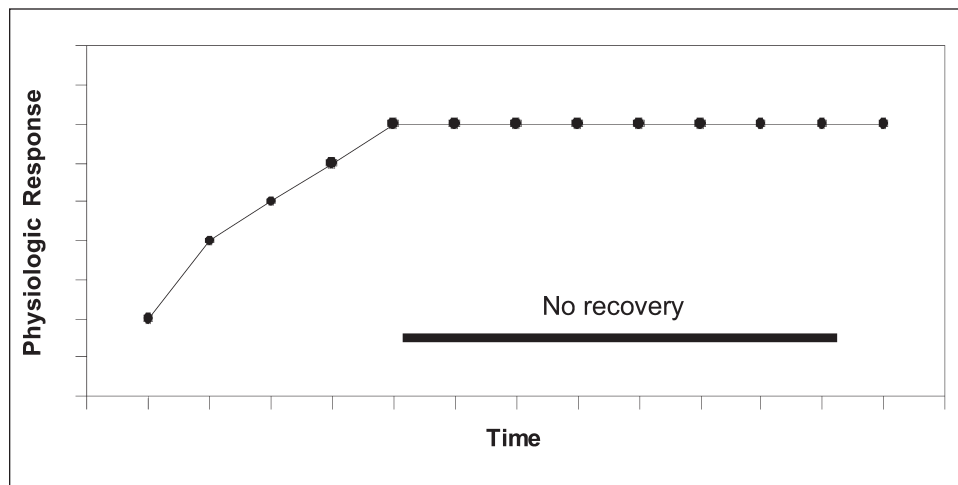


Figure 15.3 Prolonged response due to delayed shutdown. Source: McEwen & Seeman, 1999, p. 6.

brutality, xenophobia, language discrimination, lack of access to nutrition, substandard education, substandard housing, substandard health care) their systems are forced to work overtime all the time. This is where we can return to Baldwin for advice on how to confront these principal facts of our lives as educators of urban youth. The fact is, we live in a racist, xenophobic, classist, patriarchal, homophobic society, and this results in our students' overexposure to social toxins. Once we are willing to admit these facts, we can plot a course for teacher education that will prepare teachers to recognize and respond to the conditions that threaten their students' well-being and, by extension, their achievement.

According to Freire (1970, 1997), the project of developing pedagogy dedicated to freedom and hope for students living in these social conditions has two phases. The first of these requires educators to identify and analyze the oppressive conditions facing their students. The second phase consists of developing a pedagogy that uses education as a pathway to develop, implement, and evaluate action plans that respond to those conditions.

The remainder of this section provides a cross-disciplinary discussion of the research that should inform engagement with the first of these two phases. Drawing from recent research in the fields of health, psychology, and social science, I describe four major sources of traumatic stress in students' lives that educators must be prepared to address: (1) institutional violence; (2) physical violence; (3) root shock; and (4) wealth inequality. To address the second phase, section 2 of this chapter presents a framework for pedagogical response that combines solutions from health and educational researchers.

Institutional violence. When we think about the ways that violence impacts urban youth, it is important to understand that violence operates through institutional norms as well as through interpersonal physical conflict. The list of forms of institutional violence is long and cannot be covered comprehensively here. Instead, I will highlight some of the most pernicious and pervasive forms of institutional violence to which educators should be prepared to respond.

In efforts to understand institutional violence, “one should not look for the gross and obvious” (Pierce, 1974, as cited in Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000, p. 60). Rather, institutional violence tends to take the shape of “micro-aggressions,” defined as “subtle insults (verbal, nonverbal, and/or visual) . . . [that occur] often automatically or unconsciously” (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, p. 60). In isolation, these events may seem harmless, but their cumulative impact is debilitating, and numerous studies identify these as leading causes of persistent social stress (Akom, 2008; Adelman, 2008; Geronimus et al., 2006; Pierce, 1995). Research in this area is conclusive. In each area that someone’s identity falls outside of the dominant cultural norms of this country (white-heterosexual-male middle class or wealthy-English-speaking able bodied), they will experience forms of institutional violence. The further one’s identity is from this norm, the greater the potential that their institutional experiences will result in the accumulation of social stressors.

Three specific terms are worth noting here as important additions to the teacher lexicon on institutional violence: poverty tax (Adelman, 2008), eco-apartheid (Akom, Cheung, & Bettinger, 2009), and infraracial racism (Akom, 2008). “Poverty tax” is a term describing the hidden tax poor communities pay as a result of limited options to virtually every essential service (banking, groceries, health care, housing, transportation).

Eco-apartheid describes the disproportionate stacking of ecologically toxic conditions in poor communities of color. Extending Jones’s (2000) original definition, Akom and colleagues (2009) describe eco-apartheid as:

the unequal distribution of environmental and educational benefits and burdens based on race, class, gender, ability, immigration status, as well as the inter-connections between these factors. Eco-apartheid is a more powerful definition than environmental racism or environmental inequality precisely because it captures inequalities beyond just race, (including space, place, and waste) while simultaneously, centering race and racism and their political implications.

Finally, infraracial racism describes “the actual mental, physical, epistemological, and ontological harm, beyond the visible end of the spectrum, that racism does to black people/people of color in everyday life; as well as accounting for how cumulative advantages are gained by whites and lighter skinned people” (Akom, 2008, p. 211).

Each of these ideas narrates institutional violence in a way that helps us understand it as a phenomenon that has a cumulative impact over time, threatening essential forms of institutional security: citizenship, jobs, schools, neighborhoods, hospitals, health care, and legal outcomes (Akom, 2008, p. 211).

Physical violence. The fact that witnessing or experiencing physical violence contributes to a person’s traumatic stress load is common sense. What is not often clear to educators is the frequency and intensity with which this happens to urban youth and the medical research that suggests this may be one of the biggest inhibitors to academic success. Recent studies suggest that as many as one-third of children living in urban poverty show the symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), a rate nearly twice that found in soldiers returning from Iraq (Tucker, 2007, p. 1). Complexifying the issue is the fact that while soldiers leave the battlefield, young people do not. This suggests that for youth that are repeat-

edly exposed to violent traumatic events, modifiers like “perpetual” or “persistent” would more accurately describe their experiences than the commonly used “post” traumatic stress.

Public health research has identified physical violence as one the biggest threats to well-being among urban youth. According to Robert Prentice, Senior Associate for Public Health Policy and Practice at the Public Health Institute (CA):

the specter of community violence has completely transformed the way people live in certain neighborhoods. So, it’s a public health issue not only for the prevention of early death through homicide, but for the ripple effects it has on the other things that contribute to people’s poor health—the ability to go out, to go shopping, to live a normal life. (Adelman, 2008)

Jack Shonkoff, a pediatrician at Harvard’s Center on the Developing Child, argues that studies indicate that exposure to violence “triggers physiological responses in a child and can actually be disruptive to the developing brain and immune system such that you are primed to be more vulnerable to physical and mental health problems throughout your life” (Adelman, 2008). These concerns are echoed by findings from Stanford University’s Early Life Stress Research Program (Carrion et al., 2007; Kletter et al., 2009). The program’s director, Victor Carrion, argues that PTSD “feeds on avoidance. The more you avoid it, the worse it gets” (Tucker, 2007). His belief that schools have an important role to play in healing this trauma in youth has led him to begin trainings with urban schools to help educators identify the symptoms of PTSD so they can get their students access to treatment. This level of training should be standard fare for all educators being prepared to work in urban schools.

Root shock. Root shock is a metaphor borrowed from botany to describe “the traumatic stress reaction to the destruction of all or part of one’s emotional ecosystem” (Fullilove, 2004, p. 11). Plants suffer from root shock when they are relocated. The loss of familiar soil and its balanced nutrients is damaging to the root system. The term was coined by Fullilove to describe the impact of gentrification projects (often referred to as “urban renewal”) that create neighborhood displacement. Other studies have shown the harmful impacts of being ripped from roots by analyzing groups that have suffered losses of language, land, or culture (Adelman, 2008; Milne, 2004, 2010). Educators should understand the impact of historical cultural genocide, ongoing cultural disenfranchisement, and recent thrusts of urban gentrification projects on their students so they can develop pedagogical responses *and* avoid contributing to those conditions.

Wealth inequality. Although I am convinced that wealth inequality is a form of structural violence, I have separated it out for the purposes of distinguishing it from traditional notions of poverty. According to health researchers, the unremitting stress of childhood poverty produces a toxic daily burden from not knowing whether you will have a roof over your head, food on the table, electricity, heat, or clean water (Adelman, 2008). Shonkoff (Adelman, 2008) describes this effect as a “pile up of risk: the cumulative burden of things that increase your chances of having problems, as opposed to the cumulative protection of having things in your life that increase the likelihood that you are going to have better outcomes.”

However, poverty alone does not explain the fact that at the turn of the century, the World Health Organization (WHO, 2000) ranked the United States dead last in health outcomes among the world's industrialized nations, despite spending \$2 trillion on health care per year (nearly half the health dollars spent globally) (Adelman, 2008). The position of the United States is one of the major surprises of the new rating system. "Basically, you die earlier and spend more time disabled if you're an American rather than a member of most other advanced countries" (p. 2), says Christopher Murray, director of WHO's Global Programme on Evidence for Health Policy. He goes on to identify a clear racialized pattern in these seemingly inexplicable results:

In the United States, some groups, such as Native Americans, rural African Americans and the inner city poor, have extremely poor health, more characteristic of a poor developing country rather than a rich industrialized one. (p. 2)

Research suggests that these conditions of poverty are exacerbated when they occur in the face of great wealth. Despite wealth inequality reaching record lows in 1976, the United States is now "far and away the most unequal of the world's rich democracies" (Adelman, 2008) and getting worse. To be entrenched in intergenerational poverty in a country where wealth is flaunted and constantly visible, and the rhetoric of meritocracy reigns supreme, adds an additional layer of stress by intensifying awareness of one's poverty. Akom (2008) describes this as a by-product of "Ameritocracy," a largely U.S. phenomenon where the nation preserves the rhetoric of meritocracy, despite a reality that presents us with overwhelming evidence of stark inequality and unearned privilege. In this sense, wealth inequality is different than poverty, because wealth inequality accounts for the additional stress experienced by urban youth who, based on their proximity to financial centers, are constantly aware of all the things they do not have in their lives as result of their poverty.²

Don't Get It Twisted

Such an "honest examination of the national life" can be mind-numbing and paralyzing for some. To be sure, the task in front of us is monumental and growing—in short, we are facing a crisis state. Our willingness to be honest about the gravity of these conditions is the first step out of this hole, but we must not twist this examination to create justifications for poor teaching and rationales for student failure. Quite the contrary, an examination of the array of inequalities facing urban communities suggests that we should be all the more inspired as educators, knowing that we are working with young people that Tupac Shakur (1999) referred to as the "roses that grow from concrete." They are the ones that prove society's rule wrong by keeping the dream of a better society alive, growing in spite of the cold, uncaring, unnurturing environment of the concrete. According to Shakur, educators should not "ask why the rose that [grows] from concrete [has] damaged petals. On the contrary, we [should] all celebrate its tenacity. We [should] all love its will to reach the sun."

We must be critical of efforts that deny the tenacity and capacity of urban youth and families, aiming to distort discussions of unequal social conditions to support

models of cultural deficiency (see D'Souza, 1995; Herrnstein & Murray, 1994; Ogbu & Davis, 2003; Payne, 2005; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 2004). Any truthful adherence to Baldwin's challenge will: (1) be *honest* about the complicity of dominant institutional forces in the disproportionate displacement of inequality onto poor communities of color, (2) be *honest* about the incredible resilience and capacity of individuals and communities that persist despite these inequalities, and (3) be *honest* about the ways in which individuals from *all* communities can be complicit in the maintenance of an unequal social order.

Simply put, people that ascribe to deficit models, blaming students and families for unequal social conditions, should not be permitted to teach in urban communities. In my experience and research (Duncan-Andrade, 2007), these teachers are present in schools and teacher education programs, but they are rare. The majority of teachers and teacher education students that I come across feel overwhelmed by the challenges urban youth face in their lives and consider themselves ill-equipped to respond with a pedagogy that will develop hope in the face of such daunting hardships. They are liberal minded enough to avoid "blaming the victim," turning instead to blaming the "system" (the economy, the violence in society, the lack of social services). These teachers have a critique of social inequality but cannot manifest this critique in any kind of transformative pedagogical project (Solórzano & Delgado-Bernal, 2001). They "hope" for change in its most deferred forms: either a collective utopia of a future reformed society or, more often, the individual student's future ascension to the middle class (Duncan-Andrade, 2009).

Eventually, many students come to perceive a significant gap between their most pressing needs and the things being emphasized in the schooling these educators offer them (test scores, grades, college). When they figure out that the teacher is unwilling or unable to close this gap, their hope that school would be relevant in the context of their everyday lives is deferred. And, just as Martin Luther King Jr. foretold of justice, hope too long deferred is hope denied.

We will not end inequity tomorrow. But, we can develop more effective strategies for responding to it in classrooms, which may very well seed the generation that brings to fruition a more equitable society. According to S. Leonard Syme, Professor Emeritus at UC Berkeley's School of Public Health, recent research into the development of hope in urban youth shows the most promise for creating these kinds of classroom spaces (2004; Wilson et al., 2008). Syme describes hope as "sense of control of destiny," an actively present sense of agency to manage the immediate stressors in one's daily life; and he calls the research community's growing attention to strategies for cultivating hope in youth facing intense social stressors a "major breakthrough in thinking" (p. 3).

Other researchers have theorized hope as having two key components: (1) identifying pathways toward a desired goal, and (2) motivating oneself to begin and sustain goal-directed behavior (Snyder, 2002). Snyder calls this "hope theory," and numerous studies show hope to be one of the best indicators we have for predicting student resiliency, success, and well-being (Curry, Snyder, et al., 1997; Edwards, Ong, & Lopez, 2007; Snyder, Hoza, et al., 1997; Snyder, Sympton, et al., 2001).

One would be hard pressed to find a successful educator that would disagree with the importance of developing hope in the lives of young people as a principal pathway to raising engagement and achievement. Despite this acknowledgement

by our most accomplished teachers, it is my sense that very few teacher education programs explicitly discuss hope as a pedagogical concept. The insistence by educational policy makers (see No Child Left Behind Act of 2001³) that educational practice guided by “scientifically based research” presents an opportunity to change this trend if teacher education has the foresight to utilize recent breakthroughs in research on the social indicators of health (Adelman, 2008). The findings from this research are clear that closing the glaring disparities in the health-wealth gradient is the major challenge of the twenty-first century and schools are one of the most important institutions in proposed solutions to this dilemma. If teacher education can capitalize on this trend, we can swing the pendulum toward teacher preparation that emphasizes the principles that we know matter the most for teaching and learning. The next section of this chapter uses a cross-disciplinary research base to describe a classroom pedagogy framework that can be used to guide this type of urban teacher preparation.

SECTION 2: CLASSROOMS AS MICROECOSYSTEMS: THE PAINFUL PATH IS THE HOPEFUL PATH⁴

In my previous work (Duncan-Andrade 2007, 2008, 2009), I have described hope as a bedrock principle for developing effective urban classroom pedagogues. My most recent work extends this discussion by examining theory and research on hope to develop an educator’s framework on critical hope (Duncan-Andrade, 2009). I make the argument that our nation expends a good deal of effort trying to avoid what Carl Jung referred to as “legitimate suffering,” or the pain of the human experience. The stockpiling of resources in privileged portions of the population so that they may be “immune” to suffering, while isolating the unnatural causes of socially toxic environments onto others, creates undeserved suffering while simultaneously delegitimizing it. In the face of these conditions, critical hope boldly stands in solidarity with urban communities, sharing the burden of their underserved suffering as a humanizing hope in our collective capacity for healing.

An educator’s critical hope also defies the dominant ideology of defense, entitlement, and preservation of privileged bodies at the expense of the policing, disposal, and dispossession of marginalized “others.” We cannot treat our students as “other people’s children” (Delpit, 1995)—their pain *is* our pain. False hope would have us believe in individualized notions of success and suffering, but critical hope demands that we reconnect to the collective by struggling alongside of one another, sharing in the victories *and* the pain. This solidarity is the essential ingredient for “radical healing” (Ginwright, 2009), and healing is an often overlooked factor for raising hope and achievement in urban schools.

Moving From Coping to Hoping—Reflections on Seventeen Years in Urban Classrooms

There is an inescapable challenge before us as urban educators, and it is often misunderstood. Too many of us try to create classroom spaces that are safe from righteous

rage or, worse, we design plans to “weed out” children that display it. The question we should be grappling with is not how to manage students with these emotions but how we will help students channel them. The inevitable moments of despair and rage that urban youth feel are understandable and an “appropriate response to an absurd situation” (West, 2004, p. 295). West argues that youth

are saying they want to see a sermon, not hear one. They want an example. They want to be able to perceive in palpable concrete form how these channels will allow them to vent their rage constructively and make sure that it will have an impact. (296)

If the accumulation of stressors is like having a boot on your neck, then coping strategies are the strengthening of one’s neck to handle the pressure of the boot. This is an important strategy, one in which many of our students are well practiced. However, as suggested by the expanding research on the social indicators of health, a lifetime of coping atrophies the body and can deteriorate into hopelessness (Adelman, 2008). To capitalize on students’ coping resiliency without trapping them there means engaging the project of moving from coping to hoping. When teachers show the sermon with how we live our lives, rather than just preaching it as a way for our students to live theirs, students see living proof of the transition from just coping to hoping.

The way I take on this challenge is by thinking about my classroom as a microecosystem. Ecologists would tell me that to build a healthy microecosystem, I would need to understand the principle of interdependency—in short, both pain and healing are transferable from person to person inside the classroom.

I’d like to use two metaphors here to help educators understand how I think about this idea of my classroom as a microecosystem. The first is an allegory presented by Camara Jones (2000) in the *American Journal of Public Health* to provide a common sense analysis of the health impacts of racism. Jones describes two flower boxes that sat outside her newly purchased home. One box was empty, and the other was filled with soil. Jones and her husband bought new potting soil and filled the empty box and, assuming the soil in the second box was fine, they equally distributed a seed packet into the boxes. The seeds in the new rich and fertile soil sprang up quickly. They grew tall and strong with vibrant colors. The seeds in the other box did not fare as well, most growing only to middling height or dying early. It turned out that the soil in that box was rocky and lacked essential nutrients for growth. Jones describes this as “vivid, real-life illustration of the importance of environment” (p. 1213). Our classrooms are the microecosystem of a flower box, and we can control the type of soil we offer our students in which to grow.

The second metaphor is borrowed from Tupac Shakur’s reference to young people who emerge in defiance of socially toxic environments as the “roses that grow from concrete.” Concrete is one of the worst imaginable surfaces to grow something in: devoid of essential nutrients and frequently contaminated by pollutants. As with the Jones’s’ second flower box, growth in such an environment is painful because all of the basic requirements for healthy development (sun, water, nutrient-rich soil) must be hard won. The ability to control, in a material way, the litany of social stressors that result from growing up in the concrete is nearly impossible for urban youth. As educators, then, we must find and create cracks in the concrete. The qual-

ity of our teaching, along with the resources and networks we connect our students to, are those cracks. They do not create an ideal environment for growth, but they afford some leakage of sunlight, water, and other resources that provide a justification to hope. Teacher education programs should make it plain that it takes courage to be a gardener in the concrete. It requires a willingness to embrace a painful path, the only one available when we move in solidarity with our students through those jagged cracks in the concrete.

Tupac's metaphor complicates the application of Jones's analogy to our classrooms because our students do not only live in our classrooms. They also live in the concrete, where they experience chronic exposure to social toxins. The pain that results from this is carried in the bodies of young people, and it crosses the threshold of our classrooms. There is no getting around this principal fact of teaching, and the fewer resources the young person has to cope with those social stressors, the more intense their pain will be. I have virtually no control over the array of social toxins that my students are exposed to in the metaecosystem of our society, but I can control how I respond to them in my classroom and this gives me, and my students, the audacity to hope (Wright, 1990).

This pain that our young people carry manifests in my classroom in a variety of ways. Sometimes it takes an obvious form like an outpouring of emotion, which might even be directed at me or another student. Usually, the signs are more subtle, manifesting in classic signs of depression (fatigue, sadness, self-deprecation). In these moments when a child can no longer contain the pain they feel, my response has the potential to add to it—or begin the healing process. We may think that if we send the “disobedient” child out that we have removed the pain from our system. It simply does not work that way. Rather, when we exclude a child we introduce another social stressor into the microecosystem of our class. We rationalize the exclusion by telling ourselves that we have pulled a weed from the garden, allowing for a healthier environment for the other children to grow. This ignores the fact that every student in our classroom is part of a delicate balance built on interdependency. Wayne Yang, an urban science and math teacher of more than seventeen years and one of the finest educators I have known in my career, put it this way: “All my students are indigenous to my classroom and therefore there are no weeds in my classroom.” From this perspective, the decision to remove a child, rather than to heal them, is not only bad for the child, it is destructive to the social ecosystem of the classroom.⁵

I have been teaching long enough to know the enormity of this challenge, particularly because these moments almost always happen when I am convinced we are doing something of the utmost importance in the classroom. But, then I think to myself, how did I get to a place where I am prioritizing lesson plans over healing a child in pain? This not only ignores my most basic sensibilities as a teacher, it also disregards years of research documenting the importance of caring, self-esteem, trust, and hope as preconditions for positive educational outcomes (Delpit, 1995; Duncan-Andrade, 2007; Kohl, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Nieto, 1992; Noddings, 1992; Valenzuela, 1999).

As educators, we also tend to seriously underestimate the impact our response has on the other students in the class. They are watching us when we interact with their peers. When we become frustrated and punish youth who manifest symptoms

of righteous rage or social misery, we give way to legitimate doubts among other students about our capacity to meet their needs if they are ever in pain.

At the end of the day, effective teaching depends most heavily on one thing—deep and caring relationships. Herb Kohl (1995) describes “willed not learning” as the phenomena by which students try *not* to learn from teachers who do not “authentically care” (Valenzuela, 1999) about them. The adage “students don’t care what you know until they know that you care” is supported by numerous studies of effective educators (Akom, 2003; Delpit, 1995; Duncan-Andrade, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Valdes, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999). To provide the authentic care that students require from us as a precondition for learning from us, we must connect our indignation over all forms of oppression with a critical hope that we can act to change them.

False hope would have us believe this change will not cost us anything. This kind of false hope is mendacious; it never acknowledges pain. Critical hope stares down the painful path, and despite the overwhelming odds against us making it down that path to change, we make the journey, again and again. There is no other choice. Acceptance of this fact allows us to find the courage and the commitment to cajole our students to join us on that journey. This makes us better people as it makes us better teachers, and it models for our students that the painful path *is* the hopeful path.

TEACHER EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

A person’s answer to the question of the course for urban teacher education will be framed by how they see the *purpose* of the teacher in communities that are, and almost always have been, denied quality schools. Freire (1997) argued that the primary purpose of education should be to inscribe hope in the lives of the students. He described hope as an “ontological need” (p. 8), especially in the lives and the pedagogy of educators working in communities where forms of social misery seem to have taken up permanent residence. Hope has always been a theme in the lives and movements of the poor and dispossessed in this country. During the civil rights era, as well as other key historical moments of social change, the nation’s hope connected moral outrage to action aimed at resolving undeserved suffering. Educators cannot simply call an end to the conditions of inequality in our society. However, we can develop pedagogy that is responsive to those conditions *and* academically rigorous, such that we begin to rebuild the critical hope that has been worn down in these communities. Such educators deliver us from false hope by teaching in ways that connect the moral outrage of young people to actions that relieve the undeserved suffering in their communities. The spread of this kind of educational practice in our schools adds to the hopefulness because it develops transgenerational capacity for long-term, sustainable, critical hope in communities.

This chapter has been an effort to honestly confront the enormity of the challenge before us, honor the resilient commitment of urban youth and families to meet that challenge, and advance discussions about how urban educators can share that struggle. If teacher education is going to do its part, our field will need to make changes in three key areas: recruitment, curriculum and instruction, and mentoring.

Rethinking Recruitment

Teacher education continues to fail to recruit and attract students of color, particularly candidates from the racial groups that struggle the most in our schools (Native Americans, Latinos, African Americans, and Pacific Islanders). Oddly enough, this same challenge (especially for the latter three groups) does not seem to present itself to the athletic programs on our college and university campuses. Teacher education would do well to learn from sports programs that have successfully recruited from communities of color for decades. This will require us to get into schools, as early as elementary school, to start forming relationships with young people, families, and educators, encouraging and incentivizing their matriculation into teaching. The recent advents of programs such as Clemson University's Call Me Mister⁶ or San Francisco State University's Urban Teacher Pipeline⁷ are steps in the right direction.

In addition to more aggressive recruitment of teacher candidates that more closely represent the racial and social background of urban students, schools of education should also pay greater attention to screening applicants for a desire to work in urban schools. Not every program needs to commit to preparing teachers to work in urban schools, but for those that do, it should be their only focus. This allows for targeted recruitment of candidates with that specific purpose for joining the profession and more focused allocation of department resources to develop that purpose. Several programs around the country have made this exclusive commitment to urban education, the most prominent of which may be UCLA's Center X.⁸

Curriculum and Instruction

It is virtually impossible to teach someone how to teach in a university classroom. We should be more honest with our students about this fact. From the university classroom, we can give teacher candidates three things: (1) cutting-edge theory and research, (2) critical and supportive dialogue with peers and mentors, and (3) a preliminary credential. To do these most effectively, teacher educators should have firsthand knowledge of the conditions in the schools where they are sending students and the practices that work there. They should also be able to carry out that effective practice themselves. Urban teacher education would do well to change its faculty recruitment criteria by prioritizing context-specific, ongoing, field-based successful practice as a primary requisite for teaching future teachers. This would require collaborating with doctoral programs and local school districts to actively recruit faculty candidates with these qualifications.⁹

If we grow the number of teacher educators that are active in urban classrooms, the curriculum in teacher education will change just based on the faculty's practical experience in the field. However, we should also make an explicit effort to include relevant cutting-edge research that raises understanding of the conditions to which classroom pedagogy must respond. These can be coupled with forums with righteous scholars and practitioners from an array of other disciplines, including public health, medicine, child services, immigration advocacy, and law. Finally, the curriculum should involve regular discussions with community members, students, parents, and effective teachers that come from the schools and communities where these teachers in training are headed.

From Mentoring to Apprenticeship

Teacher education should move toward an apprenticeship model where future teachers apprentice under master pedagogues for multiple years. To accomplish this, each program will first need to develop rigorous criteria for selecting exceptional teachers to become mentors. This effort can proceed using a two-pronged approach that includes a community nomination model (see Ladson-Billings, 1994; Duncan-Andrade, 2007, for examples) and an urban teacher quality index.¹⁰ If my previous advice is followed to recruit potential teachers earlier, then these relationships are more likely to take the form of actual apprenticeships, evolving over multiple years. The relationship would ideally begin in a student's first or second university year and continue throughout their career. The premiere program would allow teacher candidates and master teachers to select each other, forming a more natural and invested start to their relationship. The limited number of master pedagogues will require careful planning such that cohorts of apprentices progress through different levels with their master pedagogue (as we see in the trades, law, business, medicine, and the martial arts).

The upsides of an apprenticeship model are numerous. First, this will create a steady inflow of undergraduates (with cultural competency if the aforementioned recruitment strategy is followed) that are committed to multiple years of service in our highest-need schools. If instructional methods are inclusive of students' apprenticeship experiences, it creates the opportunity for applied discussions of course readings and fertile ground for meaningful problem-solving exercises and sharing of firsthand experiences with master pedagogues. Apprenticeship models are also more likely to create formal and lasting partnerships between teacher education programs and the strongest teachers in the area. Finally, this approach stands to cultivate meaningful, and likely lasting, mentorship relationships between early career and veteran teachers in the community—something sorely lacking that contributes to higher rates of early career teacher turnover (Quartz, Olsen, & Duncan-Andrade, 2008).

PARTING THOUGHTS

I'd like to end this chapter by quoting from three of my mentors, people whose lives changed the world *and* set off sparks in the minds of others to try to do the same. The first of these mentors is Malcolm X, whose concluding remarks at the prestigious Oxford Union Debate in 1964 I will quote at length here, because I cannot think of a more profound way to describe the challenge in front of our field:

I believe that when a human being is exercising extremism in defense of liberty for human beings, it's no vice. And when one is moderate in pursuit of justice for human beings, he is a sinner. . . . I read once about a man named Shakespeare . . . He was in doubt about something. Whether it was nobler in the mind of man to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune—moderation. Or, to take up arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing, end them. I go for that. If you take up arms, you will end it. But, if you sit around and wait for the one who is in power to make up his mind that he should end it, you will be waiting a long time.

In my opinion, the young generation of whites, blacks, browns . . . you are living in a time of extremism, a time of revolution, a time when there has got to be a change.

People in power have misused it and now there has to be a change and a better world has to be built and the only way it is going to be built is with extreme methods. I, for one, will join in with *anyone*. I do not care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth.

For those considering moderation, the alternative to Malcolm's preference, I would remind you of the example set for us by Harriet Tubman, who said in response to detractors of the "extreme" methods for which she advocated by freeing herself and leading the underground railroad:

I had reasoned this out in my mind; there was one of two things I had a right to, liberty, or death; if I could not have one, I would have the other; for no man should take me alive; I should fight for my liberty as long as my strength lasted, and when the time came for me to go, the Lord would let them take me. (Clinton, 2004. p. 32)

This is undoubtedly what Gloria Anzaldúa (2003) meant when she wrote: "What we say and what we do ultimately comes back to us so let us own our responsibility, place it in our hands, and carry it with dignity and strength" (p. 87).

Our field can reach the level of commitment to human dignity put forth by these three individuals by preparing our next generation of educators to meet Caman-gian's (2009) expectation that we "teach like our lives depend on it." When we do, we will spark the minds that change the world.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Nance Wilson, Len Syme, and Shawn Ginwright for their advice, patience, and wisdom in the development this chapter.

2. It should be noted that the Internet and mass media are quickly intensifying this effect for all poor youth, but these will probably never have the same impact as firsthand accounts of wealth inequality.

3. In June 2008, AERA convened a working group to provide a concrete definition of "scientifically based research." The group recently released its definition, which can be found at: <http://www.aera.net/opportunities/?id=6790>.

4. This section draws directly from my recently published article "Note to Educators: Hope Required When Growing Roses in Concrete" (Duncan-Andrade, 2009).

5. Yang (2009) has written on this idea of inclusionary practice, creating a framework for classroom discipline that critiques traditional models of school discipline as nothing more than exclusionary models of punishment that are bad for teachers and students.

6. <http://www.clemson.edu/hehd/departments/education/research-service/callmemister/>

7. <http://cci.sfsu.edu/taxonomy/term/66>

8. <http://www.centerx.gseis.ucla.edu>

9. It should be noted that there are a growing number of scholars in schools of education (many of whom are faculty of color) that continue to teach in urban schools while maintaining tenure, track faculty positions (see Stovall and Majors at University of Illinois Chicago, and Akom at San Francisco State University). Most of these faculty members do this work with little to no additional university support, an issue that should be taken up with universities that espouse a commitment to urban communities.

10. A collection of scholars from San Francisco State, Arizona State, and the University of Nebraska are currently working on developing an urban teacher quality index tool that

draws from leading research to identify the characteristics of effective urban teachers but is also context sensitive by responding to input from key local stakeholders (students, families, administrators, and educators).

REFERENCES

- Akom, A. A. (2003). "Re-examining resistance as oppositional behavior: The Nation of Islam and the creation of a black achievement ideology." *Sociology of Education*, 76(4), 305–25.
- Akom, A. A. (2008). Ameritocracy and infra-racial racism: Racializing social and cultural reproduction theory in the twenty-first century. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 11(3), 205–30.
- Akom, A. A., Cheung, R., & Bettinger, C. (2009). Eco-Apartheid or educational equity: Re-thinking school desegregation through the lens of environmental justice. *Teachers College Record* (in press/forthcoming).
- Anzaldúa, G. (2003). Speaking in tongues: A letter to third world women writers. In Browdy de Hernández, J. (Ed.), *Women writing resistance: Essays on Latin American and the Caribbean*. New York: South End Press.
- Ayers, W., Quinn, T., & Stovall, S. (Eds.). (2009). *The handbook of social justice in education*. New York: Routledge.
- Baldwin, J. (2004). *Vintage Baldwin*. New York: Random House.
- Banks, J. (2001). *An introduction to multicultural education*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Carrion, V., Weems, C., & Reiss, A. (2007). Stress predicts brain changes in children: A pilot longitudinal study on youth stress, posttraumatic stress disorder, and the hippocampus. *Pediatrics*, 119(3), 509–16.
- Clinton, C. (2004). *Harriet Tubman: The road to freedom*. New York: Back Bay Books.
- Curry, L. A., Snyder, C. R., Cook, D. L., Ruby, B. C., & Rehm, M. (1997). The role of hope in student-athlete academic and sport achievement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 1257–67.
- Darling-Hammond, L., French, J., & García-Lopez, S. (Eds.). (2002). *Learning to teach for social justice*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- D'Souza, D. (1995). *The end of racism: Principles for a multiracial society*. New York: Free Press.
- Duncan-Andrade, J. (2007, November–December). Gangstas, wankstas, and ridas: Defining, developing, and supporting effective teachers in urban schools. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 20(6), 617–38.
- Duncan-Andrade, J. M. R. (2009). Note to educators: Hope required when growing roses in concrete. *Harvard Educational Review*, 79(2), 181–94.
- Duncan-Andrade, J., & Morrell, E. (2008). *The art of critical pedagogy: Possibilities for moving from theory to practice in urban schools*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Edwards, L., Ong, A., & Lopez, S. (2007). Hope measurement in Mexican American youth. *Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 29(2), 225–41.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Freire, P. (1997). *Pedagogy of hope*. New York: Continuum.
- Garbarino, J. (1995). *Raising children in a socially toxic environment*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Geronimus, A., Hicken, M., Keene, D., & Bound, J. (2006, May). "Weathering" and age patterns of allostatic load scores among Blacks and Whites in the United States. *American Journal of Public Health*, 96(5), 826–33.
- Herrnstein, R., & Murray, C. (1994). *The bell curve*. New York: Free Press.
- Howard, T. C. (2001). Telling their side of the story: African American students' perceptions of culturally relevant pedagogy. *Urban Review*, 33(2), 131–49.
- Jones, C. (2000). Levels of racism: A theoretic framework and a gardener's tale. *American Journal of Public Health*, 90, 1212–15.

- Kletter, H., Weems, C., & Carrion, V. (2009). Guilt and posttraumatic stress symptoms in child victims of interpersonal violence. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 14*(1), 71–83.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African American children*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Lazin, L. (Writer). (2003). *Tupac: Resurrection*. Atlanta, GA: Amaru Entertainment.
- Maslow, A. H. (1943). A Theory of Human Motivation. *Psychological Review, 50*(4), 370–96.
- Milne, A. (2004). "They didn't care about normal kids like me": Restructuring a school to fit the kids. Unpublished master's thesis. Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.
- Milne, A. (2010). Colouring in the White spaces: Developing cultural identity in mainstream schools. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.
- Moll, L. C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into Practice, 31*, 132–41.
- Nieto, S. (1992). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education*. New York: Longman.
- Noddings, N. (1992). *The challenge to care in schools: An alternative approach to education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Oakes, J., & Lipton, M. (2002). *Teaching to change the world*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Ogbu, J., & Davis, A. (2003). *Black American students in an affluent suburb*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Payne, R. (2005). *A framework for understanding poverty*. Highlands, TX: Aha Process.
- Pierce, C. 1995. Stress analogs of racism and sexism: Terrorism, torture, and disaster. In Willie, C., Rieker, P., Kramer, B., & Brown, B., (Eds.), *Mental health, racism, and sexism* (pp. 277–93). Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Quartz, K. H., Olsen, B., & Duncan-Andrade, J. (2008). The fragility of urban teaching: A longitudinal study of career development and activism. In Peterman, F. (Ed.), *Partnering to prepare urban teachers: A call to activism*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Snyder, C. R. (2002). Hope theory: Rainbows in the mind. *Psychological Inquiry, 13*, 249, 275.
- Snyder, C. R., Hoza, B., Pelham, W. E., Rapoff, M., Ware, L., Danovsky, M., et al. (1997). The development and validation of the Children's Hope Scale. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology, 22*, 399–421.
- Snyder, C. R., Sympson, S. C., Michael, S. T., & Cheavens, J. (2001). The optimism and hope constructs: Variants on a positive expectancy theme. In Chang, E. C. (Ed.), *Optimism and pessimism* (pp. 101–25). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Solorzano, D., Ceja, M., and Yosso, T. (2000). Knocking at freedom's door: Race, equity, and Affirmative Action in U.S. higher education. *Journal of Negro Education, 69*(1/2), 60–73.
- Thernstrom, A., and Thernstrom, S. (2004). *No excuses: Closing the racial gap in learning*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Tucker, J. (2007, August 26). Children who survive urban warfare suffer from PTSD, too. *San Francisco Gate*, pp. 1–7.
- Valdes, G. (1996). *Con respeto: Bridging the distances between culturally diverse families and schools*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- West, C. (2004). The impossible will take a little while. In Rogat, P. (Ed.), *The impossible will take a little while: A citizen's guide to hope in a time of fear* (pp. 293–97). New York: Basic Books.
- Williams, D. (2005). The health of U.S. racial and ethnic populations. *Journals of Gerontology, 60B* (Special Issue II), 53–62.
- Wilson, N., Minkler, M., Dasho, S., Wallerstein, N., & Martin, A. (2008). Getting to social action: The youth empowerment strategies (YES!) project. *Health Promotion Practice, 9*(4), 395–403.