The Fight for the Right to Teach: Mapping the Terrain of the
"Diversity Gap" in Teacher Education

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Dedication

To my loves, Kevin and Gus, for all the hidden domestic and emotional labor you undertook for me to get this dissertation done.

Abstract

Recently, there has been a resurgence in research and policy surrounding U.S. education's demographic imperative, or the "browning" of K12 students and the "whitening" of teachers. Teacher education has largely responded to this "diversity gap" with research that supports white teacher candidates' racial identity formation and cultural competence. Policy and reform efforts from within and beyond teacher education tend to frame solutions for the "diversity gap" as inclusion and representation (recruiting more teacher candidates of color) and/or to create more robust and critical university-based teacher education programs (against the upswing in fast-track labor market approaches to preparation). There are fewer examples that critically reflect on and explore how teacher education, as an institution, excludes and marginalizes people of color. Using a critical bricolage methodological approach that includes institutional ethnography, participatory activist research, and feminist memory work, I study the diversity gap from multiple positional perspectives within and beyond the institution.

First, I draw from a year-long collective memory work study with a teacher candidate of color during the course of her program. Framed within an analysis of the ways in which neoliberal logics guide the structure and practice of institutions of teacher education, I consider the ways in which alliances and ethical practices of subversive study across institutional hierarchies can contribute to challenging the institutional reproduction of whiteness in teaching. Next, I explore the specific needs and desires for indigenous immersion teacher preparation that can support Ojibwe language revitalization from two years of ethnographic research with Grassroots Indigenous Multimedia, a non-profit organization that develops Ojibwe language texts and

curriculum. I challenge the institution's selective inertia with respect to indigenous-led efforts toward educational self-determination and illuminate tensions between "diversity gap" solutions that argue for inclusion and access without mention of decolonization. Finally, I shift to the landscape of urban education in the Twin Cities and the work of the Social Justice Education Movement, a directly democratic education union of which I am a co-founding member. While we have undertaken a variety of issues and work in social justice education, I focus in on our short-lived campaign to demand the districts support more staff and teachers of color. Racialized tensions articulated through our organizing forced us to rethink our initial demands for inclusion and broaden and challenge our collective understandings of what kind of education we were fighting for. Our collective, movement-embedded study of who engages un/misrecognized and institutionally devalued educative work further illuminates the need to re-think the category "teacher" and processes of state certification/legibility.

Taken together, these three angles, or what I term "positional perspectives" enable me to argue for a paradigmatic shift in the ways in which critical teacher educators articulate the problems with and solutions for the "diversity gap" in teaching. I conclude with a series of questions and provocations to consider how teacher educators can de-link from their investments in the profession and its management of knowledge authority, and contribute more effectively to movements for decolonial futures.

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CHAPTER ONE

Teacher Education, the "Diversity Gap," and the Power of the Periscope

> One can never ascertain a belief in or vision of the future by looking at a situation
>
> from the position of "neutrality" provided for you by the existing relations of
>
> power … such methods allow you to see the field only from the perspective of
>
> those who rule at any given moment. In contrast, if one learns to harness the
>
> power of the periscope … by placing it deep below the earth, below even the very
>
> bottom of society, one finds that there are struggles and memories of struggles
>
> that allow us to identify not "what is," but more importantly "what will be."
>
> El Kilombo Intergaláctico, 2007, p. 9

Origins

In the summer of 2013, public debates surrounding the increasing prevalence and

controversial power of Teach for America (TFA) [1] in public education became deeply

antagonistic, stirring up intense emotional responses from students, corps members,

alums, teachers, professors and others. During the late spring and summer of 2013, I

along with a number of other graduate students and teacher candidates sprinted head-on

into the heat of this controversy as the University of Minnesota's (U of M) College of

Education and Human Development (CEHD) announced it was considering a partnership

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[1] At its core, TFA is a well-connected, well-resourced private organization that partners with colleges and schools of education to train its highly competitive and selective group of corps members for five to eight weeks. Afterward, the organization partners with urban and rural 'difficult' schools, often charging them a partnership fee upwards of three to seven thousand dollars per teacher, to place its newly-trained members into classrooms as teachers for a two-year service commitment (TFA Web Site; Kretchmar, Sondel, & Ferrare, 2014).

with the organization. Despite a short-lived and whirlwind campaign against the partnership on the part of graduate students and teacher candidates (myself included), the partnership is now in full swing. Our campaign, which included a confrontational meeting with members of CEHD's administration, many frantic meetings, and a mass petition, among other actions and angry administrative responses, made visible relations of authority and power that had only previously been alluded to. These lines, visible because we unapologetically crossed them, began to outline for me, and others, what Howard, Risman, and Sprague (2005) describe as "the relations of ruling [...] whereby people can see the workings of institutions and their own locations in them" (p. xii).

Our work was met with an overwhelmingly positive response from many staff and students within the college and with incredible disdain and anger from many within the administration. In one instance, I was called to a high level administrator's office where I was blamed for putting the college's school partnerships in jeopardy. At a college-sponsored fall barbecue, we passed out leaflets with critical perspectives on TFA and were met with administrators threatening to call campus police to remove us. Even though, officially, the partnership was still under consideration, I overheard one administrator say in casual conversation to another, "the decision's already been made, there's nothing they can do about it."

Some wondered why we imagined we could or should have any say at all in this matter as students. And many quietly emailed us with their support but feared for their jobs, funding, and/or good standing with authority figures. Many felt they could not afford to be more public with their opinions. During all of this, the local and national media published various stories, debates, and controversial national convergences putting

TFA under the microscope. While controversies have surrounded TFA since its inception in 1990 (Darling-Hammond, 1994), the summer of 2013 saw these debates revitalized after stories, reports, studies, and personal narratives suggested a potential rebellion among TFA alumni was gaining momentum.[2]

In the media and in academic literature, as often happens, particular voices were highlighted while others were largely excluded from these discursive spaces, creating 'common sense' narratives for why TFA and similar initiatives are harmful[3]. In arguments against TFA, written mainly by education professionals with relative access to widely circulated media, TFA represented a threat to the teaching profession and a devaluation of teachers and teaching labor (e.g., Rubinstein, 2011; Naison, 2011). Commonly-circulated arguments claim that TFA corps members have little to no preparation to teach in "difficult" schools, or that TFA corps members fly in and out of communities after their two years of service is up, most desiring merely to pay their dues before ascending the professional ladder (versus committing to the teaching profession). In our petition language, we drew from and reproduced these narratives ourselves (No TFA at the U, 2013) In their/our articulations of the problem with TFA, they/we presented a narrative that did not meaningfully address the colonialist, heteropatriarchal, and racist formation of modern teacher preparation, schools, and universities in the U.S. (cf. Grumet, 1988; Watkins, 2001; Wilder, 2013).

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[2] See Heilig (2013) for an overview of these stories and reports, and also see especially Cersonsky's (2013 July 9) viral story in *The American Prospect* titled "Teach for America's Civil War" shared on social media by more than 1.5 million people and read by even more

[3] See, for example, the critiques of media coverage of a nationally-recognized anti-TFA summit in Chicago in 2013 that framed the event as the result of a TFA alumni revolt instead of what it truly was -- a struggle led mainly by students and parents most affected by TFA in New Orleans (Sondel & Kretchmar, 2014).

In a piece I wrote for Minnesota 2020, a local progressive blog, during the campaign, I exemplify the reproduction of narratives that avoid interrogating (and thus implicitly validate) teacher education as an institution:

> Referring to CEHD graduate student opposition to the partnership, Crystal Brakke, executive director of TFA in the Twin Cities, said recently, *"We're all here for the same reasons." No, we are most definitely not.* TFA is here because it is a self-perpetuating organization that, in practice, profits from educational inequity and has an arrogant disregard for the voices and knowledges of the communities it most affects. Young people have a right to learn in well-resourced and challenging school environments. They have a right to learn with and from people who value and have deep understandings of their communities and cultural practices, who know what it takes to study and develop pedagogical approaches to their classrooms, and who will fight with and for those communities around the issues that most affect them. This is not what TFA values, and, in the face of so much local and national opposition and controversy, CEHD should not provide the embattled organization any legitimacy (Dyke, 2013, emphasis added).

I am quick to note that we are "most definitely not" here for the same reasons. I critique the ways in which Brakke attempts to appropriate our petition's language of racial and social justice to describe TFA's aims. However, my articulation of "we graduate students in opposition" does not trouble the ways in which "we", as the institution, are already complicit in many of the same arguments we make against TFA. "We" work within an institution that actively excludes and marginalizes working class teacher candidates of color, and places mainly white women "outsiders" into urban schools where 40-50%

leave after less than five years.[4] "We" contribute to and actively participate in many of the neoliberal reforms critical teacher educators critique (for example, colluding with and earning profits for Pearson through the voluntary adoption of the Teacher Performance Assessment (edTPA) as a part of its program requirements).

As my excerpt illustrates, by failing to articulate my institution/teacher education as a part of the same ruling relations that govern and sustain TFA, I paint a neat portrait of public school life with TFA (disregard for community voices and knowledges) and without (teachers who "know what it takes" and who will "fight with and for those communities"). I move quickly and uncomplicatedly to an ideal, versus engaging the complex terrain of teacher education – of which TFA is one part. In fact, in an article responding to our campaign, Brakke argues, "We're all at our best when we work together and *don't create false divides* between all of the different ways that people choose to enter the field of education these days," (Ingeno, 2013, emphasis added). There is truth to Brakke's words. By implicitly defending the university, we created false divides between the political formations that govern the university and those that create the conditions for organizations like TFA to flourish. Instead of (re)producing false divides, as Moten and Harney (2012) write, "we owe it to each other to falsify the institution" (p. 27).

It was not until long after our graduate student-led campaign that I came to understand the ways in which my experience in the TFA-U of M controversy shaped my perspective of my relationship within and to teacher education. I *turned from* teacher-centered critiques of organizations and neoliberal policies that were contributing to the

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[4] See a report by McManimon, (2013) on the experiences of teacher candidates of color in CEHD; studies by Heineke, Mazza, & Tichnor-Wagner (2014) and Kappan (2012 September 5) comparing the attrition rates of TFA and all new teachers in similar schools and communities.

de-professionalization of teaching and *shifted to* trying to understand better how certain

bodies, dispositions, and ways of knowing are (and were always) excluded,

delegitimized, and determined to be of little value to "teaching." I *shifted to* studying

experiences that grapple with and challenge the historical and political underpinnings of

the institution (e.g., Indigenous struggles to reclaim schools toward sovereignty and self-

determination (Simpson, 2015; Haskins, 2015), the alienation that many teacher

candidates of color feel in teacher education or in precaritized training programs

(Lapayese, Aldana, & Lara, 2014), and the relationship between labor and teacher

education (Urban, 2000)). I *shifted to* studying experiences that challenge the often

unstated truth within mainstream discourses centering teacher education – that teachers

are prefigured as white, (aspiring) middle class, English speakers without accent,

documented, able, and (mostly) women.

My dissertation study, in large part, became a reflective exercise to respond in

better and useful ways and to strengthen my participation within intersecting movements

toward, broadly, anti-racist, decolonial, working class, and trans/queer/feminist

liberation. These experiences catalyzed my efforts to better understand the institution of

teacher education and its interrelations with state-making and capitalism.

Outlining the Study: "Diversity Gap" as (the Central) Problematic

While we made arguments against the racist practices of TFA, its public relations

arm worked hard to portray the organization as a leader in the effort to diversify the

teaching force. In doing so, it positioned colleges of education as dusty, stale places that

could not or would not address this problem. CEHD administration encouraged this

conceptualization of its traditional preparation. In our meeting with the administration, we were repeatedly told that the college's regular certification programs were not conducive to supporting diverse students. We needed to "diversify" our pathways to teaching with programs like TFA. The structurally exclusionary practices of the current teacher education program was not necessarily a problem in and of itself. As with the proliferation of charter schools in recent years (Lipman, 2011), individual "choice" was heralded as a democratizing force.

When TFA and CEHD, together, countered our critiques with the argument that the program would increase access to minoritized students, we did not/could not substantively address their invocation of "diversity". As progressive organizations like Teaching Tolerance, a source of social justice curricular resources, publicly lauded TFA for its racially and ethnically diverse 2013/14 cohort (Chiariello, 2014), our narrow focus on TFA as the enemy made us appear to be against diversity and inclusion, and for a historically exclusionary institution. CEHD administration made clear to us that it neither asked for nor wanted us defending its "traditional" licensure programs (or at least what they could be).

In the following chapters, I take up the "diversity gap" – its articulations, rearticulations, and responses – as the central problematic and the institution of teacher education as the central object of my research. I aim to blur the lines between teacher education/higher education/K12 education, the "private" sphere, and the state as entangled formations of "ruling relations" (Smith, 2005). At the same time, I hope to make more explicit the lines of antagonism between the hierarchical relations that uncompromisingly propel these entanglements *and* those of us (say, critical teacher

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educators) who find ourselves mostly reluctantly participating in reproducing these institutions, even as we wish them radically transformed. I examine teacher "diversity gap" from three particular angles within and beyond the institution as both teacher educator and participant within the Ojibwe language revitalization and urban social justice education movements. From these angles, I elaborate three main lines of critique that trouble dominant approaches to the teacher "diversity gap," namely: the interiority of neoliberalism to teacher education/higher education, the institution's contribution to the ongoing colonialist dispossession of Ojibwe life ways, and, finally, the invisibilization of non-teacher school- and community-based educators of color from articulations of the "diversity gap" issue. These currents, and the movements that inspired them, trouble disciplinary centrists' argument for inclusion and representation in the service of "achievement" (i.e., cultural congruence or racial match, cf. Bireda & Chait, 2011) and productively complicate social justice teacher educators' calls for a more robust and critical university-based teacher education.

To understand teacher education's role and contribution to the above currents or lines of critique, I mobilize a guiding analytic throughout the study: How does the institution actively *reproduce* a normative white feminine teacher figure (the "White Lady Bountiful" (Meiners, 2002))? How does it participate in the continuous *dispossession* of Indigenous, Black, Brown, queer, feminist, among other life ways that are dangerous to the state and capital? Within movements for Ojibwe language revitalization and Black and Brown-led urban education justice, the "diversity gap" is deeply entwined with issues of decoloniality and self-determination. As seemingly disparate organizations like TFA, the U of M, and social justice movements in education

mobilize narratives that value and urge diversity and inclusion, I maintain throughout that demands the institution open up and provide access to people of color to become teachers is *critically important*. As a good friend often tells me, riffing on Audre Lorde, "All the tools in the toolbox." However, throughout the study I hope also to complicate inclusion as the end game or as the only project against teacher education's exclusionary practices. For movement workers creating Indigenous, Brown, Black, API, and working class futures, who exist perpetually on the edge of education, and who have been excluded from and/or marginalized by the institution, the end game to the "diversity gap" often does not include teacher education as we might recognize it today. Given tensions between the ways in which the "diversity gap" is experienced and the ways in which it is described by teacher education literature and institutions, I argue that the overwhelming whiteness of U.S. teachers is not a benign absence of (visible) diversity.

In chapter two, I review education, and especially teacher education, research that centers the overwhelming whiteness of U.S. teachers in relation to their increasingly diverse student population. Much education research from the center of the field concerned with the "diversity gap" presents the issue as one of logistics (i.e., finding resources for scholarships for teacher candidates of color, getting them through the door) (cf. Tyler, 2011). More marginalized bodies of critical scholarship in teacher education have argued that the institution is a site of political struggle rather than a neutral site of unproblematic expertise and specialization (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2016; Milner, 2015). Work in critical whiteness studies argues for more complex and multifaceted studies of how white teachers' racial and anti-racist identities are formed in order to support white teachers to take up more effective anti-racist and culturally relevant

positionalities and practices (Jupp, Berry, & Lensmire, 2016). However, research in teacher education, even much critical research, does not often question the foundation of the institution itself. What are our investments in calling ourselves "teacher educators"? Who do we construct as the "enemy," and how do we understand ourselves as participants in reproducing or challenging our institutions?

For example, in Cochran-Smith and Villegas's (2016) extensive review of research focused on teacher education and diversity, teacher educators are positioned as embattled social justice fighters within the broader field of education, private interests, and policy makers. In their extensive review of literature, they describe three categories of education research concerned with diversity: first, research on labor-market approaches to addressing teacher shortages and improving teacher quality. Next, they outline the body of education research focused on preparing white teachers to teach in culturally relevant ways. Finally, they outline research focused on recruiting teachers of color. The latter two bodies, they write, are produced "mostly by teacher educators" and "aimed to produce knowledge to improve the preparation of a culturally responsive teaching force" (p. 9). Framed as a traditionally critical space, teacher education is on the ground, embedded in practice, and in tune with the "real", versus the special interests that govern the labor-market policy studies of the first category of literature.

Cochran-Smith and Villegas (2016) position teacher education research as inherently concerned with social justice (also see Cochran-Smith & Dudley-Marling, 2012). It does not generally view the problem of diversity as a policy problem, but a "teacher learning problem" (p. 24). They write,

The studies in the second line of research were developed in response to the

critique that most graduates of teacher-education programs from universities, who

are overwhelmingly White, middle class, and monolingual, show little interest in

securing teaching positions in urban, hard-to-staff, and/or poor schools. […]In

response to this problem, the premise of studies in the second line of research was

that, *given appropriate course and field experiences*, teacher candidates could

learn about urban schools, communities of color, and the historical and

institutional causes of persistent inequalities in opportunities and outcomes for

low- income and poor students and their families." (p. 24, emphasis added).

The focus and solution to the problem of the "diversity gap" is focused squarely on the

students and their capacities to learn (and the space for teacher educators to create the

kinds of conditions that can produce such learning). The third line of research focused on

recruiting teachers of color articulated the "diversity gap" as both a policy and learning

problem. The authors argue that these lines of research challenge the "status quo of

teacher education" and were more effective because they are studies produced by

"insiders to teacher education" versus outsiders, as with the labor-market approach in the

first line of research that cast university-based teacher preparation as the problem (p. 24).

It is important to find a space where we can both critique the interests and

research behind neoliberal and labor-market teacher education reform projects (like TFA)

and university-based teacher education. We must consider the ways in which "outsiders"

(i.e., teacher candidates of color who feel alienated within their programs, Ojibwe

language immersion teachers and revitalization workers who see teacher education as a

hoop to jump through, and precarious education workers excluded from teacher education

but committed to social justice and community-based teaching) are a valuable and important resource for thinking through why and how teacher education continues to reproduce a particular kind of racialized, classed, and gendered teacher. Drawing from Lensmire (2010)'s work on white racial identity formation, I and Meyerhoff (2013) have theorized the lack of many academics' institutional self-reflexivity as a kind of ambivalence where our desires to abolish racialized oppression exists alongside desires to maintain our inclusion within the academic community and our economic and social privilege and prestige. When we (I include myself here) write from our institutional positions about the socializing work of schools, we can (somewhat conveniently) forget that we, ourselves, are also being socialized and are normative socializing forces.

Methods: A Critical Bricolage Approach

In chapter three, I describe my mobilization of a critical bricolage approach (Steinberg, 2015; Kincheloe, 2001) methodology to engage this line of inquiry. I draw from traditions of participatory action and activist research (Hale, 2008), institutional ethnography (Smith, 2005), and feminist memory work (Haug, 1987; Nagar, 2014) to "study up" the institution of teacher education. A critical bricolage approach, or what Weis and Fine (2012) term a "braided design," gestures to the need for critical and activist research of complex issues to engage flexible methodologies that can remain attentive to "both structures and lives" and attend to "the critical interactions between sociopolitical formations and what takes place on the ground" (Weis & Fine, 2012, p. 174-5). As I describe in more depth in chapter three, my particular bricolage, with its overlapping emphases on movement-embedded co-authorship, enabled me to develop my

research questions and focus based on the needs and interests of the Indigenous language revitalization movement fighting the institutional barriers to preparing successful indigenous language immersion teachers; and local movements fighting institutional racism and the marginalization and exclusion of people of color from teaching. Further, the methodological traditions I draw from enable the study of my own relationship to the reproduction of the diversity gap as a teacher educator and deeper interrogation of my feelings of unsettledness and dis-ease that arose throughout the TFA controversy – in many ways, the origins of the larger study.

Geographies of Study

With increasing political and institutional attention to teacher diversity, I began to see the "diversity gap" (Boser, 2014) as a central issue in my work within and beyond the university. After the controversy, in 2014, I felt frustrated that we had not been able to stop the partnership. I threw my energies into the work of the Social Justice Education Movement (SJEM), an autonomous, directly democratic education union I co-founded a couple of years prior with a few paraprofessionals, a teacher, and an afterschool youth worker. Through organizing a yearly social justice education fair, which brings out 500-700 students, education workers, and community annually, and cultivating campaigns to increase the districts' support for more staff and teachers of color, we were building community and movement in the Twin Cities. The work felt a lot more positive, creative, and grounded than our on-campus organizing against TFA. During the year following the TFA controversy, we expanded our core organizing group to twelve paraprofessionals,

clerical workers, parents, and youth workers. Our singular teacher worked at a level three alternative school, and half of us were people of color.

Chapter four zooms in on my relationship with one SJEM member at the time, Audra.[5] She was transitioning from an AmeriCorps tutoring position within a Minneapolis middle school to the initial licensure program at the U of M to earn her certification in the second languages and culture track. It just so happened that I became her teaching assistant (TA) for a child and adolescent development course during her first semester. As one of the few people of color in the entire licensure program and as someone who has intensely studied and organized for abolition and social justice, Audra often felt marginalized and alienated throughout her year-long program. While I held similar commitments and maintained a prior friendship with her, as her TA I contributed to the reproduction of whiteness in teacher education in ways that I had not previously considered or reflected on. Outside the university, Audra and I have always enjoyed studying and analyzing the world together, especially around issues of race, visionary fiction, art and abolition. After tensions seeped into our newfound TA/student relationship, we decided to undertake a year-long collective memory work study. Chapter four draws deeply from this work, using our collective data and writing to pick up on and flesh out initial themes we drew out together. Framed within an analysis of the ways in which neoliberal logics guide the structure and practice of institutions of teacher education, I consider the ways in which alliances and ethical practices of subversive study across institutional hierarchies can contribute to challenging the institutional reproduction of whiteness in teaching.

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[5] Most individuals' names are pseudonyms to protect anonymity.

In chapter five, I shift to my work as a participant within the Ojibwe language revitalization movement. In the spring of 2014, I began to work with Grassroots Indigenous Multimedia (GIM). Founded in 2000 by my friend, tireless language revitalization activist, and professor, Mary Hermes, the organization works across reservations and communities in Minnesota and Wisconsin to document Elder language and create multimedia resources and pedagogical trainings for immersion educators and language teachers. GIM has created more than twenty story books in Ojibwe based in Elder language, a widely used language learning software (Ojibwemodaa), and semi-scripted "Ojibwe Movies" with Elders and speakers role-playing everyday conversations and activities. By taking on administrative tasks, grant-writing and "hanging out" (Ibrahim, 2008), my participation in GIM enabled me to build relationships with other language activists and immersion teachers. When I first became involved with GIM, I was not entirely sure it was or would be connected to my dissertation research. Over time, I began to see the ways in which efforts to start and maintain Ojibwe and Dakota immersion schools are thwarted by assimilative teacher education programs and credentialing bureaucracies. In the chapter, I draw from formal and informal conversations with immersion teachers and two years of ethnographic research with GIM to explore the specific needs and desires for indigenous immersion teacher preparation that can support language revitalization. Challenging the institution's selective inertia with respect to indigenous-led efforts toward educational self-determination, I illuminate tensions between "diversity gap" solutions that argue for inclusion and access without mention of decolonization.

In chapter six, I shift from language revitalization and to my participation within the SJEM and the struggle for community self-determination in Twin Cities urban education. SJEM is an autonomous, anti-capitalist, and directly democratic union made up of a racially diverse crew of primarily marginalized and precarious non-teacher educators. While we have undertaken a variety of issues and work in social justice education, I focus in on our short-lived campaign to demand the districts support more staff and teachers of color. Racialized tensions articulated through our organizing forced us to rethink our initial demands for inclusion and broaden and challenge our collective understandings of what kind of education we were fighting for. Our collective, movement-embedded study of who engages un/misrecognized and institutionally devalued educative work further illuminates the need to re-think the category "teacher" and processes of state certification/legibility.

Taken together, these three angles, or what I later term "positional perspectives" enable me to argue for a paradigmatic shift in the ways in which critical teacher educators articulate the problems with and solutions for the "diversity gap" in teaching. I conclude with a series of provocations, tying together threads from the latter three chapters that attempt to articulate alternative identities, positionalities, and practices critical teacher educators can take up in relation to the institution. Understanding that universities have never been nor will ever become engines of liberatory social transformation (Moten & Harney, 2012), how can we take on relations of refuge, theft, and abolition toward them? How can we find ways to question our credentials as expertise, organize effectively within our own institutions, and leverage resources to support movements toward decolonization and Black, queer, feminist, and other necessary futures that state

education has historically and violently thwarted? How can we work through these tensions in practice, for being *in* and *against* but not *of* the university?

Conclusion

Earlier this year, I presented chapter four of my dissertation study at an orientation my department held for around 30 incoming PhD students. During the question and answer portion, the responses largely centered on my methods, collective memory work in particular. Some of the questions were interrogative, wary of the use of experience as data, or so I perceived in the moment. Afterward, a couple of students approached me, and one woman said with a tinge of relief in her tone, "I didn't know we could do research like this." In fact, I did not know either when I first began as a graduate student. It was through collective (largely independent) study with a group of radical and queer women in my department that I discovered ways to "harness the power of the periscope". It was through studying with inspiring, tireless, third-shift organizers that I learned (am still learning) how to study, and, more importantly, what needed to be studied and with whom and for what. If it is not yet clear, this particular version of what I have learned in the past few years is written with and for critical teacher educators who are struggling with similar tensions that guide my work, and who, like me, feel, at times, like outsiders, unprofessional, emotional, unscientific, partial, and subjective. In the following chapters, I draw on these – emotions, relationships, subjectivity, the personal and partial – as resources and sources of insight.

CHAPTER TWO

Teacher Education and the Ruling Relations: A Review of the Literature

I walk into my office, counting and counting again on each hand the eight other people that agreed to be a part of the meeting with the administration to voice our opposition to the impending Teach For America (TFA) partnership. Plopping my stuff down, I print off our petition signed by more than 400 faculty, staff, students, and alum and all the articles and press I can think of to show the administration that our opposition is gaining momentum. It makes me a little sick to think about what I know will happen – they'll present us with insincere smiles and diplomatic, 'rational' arguments about keeping up with innovation, the anti-oppression of choice, and the importance of diversity.

I'm trying to imagine us white women graduate students and teacher candidates from across the college, all calm and cool as we give the administration a taste of rebellion. But what can come out of it, I wonder? For us, maybe this experience of standing up will bond us and grow our collective power. I think of the exclusivity of the table to which we've so rudely demanded our invitation. I think of all the people who aren't ever invited to the (*or even a*) *table at the university.*

As I print, I wish that I had more time and energy to do more outreach and organizing, to think and plan more, to help more strongly coalesce a core group of organizers. So far, I cannot guess the commitment levels of the majority white, precariously-funded graduate students and teacher candidates to this nascent campaign.

How far can we take this? Who am I/are they accountable to? This question prods me incessantly as I think about how disorganized we are. How taking action according to our purported values does not often (but should and must) trump our need for funding, to finish this or that paper or research project, to take time away from the incessant competitiveness of becoming a 'successful' (employable) academic.

Yet, I think as I wait for the others to arrive to prepare for the meeting, here we are, about to stand up together to the most powerful people in the college. That's something.

Introduction

Just after the potential partnership between the college and TFA was announced, the dean's office organized official spaces for faculty and students to engage in dialogue with administrators about the issue. The invitation implied that these discussions would assist the dean in making her decision. Given the timeline for the decision, mere (summer) months after the possibility was announced, and despite major dissent from faculty, staff, and students –what purpose did these spaces serve? With whom were we supposed to be in dialogue? Was the decision-making process actually influenced by such "rational" discussions? These were questions I struggled with initially, but upon reflection, I realized the sessions provided merely an appearance of participation. We were meant to hear our own voices. The kind of rationality that governed our college was undergirded by a different (neoliberal) logic, and any argument against TFA would lose. This brief period of time at the tail end of spring semester (during which the administration

attempted to appear as though they had not already made a decision) illuminated the lack of power or influence afforded most faculty, students, and staff.

Later, it became clear through media interviews that the university president was a strong proponent of the partnership. He was also a leader of a newly formed statewide education initiative comprised primarily of transnational corporations based in Minnesota, the state's largest foundations, and other influential people. Shortly after the partnership was officially announced, the university (and its legitimacy as a prestigious institution) collaborated with TFA (and its vast political resources and influence (Buras, 2014; Kretchmar, Sondel, & Ferrare, 2014)) to lobby the Minnesota Board of Teaching to provide teaching licenses to corps members in the new program (prior to the partnership, it relied on a more precarious variance). This brief glimpse into the relations that facilitated such a major change in the landscape of teacher preparation in Minnesota illustrates that teacher education is not a contained site where research progressively produces practice of preparation. So, 'who' (and, perhaps, 'where') is the institution of teacher education?

My review of the production of the "diversity gap," or the gap between the majority white U.S. teachers and their increasingly racially and ethnically diverse students in discourse and practice begins and ends with this question. Drawing from Dorothy Smith (2005), I articulate teacher education as an institution, or set of "ruling relations," framing the issue as one of *reproduction* (of a normative white femininity) and *exclusion* (of certain bodies, habits, and epistemologies). From this theoretical framing of teacher education as institution, I 1) historicize the institution, 2), review recent (since

2000) teacher education research addressing the demographic imperative, and, finally, 3) review literature produced in and through local state efforts to increase teacher diversity.

The first historicizing overview provides important context in framing the terrain upon which the "diversity gap" is produced. This preoccupation with the "real" tends to frame out the relationship between teacher education and the state, and it invisibilizes deeper structural issues within the institution that perpetuate a normative teacher figure to the exclusion of others who cannot or will not fit. Literature that examines the "diversity gap" with greater complexity and in ways that challenges the disciplinary center of teacher education, including literature from the perspectives of teachers or teacher candidates of color (cf. Lapayese, Aldana, & Lara, 2014) and second wave whiteness studies (cf. Jupp, Berry, & Lensmire, 2016), are relatively marginalized in the larger body of scholarship concerning the gap (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2016). Drawing from these literatures, I further elaborate my framing of the "diversity gap" as produced in and through the *exclusion* of certain bodies, ways of knowing, and dispositions, and the *reproduction* of a normative white femininity, what Meiners (2002) terms the white Lady Bountiful archetype. Few studies engage with or theorize teacher education as ruling relations (Smith, 2005) that manage access to and hierarchize teaching authority in the service of the state and capital. And, few studies engage the "diversity gap" as a gendered phenomenon.

I then move to locate the "diversity gap" discourse as it is mobilized in the context of Minnesota. In the years since the TFA controversy, many Minnesota organizations and coalitions, that range from grassroots to trade union to corporatist in drive have taken up the cause of increasing the number teachers of color in the state.

Within my review of this literature (mainly reports and policy briefs) produced in and through these efforts, I find that teacher education is a major target for reform, and the tensions between "traditional" and "alternative" pathways to licensure are at the center of this reform discourse.

Finally, I return more directly to the question: 'who' and 'where' is teacher education? I return to critical teacher education literature to highlight similar anxieties between "real" teacher education and "alternative" approaches. I make a case for deeper analyses of the ways in which the institution of teacher education itself (and, us, teacher educators within it) (re)produce the conditions of exclusion and alienation that perpetuate the majority white teaching force.

Teacher Education as Institution

Dorothy Smith (2005) describes institutions as "ruling relations" formed out of the capitalist reorganization of life in the late nineteenth century. The ruling relations comprised a new, more encompassing public sphere (Habermas, 1993) facilitated by the invention of new print technologies and the construction of railroads that enabled new routes of circulation throughout what is now called the U.S. (also see Frost (2005)). Smith (2005) argues that institutions became a "new and distinctive mode of organizing society" that Marx could not account for in his time (p. 13). Instead of a "direct connection between individual owner and the capitalist enterprise," the rise of institutions distanced "ownership from control," creating "management as a distinct function" (p. 15).

Institutions, via discourse, planning, political economy, government, and education, objectify consciousness "in the sense that they are constituted externally to particular people and places" (Smith, 2005, p. 13). As an example, prior to normal schools or university-based teacher education, a schoolteacher might earn her position via referrals from community or school stakeholders (Kliebard, 2002). Today, one's capacity to be a teacher in most any school derives from her institutionally sanctioned credentials. These largely textually mediated white, masculinist spaces of power and influence historically were and continue to be premised on the exclusion of the voices and knowledges of women, working class people, indigenous people, and people of color (Grumet, 1988; Smith, 2005).

Important in this conception of institution is the ways it implicates those of us who do the work of the ruling relations. Even as we may disagree with the way our institutions work or are excluded from participating in substantively shaping them from within, we both produce and are produced by them. We produce them most effectively when we avoid calling into question their universality and authority, or recognizing, as Ahmed (2012) writes, that institutions are not actors but "containers". She writes, "If the institution becomes an individual, then the institution can also *take the place of individuals*: the institution is the bad person, rather than this person or that person" (p. 45). The institution-as-individual masks the ways in which we are subjectified within it.

Smith (2005) writes that, as a sociologist early on in her career, she kept her experiences and life as a mother and woman contained and separate from her work and research without even thinking about it. Slowly, and through her engagement with feminisms, she began to question this separation, or the disjuncture between her

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"participation in the 'masquerade of universality' (Landes 1996) of academic life and [her] everyday life with children and home as daily organization and reorganization of subjectivity" (p. 21):

> I learned that sociological discourse replicated the contours of the ruling relations that I was discovering. The issue wasn't sexism; it wasn't even the assumptions built into its theories or the lack of attention to women and women's issues and concerns. It was how its discursive practices created for knowers a universalized subject transcending the local actualities of people's lives. For the knower positioned as such, people become the objects of investigation and explanation (D. E. Smith 1987); we are not its subjects, its knowers (p. 22).

For Smith, the antidote to this cleavage of mother-subjectivity from sociologist-"objectivity" is to engage the institution as a site of study, as object. In the absence of such awareness and reflexivity, the ruling relations are reproduced through cooperation and implicit agreement. Ahmed (2012) writes, "When history accumulates, certain ways of doing things seem natural. An institution takes shape as an effect of what has become automatic" (p. 25). To de-link from this automation and challenge the ways in which we reproduce teacher education as natural, timeless, and inevitable, I ask: What are the historical conditions under which the whiteness of teacher education becomes what Ahmed terms "institutional background" (p. 25)? I turn next to historicize teacher education and make visible its origins in and through white supremacy, capitalism, colonialism, and heteropatriarchy

Framing the "Diversity Gap" as Reproduction and Exclusion

The formation of institutionalized teacher preparation and state credentialing practices, or the rise of what we recognize today as teacher education, began during Smith's description of the rise of institutions, what Grande (2004) terms the second era of U.S. colonial power (p. 12). There was much at stake for the nation in producing a particular teaching labor force at this time. Schooling became a significant means for cohering a national identity. As Linda Frost (2005) describes, the industrial and governing center of the U.S. in the Northeast had a precarious hold on the South, Northwest (Minnesota), and West. The formation of modern education during this era became a means to temper post-civil war Southern Black political and economic unrest through the promises of civic and economic inclusion (Watkins, 2001), and as a means to contain young people in response to the passage of child labor laws (Lesko, 2001; Grumet, 1988). It was also an era that marked the feminization of teaching labor (Fraser, 2007; Grumet, 1988; Goldstein, 2014).

During this era of feminization, the (white) "lady bountiful" teacher trope was born. Meiners (2002) draws on the works of Helen Harper and Honor Ford Smith to critique this persistent archetype within teacher education, one that developed as a mechanism to discipline middle class white women as they moved from private domesticity to the public sphere of work. She argues that the "lady bountiful" is deeply entwined with the state's ongoing colonial project and continues to contribute to the exclusion and marginalization of bodies and behaviors from teacher education institutions that do not fit this white, middle class, morally virtuous, maternal, and sexually pure woman figure (p. 87).

As stated by the Boston school board in 1841, white women were recruited into

teaching because they were (constructed as) naturally more suited to childcare,

their minds were less likely to be occupied by worldly issues (economics, politics,

science, etc.), and because they were in possession of purer morals (Spring, 1996,

p.127). Unstated of course, was the fact that women were significantly cheaper to

employ than men. One cannot discard this legacy (p. 88).

Grumet (1988) writes that the feminization of teaching labor marked a major shift in the

construction of a normative (white) femininity and the relationship between

mothering/caregiving and the state.

Grumet (1988) argues that women teachers were disciplined into the service of

patriarchy (and colonialist statecraft) vis á vis the sentimentalization of maternal virtue.

This served as the dominant cultural mode of justification for the prevalent instructional

practices of the day (i.e., recitation) that disciplined young people into life within a

contingent, unstable, and industrializing economy (Goldstein, 2014; Grumet, 1988;

Lesko, 2001). Women were explicitly excluded from administrative positions, teacher

educator positions within normal schools and other sites of preparation, or as scholars of

education within the university – the positions that held any kind of decision-making

power or control of resources (Urban, 2000).

Cochran-Smith (2005) describes an example of the narrow restrictions placed on

women teachers, policing their bodies and dispositions:

According to a 1923 standard elementary teacher's contract (Apple, 1987), the

teacher was expected not to get married or associate with men, to be at home

between 8:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m., and not to leave town without permission from

the Chairman of the Board of Trustees. In addition, she was not permitted to

smoke, drink, or ride in a carriage or automobile with any man except her father

or brother. The teacher was expected to keep the schoolroom tidy, scrub the floor

once a week, and start the fire each day by 7:00 a.m. so the room would be warm

when the children arrived (p. 3).

Luttrell (2003) describes the ways in which pregnant teachers as late as the mid 1970s

were fired for attending school while visibly pregnant. The exclusion of pregnant bodies

served to maintain an image of the teacher as sexually pure (p. 15).

As women in teaching expanded alongside the common schools movement, so did

efforts to organize sites of preparation. Many educational historians have argued that the

history of teacher preparation is one of the most understudied topics in education research

(Fraser, 2007, p. 3; Lagemann, 2000). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth

century, Horace Mann, inspired by France's system of teacher preparation, became a

leader in the movement for normal schools. Mann's desire grew from the fact that many

schoolteachers were themselves "uneducated". Normal schools were a means to expand

access to and training in current instructional strategies and practices (Fraser, 2007). On

the educational hierarchy, they were included somewhere in between high schools and

universities and almost exclusively admitted white women (as I describe further in

chapter four, there were also efforts for segregated normal schools to prepare Black,

Latinx, and Indigenous teachers, i.e., Hampton-Tuskegee, the Carlisle Industrial School,

and the Cherokee Female Seminary). As Fraser (2007) describes in his extensive history

of teacher preparation, there were other experiments in non-university-based teacher

preparation located in high schools, on reservations, or via seminaries.

The literature describing the shift from normal schools[6] to university-based teacher education is often framed as a positive event, one that introduced rigor and discipline to teacher preparation. For example, Labaree (2008) writes that these schools' missions to prepare teachers of the so-called highest caliber contradicted the needs of the expanding common school system. He argues that normal schools generally provided the quantity of teachers necessary for growing school systems "by skimping on professional preparation" (p. 293). Fraser (2007), along similar lines, writes that prior to the widespread inclusion of teacher preparation within higher education, it was a "haphazard affair" (p. 3; also see Lortie, 1971). While normal schools were disorderly and lacked selectivity, universities provided order, rigor, and discrimination.

Yet, Urban (2000) argues, in his gender analysis of the history of teachers unions, "the normal school, in addition to its teacher training function, itself served a democratic purpose as a kind of "people's college," an institution characterized by relatively easy access to education for ordinary citizens seeking a university education" (p. 10; also see Fraser, 2007, p. 132; Ogren, 2005). He writes that they were also places where, despite their patriarchal administration, "women students and staff carved spaces for statement and enactment of their own priorities" (p. 10). Normal schools were filled to the brim with, as Lortie (1971) somewhat diminutively describes, the "disadvantaged" and "ordinary". They were, according to Urban, critical sites of women-led organizing that contributed to the rise of teacher unionism and the founding of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in the early 1900s. The union formed as a response to the more professionalist aspirations of the National Education Association (NEA), the first major

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[6] Normal schools (turned state schools) became the basis for the expanding U.S. higher education system (Fraser, 2007).

organization of teachers, and one that largely blocked women from participating in its decision-making processes until relatively recently (Urban, 2000). Urban further argues that the shift from normal schools to university-based teacher education, supported by the NEA, sought to elevate teaching as a profession. This move encouraged teachers to dis-identify with the working class and the militant unionism of the era and to identify as members of the professional class – a kind of respectability maneuver. As Murphy (1992) writes, "the ideology of professionalism in education grew into a powerful antiunion slogan that effectively paralyzed and then slowed the unionization of teachers" (p. 1).

Despite discourses of liberal progress and equality, Goldstein (2014) argues that teaching and teacher education continues to play out this embattled history. Meiners (2002) argues that the (re)production of the colonialist white lady bountiful has been interrogated at the level of theory, citing a wide range of works in teacher education, postcolonial studies, anthropology, and cultural studies. Yet, she argues: "While these texts circulate at the theoretical level, I am skeptical about how successfully these works have infiltrated teacher education programs or professional development initiatives in North America" (p. 88). The social reproduction of the teacher as white lady bountiful is made possible by the disciplining of white femininity and the feminization of teaching as a whole *and* the state and capitalist production of educational policies and practices that actively push out and bar teachers of color from practicing.

In his study of *Brown v. Board of Education* and the desegregation of U.S. schools, Derrick Bell (1980) writes that the Supreme Court decision was largely rationalized by the ruling relations in three ways: it would aid in industrializing the south, it would improve the image of a 'progressive' and 'civil' U.S. in transnational trade

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relations, and it was a response to fear of Black political unrest (p. 524-525). Bell writes that desegregation in practice meant that Black people were afforded the right to associate with Whites. As such, when black students were integrated into white schools, "Approximately 38,000 African American teachers and administrators in 17 states lost their positions between 1954 and 1965" (Milner & Howard, 2004, p. 286). Neal, et al. (2015) notes that despite the formerly segregated schools' resource inequities, they "were operated mostly by skilled, experienced, and dedicated educators of color who lived in the same communities as their students" (p. 3).

The pushout of Black teachers is not confined to the *Brown v. Board* era. Lipman (2011) writes of the ways in which large, urban school districts with large student populations of color (often school districts with larger percentages of teachers of color (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011) have become the target for massive school reorganization plans that align with housing and redevelopment schemes benefiting urban ruling elites. For example, Kristin Buras (2014) writes that in November 2005, almost immediately after Hurricane Katrina, the Louisiana state legislature passed an act that placed 107 of 128 New Orleans Public Schools under the direction of the Recovery School District (RSD), an unelected body. In January of 2006, more than 7,500 teachers and staff were laid off to enable "human capital" recruitment. Included in the mass layoffs were one-third of all Black veteran teachers. By 2007, one in three students were in classrooms led by a TFA corps member, the majority of teachers were white, and nearly half of all teachers were in their first three years of teaching (p. 47). Klein (2008) calls this a kind of "disaster capitalism" – the mobilization of white supremacist narratives of "schools-in-crises" as discursive justifications for accumulation by dispossession.

In sum, teacher education as institution is a set of overlapping ruling relations spanning the university, lower education, the state, and capital. Various interests underlie the seemingly simple and common call to increase the racial diversity of U.S. teachers. Ahmed (2012) argues that to understand institutions and diversity, one must understand not what 'diversity' *is* persay, but what "it obscures" (p. 14). Thus, I approach my review of the following literature by looking through and beneath the "diversity gap" to better understand and theorize teacher education as a site of both reproduction and exclusion/dispossession.

Disrupting the Pull Towards an Ontology of the "Real" in Teacher Education

Nationally, 18% of teachers identify as people of color in school systems where less than half of all students are white. In Minnesota, 96% of all teachers are white, while 28% identify as students of color and American Indian (Sanchez, 2015). In Minneapolis and St. Paul, there are 67% and 77% students of color, and just 16% and 17% teachers of color, respectively. TFA is not alone in its efforts (however self-serving) toward improving teacher diversity.[7] In the years following the controversial partnership, the issue of teacher diversity has become the main cause or campaign for a vast number of local urban and state-wide organizations with a variety of motivations and orientations. I interpret the increased local attention to teacher diversity as at least partially related to the ways in which the TFA controversy brought the issue of teacher education and diversity under public scrutiny. The increased attention to teacher diversity in teacher education research, writ large, relatedly, appears to stem from the reorganization of teacher

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[7] TFA has been lauded nationally for the diversity of its most recent cohort: almost half identified as people of color and 47% identified as coming from low-income backgrounds (TFA Web Site).

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education from baccalaureate, post-baccalaureate, and graduate degree programs under the influence of "labor market approaches" (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2016) like TFA which fast track teachers into classrooms, bypassing the usual degree programs.

In both local initiatives fueled by teacher educators, teachers, unions, and political organizations and in the much teacher education literature more broadly, there is a tension between "traditional" teacher education programs and "alternatives" that privatize and fast-track teacher preparation. This tension and the pull in teacher education research to defend itself as *the* rightful authority on preparing teachers obscures the problematic histories of the institution and avoids interrogating the subtle ways it perpetuates whiteness in teaching. Drawing from the literatures within second wave whiteness studies and teacher education research that centers the institutional experiences of teachers, teacher educators, and teacher candidates of color, I critique this move to self-defense. In doing so, I persist in my attempts to reframe the "diversity gap" as a continuation of the institution's roots in upholding white supremacist, heteropatriarchal, and colonialist capitalism, a process of reproducing a normative white femininity and an active dispossession of people of color and indigenous people from alternative life(-affirming) ways.

The "Diversity Gap" in Teacher Education Research

Since the early 1990s, the increasingly diverse student population paired with declining racial diversity among teachers has sparked numerous calls within teacher education to recruit and support more people of color (Foster, 1990; King, 1993; Dillard, 1994; Gay & Howard, 2000; Agee, 2004; Sleeter & Milner, 2011). It is during this same

era that Cochran-Smith (2004) argues teacher education had become increasingly targeted by policy, business and other organizations that sought to transform it along the lines of neoliberal market-based accountability. This form of accountability conceives teacher preparation as a "training and testing problem to ensure that all teachers have basic subject matter knowledge and the technical skills to work in schools devoted to bringing pupils' test scores to certain minimum thresholds" (p. 1). She argues, instead, we should conceptualize teacher education as a problem of learning and politics that cannot be solved. It is a continual, ever-shifting practice of situated justice work (p. 2).

With the turn toward market-based accountability, the importance of teachers of color has been increasingly articulated according to normative (neoliberal) understandings of "success" and "achievement". A racial "match" or "congruence" among teacher and students improves students' dispositions toward school, their test scores, grade-point averages, and college-readiness (Milner, 2015; Sleeter & Milner, 2011). The Council for the Accreditation of Education Preparation's (CAEP) has taken a stance that programs must "present plans and goals to recruit and support completion of high-quality candidates from a broad range of backgrounds and diverse populations to accomplish their mission. The admitted pool of candidates reflects the diversity of America's P-12 students (CAEP, Candidate Quality, Recruitment, and Selectivity, Standard 3.1). Ingersoll and May (2011) argue that demographic parity provides an increased likelihood that students of color will find role models, students are more likely to have teachers with "insider knowledge", and poor urban, racially diverse schools will be better staffed because teachers of color are more likely to work in these kinds of schools (p. 11).

Studying the "diversity gap", Ingersoll and May (2011) argue that poor working conditions are more at the root of the issue than recruitment of teacher candidates of color. They analyzed decades worth of data from the late 1980s to 2009, and found that while the gap between white teachers and their increasingly diverse students is widening, it is not necessarily because people of color are not entering teacher education programs. They write that minority teacher recruitment efforts have been supported by quite a bit of money since the 1980s, and these resources and initiatives have produced some national results in getting people of color teaching degrees and certification:

> Since the late 1980s, the number of elementary and secondary teachers has dramatically increased. This is especially true for minority teachers — whose numbers have almost doubled — from about 325,000 to 642,000. Growth in the number of minority teachers outpaced growth in minority students and was over twice the growth rate of white teachers (p. 63).

They go on to write that while "the minority teaching force has increased over two and a half times that of the white teaching force," teachers of color leave the classroom at much higher rates than white teachers. For example, they write, "[m]ore than 56,000 minority teachers left teaching in 2004-05 (Figure 2), including about 16,000 who reported that they left to retire and 30,000 who reported that they left to pursue another job or career or because of job dissatisfaction" (p. 65). Ingersoll and May argue that this is due to the fact that teachers of color are more likely to serve in schools with larger populations of racially minoritized students, and that these schools tend to be more under-funded and have more exploitative working conditions than better-resourced schools with larger white student populations (also see Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011). They write that

initiatives to address the diversity gap should target issues such as "teachers' classroom autonomy and faculty's schoolwide influence" more so than recruitment or bread and butter issues like teacher pay (p. 65).

Further complicating narrow and essentialized notions of cultural congruence, Ladson-Billings' (1994) seminal work on culturally relevant pedagogy argues that all teachers, including white teachers, can learn to provide meaningful and successful learning environments for students of color. From this work as well as the emerging field of critical whiteness studies within and beyond teacher education research, the lack of racial diversity among teachers has focused largely on improving white teachers' pedagogy. These literatures have largely approached the issue through research that seeks to understand and improve white teacher candidates' capacities to teach in culturally relevant ways (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2016; Sleeter & Milner, 2011) and to better articulate the historical and political conditions of their own racial identity formation (Jupp, Berry, & Lensmire, 2016).

As Cochran-Smith & Villegas (2016) have shown in their extensive review of teacher education research and diversity issues, the body of work that specifically addresses the exclusion and marginalization of people of color from teacher education is much smaller. Studying roughly 1500 research articles between 2000 and 2012, Cochran-Smith and Villegas identified 125 studies investigating practices that sought to develop white teacher candidates' abilities to teach diverse learners, while only 25 examined efforts to recruit teacher candidates of color. In the broad body of teacher education literature, both critical whiteness studies and studies that attempt to understand the issue of and solutions for the "diversity gap" from the perspective of teachers, scholars, and

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teacher candidates of color have been relatively marginalized (Jupp, Berry, & Lensmire, 2016; Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2016).

There exist tensions between what Jupp, Berry, & Lensmire (2016) term second wave whiteness studies and literature focused specifically on the recruitment and retention of teacher candidates of color from the perspective of their experiences in teacher education programs, on the one hand, *and* literature that approaches the problem from a supply and demand approach. While the latter literature aligns diversity and success according to a neoliberal logic, the former literatures, implicitly or explicitly, argue that major shifts in the institution of teacher education are necessary.

In 2000, Nieto wrote a call for teacher education to attend to their role in perpetuating injustice: "Schools and colleges of education have not been innocent bystanders in the history of this educational inequality. On the contrary, despite recent attempts in teacher education programs across the country to include multicultural issues, many programs have been steeped in negative assumptions about diverse populations based on deficit theories" (p. 181). Within this call, she critiques a tendency on the part of teacher educators to avoid the institution's role in (re)producing racial and class hierarchies. Similarly, Dillard (1994) argues that the exclusion of issues that substantively address issues of race, class, gender, sexuality, ability, and histories of oppression is directly connected to the inability for teacher education programs to recruit and retain people of color. She writes, "Entrance into teaching for students of color, their success in the field, and their contributions as teachers are more than the simple economic, sometimes *racist supply and demand concepts* characterizing recent discussions of teacher of color recruitment" (p. 9, emphasis added).

Calls for additive diversity sans institutional change fails to account for the ways in which teacher and teacher candidates of color are actively pushed out of their school contexts. Achinstein and Ogawa (2011) studied seventeen new teachers of color and found that they experienced a kind of "double bind". They were disciplined "to enact contradictory systemic demands promoted by government policy and the teaching profession" in ways that "exacted a toll" on their sense of self and well-being (p. 1). Similarly, Lapayese, Aldana, and Lara (2014) found that even though TFA has publicized its capacity to increase the diversity of teachers, corps members of color felt marginalized and devalued within the organization. They write that with TFA's intense focus on test scores and normative achievement standards, the corps members of color felt they were committing harm against their students and were constrained from teaching in ways that aligned with their values.

Along similar lines, Sleeter and Milner (2011) argue that teacher education programs must be completely transformed. They write: "Implicitly, most programs are designed mainly with traditional-age white students in mind, a reality that may be invisible to those in such programs but is visible to those who sense not belonging" (p. 88). Gorski (2009) illustrates this in his analysis of teacher education syllabi across a number of institutions. He found that courses' literature, activities, and assignments tended to center white students' supposed needs. Agee's (2004) similar study found that teacher education programs ignored the curricular and instructional needs of teacher candidates of color. Relatedly, Cochran-Smith (1995) engaged in a self-study of her own course and found that, even as she held deep commitments to inclusion and social justice, she was unintentionally centering white students and marginalizing her students of color.

Smith (2014) compellingly argues that courses and programs that are created and facilitated for the purpose of educating white students in culture and power can fetishize students' of color as experts on race and culture. At the same time, this affordance minimizes spaces for students of color to engage in meaningful study, devaluing their voices and complex racialized, classed, and gendered/sexualized experiences.

Scholars such as Smith (2014), Sleeter and Milner (2011), and many others have argued for meaningful and inclusive space for teacher candidates of color to develop their pedagogies and study their experiences and education as a political problem. Similarly, second wave whiteness studies have shifted from a focus on documenting white teachers' and teacher candidates' race evasion and addresses "complex-relational identity fields within racialized structuring complexes of power in schools and society" (Jupp, Berry, & Lensmire, 2016, p. 27). As Jupp, Berry, and Lensmire (2016) write, such an orientation requires the space-times for teachers, teacher educators, and teacher candidates to study the social and cultural foundations of education in relation to white supremacy, and make sense of their own racialization within it:

> [W]e believe that recognition of second-wave race-visible studies offers a key opportunity for teacher educators to develop and revise multidimensional curriculum and pedagogy that presume complex understandings of race-evasive *and* race-visible White identities, that recognize the problematics *and* potentials of race-visible representations, and that anticipate the intricate missteps and advancements that accompany teaching and learning about race, whiteness, and White identity. Here, we point again to Seidl and Hancock (2011) as a second-wave study that offers much to imagining and living out an antiracist teacher

education, especially for how responsive it is to Cross's (2005) potent argument that mainstream teacher education reforms—reforms that, for example, champion extensive clinical experience and undermine educational foundations—result not in transformative teaching and learning, but the "'same ole' oppression" (p. 27).

Such reforms tend to treat white privilege as a knowable obstacle versus a continuous, complex production and problematic. In Lensmire et al.'s (2013) analysis of Peggy McIntosh's (1988) influential "invisible knapsack of privilege" metaphor, the authors, members of the Midwest Critical Whiteness Collective, argue for a non-essentialized theorization of whiteness that enables white people to take up more effective anti-racist positionalities versus ones that short-circuit substantive action through white guilt and privilege confessionals.

As DeCoteau Irby (2014) writes, drawing from Lensmire (2014), we must understand the ways in which whiteness is produced *in relation to* rather than *in isolation of* (white images of) people of color. In his theoretical examination of White racial purity desires, he argues that a fear of miscegenation may undergird the ways in which young Black men are disproportionately criminalized and disciplined within (particularly suburban) schools that are shifting from largely White to more racially diverse student populations. Drawing from critical whiteness studies of interracial relationships (i.e., Deliovsky, 2005; Lensmire, 2014), he writes that Black boys are punished more severely and disproportionately than others in order to make them appear less desirable to (especially) White girls. At the same time, White girls are disciplined in subtle, discursive ways from entering meaningful interracial relationships, romantic or other, that might impact their own racialized experiences and dispositions. Such segregation reproduces a

white femininity that requires White girls to rely on heteropatriarchal protection from becoming "spoiled" by Blackness.

Irby's (2014) theoretical moves further illuminate the terrain upon which the "diversity gap" is (mis)articulated within teacher education. He goes on to describe the differentiated but interrelated ways that White girls and Black boys are disciplined in school are just one "segregationist maneuver" by which white supremacist heteropatriarchy is perpetuated:

> Schools are one societal institution among many that are instrumental in the production or disruption of racial inequality (i.e., school can be *used* for liberatory or oppressive causes). If we concede this point, the instrumentality of their disciplinary function, in terms of upholding White male patriarchy, can be viewed as in line with a range of other historical and contemporary segregationist maneuvers that police the social distance between White and Black student bodies. The more widely examined maneuvering strategies within school desegregation research include the expansion of charter schools, the expansion of private school access through voucher programs, within school tracking, and residential relocation to more racially "White" neighborhoods (p. 790).

It is possible to consider the reproduction of the white lady bountiful (Meiners, 2002), and the systematic exclusion, dispossession and institutionalized alienation of (especially working class) indigenous teachers and teachers of color as an interrelated segregationist maneuver. Building from Irby's theorization, we can further interrogate the relationship between the *reproduction* of a white femininity and the *exclusion* and alienation of people of color from teacher education and teaching. As I consider in the following

chapters: How are meaningful relationships across lines of race, class, ability, politics, gender and sexuality, and epistemology carefully managed within and by the institution?

The Minnesota Context

As critical teacher educators attempt to fight for space within their institutions to take up these important questions and relations, teacher preparation has locally (and nationally) been a key target for reform. The following Minnesota context both situates the subsequent chapters and provides insights for understanding similar broader national trends to transform teacher preparation. The following literatures illuminate the ways in which the issue of the "diversity gap" is taken up within and beyond the institution in ways that perpetuate anxieties between "real" and "alternative" preparation, and the ways in which "alternative" is, at times, used to trigger and recuperate liberationist desires.

Since 2013, the Social Justice Education Movement (SJEM) engaged a (relatively short-lived) campaign to demand Minneapolis and St. Paul public schools support "more staff and teachers of color". Around the same time or soon after, a number of organizations published detailed reports and policy briefs on the issue, including Education Minnesota, the state's largest, teachers union (EPIC, 2016); Minnesota Educators for Excellence (E4E MN), a controversial organization backed by the Gates Foundation among other corporatist foundations and with interests linked to the marketization of education (Strauss, 2015; E4E MN, 2015); Minnesota Excellence in Education Partnership (MnEEP), a primarily African American-led policy-focused organization (Sanchez, 2015); and MinnCAN, an organization that aims to influence education policy founded by Minnesota local and former TFA CEO Matt Kramer with

structural ties to corporatist foundations and charter school initiatives (Hawkins, 2013; MinnCAN Website).

More recently, a coalition of social justice teacher educators from institutions across the state that have been bringing many of the above organizations together, despite their differences, to push for, among other things, "support [for] pathways to teaching for diverse youth, paraprofessionals and career changers; [provision of] scholarship incentives and student teaching stipends; loan forgiveness for teaching service; [elimination of] discriminatory teacher testing requirements; [provision of] induction and retention support; and changes [in] curriculum & instruction [in teacher education programs]" ("Increasing Teacher Diversity in Minnesota" Program, 2016). As this list of needed reforms encompassing recruitment, induction, and retention indicates, the issue is complex and spans a wide array of space-times and institutions. Narrowing in on the ways in which these organizations perceive and target teacher education, we can see that the issue does not become any simpler.

All the reports by the above organizations outline the issue along somewhat similar lines: the demographic imperative and the "browning" of America's students, cultural and racial mismatch, and the possibilities for teachers of color to "improve the too-often dismal academic performance, high dropout rates, and low graduation rates of diverse urban students" (EPIC, 2016, p. 10). However, in our SJEM campaign, as I describe in more depth in chapter 6, one of the reasons our campaign was short-lived was due to our struggle to cultivate a narrative about teacher diversity and legitimacy that did not reproduce valorizations of upward mobility – arguments we perceived as individualizing students and failing to substantively challenge the root causes of

education injustice, (e.g., the systematic devaluation of ethnic studies and non-white histories in classrooms). These organizations and efforts represent decidedly different interests and communities, and all have identified teacher preparation programs as a major obstacle to improving racial diversity among teachers and candidates.

Among the reports and policy briefs issued on teacher diversity in Minnesota, "traditional" teacher education is framed as a critical obstacle to recruiting teachers of color. While stances taken by E4E MN, MnEEP, and MinnCAN support and advocate for increasing alternative pathways to licensure, Education Minnesota is the only organization that has critiqued what they call "labor market approaches" to the problem, or programs that "allow candidates to get into classrooms via routes that are different from traditional teacher-preparation licensure paths" (EPIC, 2016, p. 13). The authors, made up of a racially diverse team of practicing teachers, argue that such approaches take "substantial shortcuts around fundamental components of teacher preparation, such as methodology, pedagogy, and student teaching" (p. 13). They do not reject alternative pathways altogether, but make a distinction between programs like TFA and programs that "grow your own", or support community-embedded paraprofessionals and youth workers of color to become teachers (cf. Bartow et al., 2015).

The authors further argue, "Teachers and faculty *must be allowed* to design more appealing and productive teacher training systems, but the state must be ready to help those systems grow and flourish" (p. 12, emphasis added). This framing interestingly distinguishes between teachers and faculty, on the one hand, and, on the other, those (university administrators, state officials, lawmakers, etc.) who have the power to disallow or create space for such reforms and/or grant or withhold necessary state

resources to see those reforms successfully materialize. Their identification with "teachers and faculty" is evident in their careful engagement with teacher education research. Of all the reports, Education Minnesota's is the most extensive at 65 pages, including eight pages of references.

Alternatively, for E4E MN, MnEEP, and MinnCAN, what they term "traditional" teacher education is largely non-recuperable, and framed, for the most part, as an abstract and insurmountable barrier to innovating market-based solutions to the issue (particularly in the case of the latter two organizations). These organizations all put forth a call for increasing alternative pathways to licensure, or, as they frame it, public-private programs that make it easier for out-of-state teachers of color to become licensed in Minnesota, residency programs for mid-career professionals, and other programs that are specific to the needs and concerns of people of color (E4E MN, 2015; Sanchez, 2015; MinnCAN Website). As Education Minnesota's policy team alludes, "alternative pathways" is a catch-all term that masks the vast differences in power and interests between those who control the funds for making such pathways possible (i.e., the state and private foundations) and the kinds of community-accountable models advocated for by many "grow your own" proponents (EPIC, 2016).

It is important to note that, in their work on the issue of teacher diversity, none of the above organizations have substantively attended to what "increasing teacher diversity" means in the context of Ojibwe and Dakota language revitalization or recent, precarious and under-resourced efforts toward indigenous immersion education. The reports further demonstrate that the dominant framing of the issue mobilized across a wide array of interests, from unions to corporatist education lobby groups, has centered

representation and inclusion, giving the appearance of consensus. Yet, consensus does

not exist in relation to the sources of or solutions for the "diversity gap". There are

tensions surrounding "traditional" teacher education, cast as predominantly white, static,

and ancient in relation to "alternative licensure", cast as innovative, fast, and modern.

Within this dichotomy, the dominating narrative perpetuates the white racial

homogeneity of teachers in Minnesota as a static absence. The solution is a matter of

finding the best combination of resource allocation and program format (traditional or

labor market approach). Largely ignored and framed out of the conversation is the white

supremacist context of the institution. Whether out of ideology or pragmatism, the stated

goal for these initiatives is to *add* racial diversity.[8] To illustrate the problem with this

narrowed frame, in a community meeting organized by a coalition of teacher educators,

MnEEP, E4E and a number of other organizations and education stakeholders, we were

asked to discuss amendments to the group's main platform. The platform described five

pillars for increasing teachers of color, including financial support, eliminating

discriminatory testing, supporting pathways for youth and paraprofessionals, and

induction and retention support. During the large group share out, one teacher educator of

color asked, "so, how are we decolonizing education? How are we addressing the fact

that the university sees us (people of color) as commodities?" At the time, the question

was left unanswered.

As Cochran-Smith and Villegas (2016) write, the "status quo" of teacher

education has dominantly presented the issue along similar lines. Even critical teacher

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[8] I describe further in chapter 6 the ways in which SJEM, in its campaign to increase staff and teachers of color in Minneapolis and St. Paul public schools, also reproduced this additive frame even as we held contradictory desires for and analyses of the violence of education. We struggled to translate these desires and analyses into the language we produced to describe our campaign goals and demands.

education research and activism, often out of pragmatism, can reproduce efforts at inclusion that avoid questions about decolonization and Indigenous, Black, Brown, and API self-determination (cf. Ellis & Epstein, 2015; Ingersoll, 2001; Neal et al., 2015; Bireda & Chait, 2011). As Tuck (2009) writes, however, the gendered/sexualized and racialized construction of the institution and its role in perpetuating white supremacy and coloniality should remain at the core of any praxis aimed at education injustice. Taken together, these literatures illuminate the need for a frame that shifts the gaze inward and complexly accounts for the ways in which education institutions, and teacher education in particular, are often hostile places for people who cannot or will not be quietly disciplined into the professional status quo.

Conclusion

In order to take up such study, teacher education research/ers must better understand its/our own subjectivity within the institution and itself/ourself as bound up within segregationist, white supremacist maneuvering strategies. Cochran-Smith and Villegas (2016) provide an example of such an institutional critique. In their review of teacher education research attending to issues of diversity, Cochran and Villegas (2016) argue that education research has largely used,

> terms such as *diverse* and *urban* [as] undifferentiated and unproblematized code language for a constellation of characteristics that describe school populations and schools that have historically not been well-served by the mainstream education system, including traditional teacher preparation programs located at colleges and universities (p. 10-11).

Their critique of teacher preparation programs is limited, however, by their desire to defend the institution against its dismantling by neoliberal ideology and labor market reforms. They argue these reforms simultaneously essentialize "traditional" teacher preparation as static and already-unsuccessful, and put forth "choice" as a solution in the form of "alternative" market-based approaches that fast track the educationally successful and/or mid-career professionals.

They desire to defend teacher education against neoliberal interests, while acknowledging and holding onto its conceptual and political diversity. Against essentializing "traditional" teacher education, they are careful to distinguish that it is "the *status quo* of teacher preparation [that is] failing to provide well-qualified teachers for diversity and for schools in urban and other under-resourced, hard-to-staff schools" (p. 25). Within the broad body of teacher education research, they position "researchers and practitioners" as adjacent and as "insiders to teacher education". Among these "insiders", many of whom perpetuate the status quo, they describe social justice teacher educators as a "subset" that assumes "schools and teachers (and teacher educators) are complicit in the construction of students from non-dominant groups as deficient, and thus, complicit in the reproduction of inequalities" (p. 26). They find within research undertaken by "insiders", the studies they analyzed largely "challenge the current structures of schools and society by interrogating their own assumptions about knowledge and positionality, unlearning deficit views, and reimagining the possibilities for students previously not well served by the system" (p. 26).

This framing of teacher education "insiders" (versus research undertaken by "outsiders" who, they write, largely advocated for labor market approaches (p. 25))

conflates social justice teacher educators with the institution even while it acknowledges their marginalization by the institution's status quo. In their reference to "insiders" and "outsiders" to teacher education, the authors assume knowledge of the limits of the institution. They acknowledge teacher educators' relative complicity in reproducing education's (and the broader social) status quo while positioning teacher education institutions, with all their problems, as the authority and rightful site for preparing teachers to both teach well and in socially impactful ways. Such a defense of (the margins of) teacher education can have the effect of thinking neoliberalism as exterior to the institution. What if we assumed its interiority? How does our (as teacher educators) perception change about what we are attempting to build and, more importantly, with whom we are conspiring to do such work?

My study is inspired by the tireless teacher educators and researchers who have carved out spaces in the margins of the field to shift the research gaze back on the institution in order to analyze its role in perpetuating white supremacy and to argue for its transformation (e.g., Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2016; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Gay & Howard, 2000; Dillard, 1994; Sleeter & Milner, 2011; Milner, 2015). Yet, I move away from considering ways and means to reform the institution and move towards scheming ways to steal from, create beneath, and organize within and against the institution. As I attempt to develop throughout the broader study, such an institutional reflexivity requires a clearer articulation of an alternative 'social justice teacher educator' political subjecthood that shifts its allegiance *from* the institution (and thus its investment in its own professional existence) and *to* a movement-embedded decolonial, queer/feminist, and anti-capitalist ethics and praxis.

In the following chapters, I attempt to both practice and theorize this alternative subjectivity, which I term a politics of contingency (cf. Moten & Harney, 2012). I argue such a politics and praxis that disinvests from professionalism and the institution can enlarge the many marginal, contingent spaces from which this "sub-set" of teacher education research (critical whiteness studies, Black, queer, or feminist teacher education research) arises. In the context of Black study, Moten and Harney (2012) have termed these kinds of critical, marginal spaces "maroon communities" or the "undercommons". From these spaces that are "*within* but not *of*" the institution, we can "falsify" it (p. 13), rejecting its borders and very premise. In so doing, we can contribute to reinvigorating our collective radical imagination around what education might be and is already, in minor ways and minor spaces. Such an orientation may contribute to better defending these spaces against recuperation by institutional diversity.

CHAPTER THREE

Critical Bricolage as Methdology: Engaging in Epistemic Disobedience

Introduction

Since Lois Weis and Michelle Fine wrote *Working Method: Research and Social Justice* (2004), their classic text on critical ethnography and activist research methods, massive shifts have impacted local and global landscapes in education. In the last decade, gaps between the wealthy and poor have dramatically increased, "educational segregation and stratification have become more normative; the testing industry now dominates public schools; mass incarceration of Black and Brown bodies is well recognized as a national problem; "college for all" is the mantra while the tertiary-level sector itself becomes increasingly stratified; [and] unemployment rates and student loan debt skyrocket" (Weis & Fine, 2012, p. 177). This new educational era is most notably marked by aggressive policies that enabled control and capture of public education via the No Child Left Behind Act, mutually constitutive global political-economic and prison- and military-industrial policies guided by U.S. imperial interests, and the "disintegrative effects of 'development'" (Katz, 2004, p. ix; Lipman, 2011).

These oppressive transformations, triggered by the ongoing and adaptive practices of colonialist, heteropatriarchal, and racist global capitalism, have moved Weis and Fine (2012) to trumpet a political call for social justice-minded educational researchers to engage in "critical bifocality", or the practice of broadening and deepening our understandings of the global circuits of dispossession (and solidarity) that invariably construct our experiences with and actions against education injustice. This, they write, is

not a call for more theory but for critical education research to take seriously the ways in which education institutions are entangled within broader global capitalist flows and regimes. Nygreen (2006), in a similar vein, challenges that critical education research can and should do more to contribute to transforming the conditions that researchers make their living writing about, citing the inability of "decades of sound educational research and reform" to meaningfully disrupt the increasing enclosure of school and university spaces within capitalist and colonialist logics (also, see DeMeulenaere & Cann, 2013 for a similar call from a critical race framework).

Many critical, queer, and feminist education researchers in our contemporary political moment have taken up these calls. Often living within the undercommons of their academic institutions, they are leveraging their skills and resources as academics in order to (or while they) actively participate in collective social movements and attempt to infiltrate and recuperate academic research to further liberation struggles (e.g., Picower, 2013; Ibáñez-Carrasco & Meiners, 2004; Ngo, Bigelow, & Lee, 2014). In my interrogation of teacher education from within, beyond, and against the institution, I draw inspiration from these subversive modes of study and from Walter Mignolo's (2011a) concept of "epistemic disobedience" to frame my critical bricolage of three overlapping methodological traditions: *institutional ethnography*, a feminist sociological method that emphasizes community-embedded study of the ruling relations (Smith, 2005); *memory work*, which revalues memory/experience as critical site of knowledge production (Nagar, 2014; Haug, 1987); and *community-based participatory action research* (CPAR), which emphasizes collaborative knowledge production that contributes to furthering

work on the ground (Hale, 2008; Weis & Fine, 2004; Cammarota & Fine, 2010). From this braided framework, I discuss my processes of design, data collection, and analysis.

My bricolage approach is inspired by the sorts of thoughtful, introspective, and reflexive practices that often characterize critical, feminist, queer, and decolonial knowledge production and praxis (cf. Lock Swarr & Nagar, 2010). K12 education and the university have *always* been sites of struggle and reinvention. I view my own attempts to engage critical, feminist, and activist methods as an affective practice of care and love for the memories and labor of those who struggled/struggle together, endure/d violence, and sacrifice/d for alternative universities and critical education utopias. And, who struggled against the effects and continued practices of colonization, white supremacy, heteropatriarchy and capitalism as these have played out in our schools and communities.

Epistemic Disobedience: A Framework

With 'mutual shaping and interaction' between the researcher and participants taking place the researcher becomes, as it were, the 'human instrument' in the research, building on her tacit knowledge in addition to her propositional knowledge, using methods that sit comfortably with human enquiry, e.g., observations, interviews, documentary analysis and 'unobtrusive' methods. The advantage of the 'human instrument' is her adaptability, responsiveness, knowledge, ability to see the whole picture, ability to clarify and summarize, to explore, to analyse, to examine atypical or idiosyncratic responses (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, p. 155-194)

The above excerpt can be found in a textbook, *Research Methods in Education*, that many aspiring educational researchers are required to read in their introductory methods classes. The authors are careful to articulate the relationship between the researcher (the objective knowledge producer/the "human instrument") and the participant (the subject under study). In contrast to just regular old ethnography, the authors go on to write that within 'critical ethnography', "an emerging branch of ethnography, […] the research has to make a positive difference to the worlds of the 'Others' (the participants). This moves the ethnographer beyond simply being reflexive to being an activist" (p. 243). According to the textbook, only the critical ethnographer must be concerned with the material conditions she studies. Even so, she remains outside of and peers into the "worlds of the 'Others'", making a "positive difference" through her critical research.

The textbook fails to consider the ways in which colleges and universities monopolize the resources for study (i.e., material and financial support), ensure they benefit particular forms of study and epistemologies, and are kept out of reach from the communities of people upon which academic study is often performed. Alternatively, movement-embedded researchers within and beyond the academy attempt to mobilize, in various ways, what decolonial scholar Walter Mignolo (2011a) terms *epistemic disobedience* – forms of insurgent, collective practices of decolonial knowledge production that refuse and challenge modernist, patriarchal and colonialist forms of research historically dominant within the academy.

Mignolo (2011a) terms the latter, dominant epistemology the "zero point". Born in the European Enlightenment, the zero-point is a heavenly epistemic location (i.e., the

university) from which one can lay claim to the ability to see all and know all. This location is invisible, everywhere and nowhere, enabling the knowledge producer to avoid naming his or her location in relation to the peoples and places she or he claims to produce knowledge about. Knowledge production takes place in the disembodied individual mind in some dusty, book-lined academic office high up in the ivory tower. Alternatively, Mignolo (2011b) describes a geo- and body-political epistemology that questions this supposed placelessness: "[O]nce we have beaten the essentialist claim that reality exists, the next step and the most important one is to ask how is it constructed, by whom, why, what for, and whose interest does it serve if we construct reality in A or B manner" (p. 100).

Similarly, Smith (1999) writes that a few very basic questions can help researchers avoid colonizing knowledge production and the ways it often masks and romanticizes the actual purposes and effects of research. Questions like: "Whose research is it? Who owns its? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How will results be disseminated?" These questions do not have static answers, and, Smith writes, they are merely a narrow subset of a much larger set of questions the researcher may encounter. The answers to these and other are often unpredictable, contested and dynamic, and always relationally, politically, and ecologically situated. In the context of research within indigenous communities, Smith writes that:

> What may surprise people is that what may appear as the "right" most desirable answer [to these basic questions] can still be judged incorrect. These questions are simply part of a larger set of judgments on criteria that a researcher cannot

prepare for, such as: Is her spirit clear? Does he have a good heart? What other

baggage are they carrying? Are they useful to us? Can they fix up our generator?

Can they actually do anything? (Smith, 1999, p. 11).

Geo- and body-political knowledge not only situates knowledge within the body of the

knower and the place(s) the knower inhabits, but also signals that this knowledge is in

motion and produced within and through relationships between the knower and her

world.

Epistemic disobedience, in the context of the literature that mobilizes critical and

activist ethnographic methods, is not a homogenous practice. Different disobedient

traditions are mobilized, and these different traditions are often interdisciplinarily

entwined as researchers contribute to disrupting the often rigid boundaries of the

academy. Childers, Rhee, and Daza (2013), in their discussion of feminist methodologies

in education research, help us to understand how these disobedient epistemologies

operate in tension and contradiction to researchers' (most often) historically white,

patriarchal, and white supremacist higher education institutions:

Feminist research is outside-in the academy, contentiously working within the

constraints of the teaching machine (Spivak, 1993), producing scholarship as

critique of the universities and disciplines that paradoxically provide homes and

support for the work. Similarly, feminist research also has its own outside-in, its

own centers and margins, and its own multiplicities.

This "outside-in" metaphor is helpful for understanding how critical and ethnographic

research methods enable researchers to work against the often colonizing traditions of

their institutions, challenging the university as "zero-point" by viewing it as a site of

struggle in relationship to many other sites of struggle. However, while 'disobedient' researchers are *against* the ways education institutions perpetuate oppressions and hierarchies of ways of knowing and being, we are also *within* these institutions. Therefore, we are impacted by and vulnerable to the institutional practices in which we participate in order to (try to) remain within (Dyke & Meyerhoff, 2013).

For example, in a piece on publishing and the capitalist academic rat race, Sara Kendzior (January 2014) writes that scholars are discouraged from making their work accessible to broader audiences and engaging in public and collective dialogue enabled by the internet and through easily usable platforms like blogs in favor of peer-reviewed publications in prestigious journals, a kind of industry-wide work speed-up that successfully manages academic workers' time and energy. Thus, "academics are pressured to produce an ever greater amount of work for an inherently limited audience" (n.p.). In an academic era marked by rapidly decreasing tenure-track positions, and more than two-thirds of all higher education faculty contracted as temporary, contingent labor, pressures to publish in peer-reviewed, prestigious journals (that, coincidentally, amass profits by exploiting free academic labor (i.e., Taylor & Francis or Elsevier)) are higher than ever (Bousquet, 2008). More insidiously, the competitive ethos of "publish or perish" favors particular ways of knowing and modes of representation. As Grande (2004) makes clear, for indigenous scholars writing from indigenous epistemologies, "the game is rigged" (p. 103).

Higher education institutions in the U.S. have always been historically embedded within global colonialist, capitalist regimes, are deeply connected to other institutions and industries, and therefore have a structural stake in maintaining the hierarchical divisions

between university/community and researcher/subject.[9] Institutional ethnography, memory work methods, and community-based participatory action research are all methodological approaches that can recognize this embeddedness and shift the gaze to considering the direct and indirect roles academic institutions play in creating the kinds of oppressive conditions that researchers tend to gain prestige and accolades writing about. Further, they emphasize the researcher's own subjectification within higher education and the world more broadly versus constructing her as an outside, objective "human instrument".

Institutional Ethnography

In *Working Method*, Weis and Fine (2004) outline their theory of ethnographic method in order to differentiate it from "the wealth of prior ethnographic practice" in education, which they state is so often characterized by its stasis in time and place, its mobilization of a universal gaze, and its refusal to name its own political entanglements. They wrote this text in order to create new critical spaces for education ethnographers to inhabit and mobilize – their theory of method names ethnography as a dynamic artistic practice that captures movement between micro- and macro-social and political-economic relationships. They term this theory a kind of "compositional studies," in order to highlight the complicated relationships and problematics that ethnographic methods cannot and should not ignore (p. xix).

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[9] For more on this, see Alexander (2005) for a discussion of the relationships between the university and its entwinement with heteropatriarchal and racial capitalism and the military-industrial and the prison-industrial complexes. Also, see Wilder (2013) for a discussion of the historical mutual constitution of the North American slave industry and the formation of U.S. higher education institutions.

Weis and Fine's (2004) call to disrupt the usages (and later (2012) call to disrupt the slippages) of ethnographic methods in educational research is part of broader traditions of multi-disciplinary (especially among feminist, queer, and ethnic studies') calls to attend to ethnography's much older histories as a technology for colonization and for the emergence of western governmentality -- histories that disciplines like anthropology have been forced to reckon with only recently. Critiques of the use of ethnography to facilitate the control and capture of "primitive" peoples and places gained momentum in the 1960s with the New Left and renewed interest in Marxist critiques (Pels, 1997). Yet, Kelley (1997) writes that anthropology's historical and continuing obsession with "ghetto ethnography," as with most urban social science, "has played a key role in marking "blackness" and defining black culture to the "outside" world" (p. 16). Said's (1978) critique of anthropology's tendency to "orientalize" its research subjects and Lewin & Leap's (1996) frustration with anthropology's physics envy and the subsequent invisibility and perceived irrelevance of gay and lesbian ethnographer experiences to the field's official methodological stances together paint a complicated portrait of ethnography in practice.

Dorothy Smith's (2005) articulation of "institutional ethnography" arises from similar discontents with traditional/dominant mobilizations of ethnography that ignore researchers' subjectification within their own institutions and disciplines. Such mobilizations seek to produce "knowledge" that "is constituted as standing over against individual subjects and subjectivities, overriding the idiosyncrasies of experience, interest, and perspective" (p. 43). Instead, institutional ethnography "proposes an alternative form of knowledge of the social in which people's own knowledge of the

world of their everyday practices is systematically extended to the social relations and institutional orders in which we participate" (p. 43). Smith appropriates Althusser's term "problematic" to describe a "discursive organization of a field of investigation that is larger than a specific question or problem" (p. 38). She writes:

> The general problematic of institutional ethnography takes the everyday world as an unfinished arena of discovery in which the lines of social relations are present to be explored beyond it. Taking the everyday/everynight world as problematic does not, however, refer to the problems or issues that are the researcher's motivation to take up her or his work. It refers rather to the translation of an actual property of the social relations or organization of our/people's ordinary doings into a topic for ethnographic research. It locates the step that is taken from the ordinary doings and ordinary language that are the stuff of people's lives onto the terrain of a sociological discourse, the business of which is to examine how that stuff is hooked into a larger fabric not directly observable from within the everyday (p. 39).

Because the "problematic" is not limited to a particular "site" or delimited by "natural" boundaries, the geographies and relations of research are fluid and flexible. "Hence a major source of "control" over the natural expansions of ethnography into neighboring terrains is the political orientation and concerns of the researcher and those she or he is working with. It is this concern that regulates the researcher's focus of relevance" (Smith, 2005, p. 42). Smith's conceptualization of institutional ethnography centers the ethical-political commitments of the researcher and her relationship with the people she works with and for.

Walby (2007) writes that the method has been critiqued as a "philosophy of the subject", however, the power in institutional ethnography is its practical purposes to make visible the ruling relations in motion:

> Very often, institutional ethnographers produce maps of these [personal-extra/translocal] interconnections as a way of visualizing them for explanatory purposes but also to show those people working in the institutions where (i.e., at which processing interchanges) in the text-mediated process the standpoint of the subject disappears into the discursive (p. 1013).

Unlike the ethnographers that Kelley, Said and many others critique for their colonialist surveillance practices, institutional ethnography practitioners are expected to articulate the topics and problems they research within and through their embeddedness within groups of people who need access to the often walled off and inaccessible workings of institutions. She writes, "Exploration opens up an institutional complex as it is relevant to the problematic. In opening up an institutional complex, it participates in institutional ethnography's more general discoveries of the workings of institutions and the ruling relations in contemporary Western societies" (p. 41).

Walby (2007), in an effort to push institutional ethnography to grapple with its controversies and contradictions, argues that practitioners must consider more deeply the ways in which processes of ethnographic data collection and analysis are also processes of subjectification. He critiques institutional ethnography's sometimes contradictory claims that it situates subjects as the expert of their lives, yet the institutional ethnographer is necessary to make these local-extra/translocal relations visible because non-researcher subjects also "struggle in the dark" (p. 1014). Related to the goals and

aspirations of institutional ethnography, it is helpful here to turn to what Zahara (2016)

terms "ethnographic refusal" as a methodological strategy that acknowledges the deep

history between academic research and colonialism (Simpson, 2007; Tuck & Yang,

2014).

A practice of "making the settler colonial metanarrative the object of social

science research", the strategy enables researchers to "bring to a halt or at least slow

down the machinery that allows knowledge to facilitate interdictions on Indigenous and

Black life" (Tuck & Yang, 2014, p. 244). As the phrase indicates, researchers refuse to

write up and circulate particular stories, conversations, or information. Zahara (2016)

writes, "It is a method centrally concerned with a community's right to self-

representation," and "ensures communities are able to respond to issues on their own

terms" (n.p.). Tuck and Yang (2014) write, "Refusal understands the wisdom in a story,

as well as the wisdom in not passing that story on. Refusal in research makes way for

other r-words – for resistance, reclaiming, recovery, reciprocity, repatriation,

regeneration" (p. 244). Refusal is also a redirection – against the colonial practice of

providing the ruling relations information and access to marginalized groups and

geographies for further extraction and exploitation. Instead, they write, it is *power* that

deserves a "denuding, indeed petrifying scrutiny" (p. 223).

Institutional ethnography and refusal as research are a critical antidote to

discourses within education research that continue to put forth damage-centered

discourses (Tuck, 2009; Simpson, 2015). These discourses frame out the ways in which

education, set within a complex web of ruling relations, have directly contributed to

creating the conditions of oppression at the source of the various so-called "gaps" in

achievement, opportunity, diversity, among others. Education research that uncritically demands the savior of public education without attending to the ways in which Native Americans and First Nations peoples were forced into boarding schools in order to "kill the indian … and save the man" (Grinde, 2004, p. 27) can put forth problematic or short-sighted solutions and politics that unintentionally perpetuate the erasure of Indigenous ways of knowing and living (Grande, 2004). For many Indigenous scholars, our contemporary political moment in education is not a new crisis defined by corporate attacks against the inherently good yet 'broken' public education system, but a very old crisis defined by the ways in which education has been historically put to use toward cultural and linguistic genocide. The resurgence in Indigenous research methodologies within education research has pushed critical and activist education ethnographers to challenge the reified and colonial borders separating 'universities' from 'communities' and the 'educated researcher' from the 'primitive subject'.

For example, in a special issue of the *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* theorizing new ways of understanding how youth navigate and resist educational injustices, the editors Tuck and Yang (2011), bring together a series of articles that highlight the ways in which schools are less often sites of knowledge *production* but of indoctrination and/or alienation, and call for researchers of youth resistance to draw on decolonizing epistemologies that deeply challenge the ways of knowing often valued in schools and universities. They argue that instead of viewing "social justice as inclusion into a (White) progressive vision," we must continue to challenge the ways in which particular (White, modernist) epistemologies and ontologies are universalized within schools and universities (p. 526). Warning against teleological

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views of social change that take a narrow, progressive view of criticality or "consciousness-raising," they write that, "such conceptualizations of resistance rely on developmental or progress-oriented theories of change, the same theories that presume the "improvement" from savage to civilized, wild to domesticated, and unschooled to educated" (p. 522). They write that research on youth resistance cannot reinscribe these colonialist dichotomies, for example within the tradition of critical pedagogy where the 'oppressed' must be educated into their critical consciousness with the help of the expert teacher (also see Grande, 2004). Instead, they write that "non-teleological theories of resistance are messy, and the endgame of such resistance is unfixed and always taking shape" (p. 522). Likewise, institutional ethnography enables a flexible methodological approach that can respond to the real conditions, contingencies, and movement of peoples' lives as they are shaped by and scrape up against the ruling relations.

Collective Memory Work

Collective memory work (CMW) overlaps, in many ways, with the orientation and aspirations of institutional ethnography. It is based on the seemingly simple premise that "our own past experience may offer some insight into the ways in which individuals construct themselves into existing relations, thereby reproducing a social formation." As such, its practitioners "demand the right to use experience as a basis of knowledge" (Haug, 1999, p. 34). This epistemological stance is often in tension with the field of education's dominant modernist narratives that characterize learning/research as a steady, uphill progression of best or better practices.[10] Similar to institutional ethnography,

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[10] See for example the ways in which American Educational Research Journal, a major journal in the broad field of education, describes its aims to publish, "clear and significant contributions to the

CMW challenges research practices that avoid or erase institutions from our studies of education (Billo & Mountz, 2015), and practices that obscure how we (re)produce and are (re)produced by our institutional participation (Nagar, 2014; Ahmed, 2012). In many ways, it further addresses Walby's (2007) concerns that institutional ethnographers could do more to see the activities of research (interviewing, transcription, analysis) as processes of power-imbued subjectification.

CMW locates power and agency within the practice of research. The act of remembering is also a practice of re-membering and of re-telling experiences in ways that have transformative possibilities for the teller and her interlocuters. Frigga Haug and her socialist-feminist collective's classic text *Female Sexualization: A Collective Work of Memory* (1982/1999) are often credited with bringing memory work to the fore as a social science research practice (May, 2011). They write,

> If we refuse to understand ourselves simply as a bundle of reactions to all-
> powerful structures, or to the social relations within which we have formed us, if
> we search instead for possible indications of how we have participated actively in
> the formation of our own past experience, then the usual mode of social-scientific
> research, has to be abandoned (Haug et al., 1987, p. 35).

Within an experience of seemingly passive heteropatriarchal sexual socialization, the subject of the memory can locate moments of acquiescence and participation. These moments become sites of agency, and she can creatively re-write and retell these memories in ways that reimagine these moments differently, as refusal, protest, and affirmation. Such retellings offer insights and possibilities for herself and others for

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understanding and/or *improvement* of educational processes and outcomes" (AERJ Web Site, emphasis added).

whom these moments of acquiescence are not discrete, complete events in the past. As deviant sexualities and gender non-conformity are seemingly perpetually disciplined, policed, and punished, these memories reappear again and again in everyday life.

Within transnational feminist and academic-activist scholarship of women of color feminisms, memory work as method, and coauthorship have a long, deep history (cf. Sangtin Writers & Nagar, 2006; Nagar 2014; Anzaldúa, 1984). Anzaldúa (1984) writes that the act of writing and remembering is a tool of power:

> My "stories" are acts encapsulated in time, "enacted" every time they are spoken aloud or read silently. I like to think of them as performances and not as inert and "dead" objects (as the aesthetics of Western culture think of art works). Instead, the work has an identity; it is a "who" or a "what" and contains the presence of persons, that is, incarnations of gods or ancestors or natural and cosmic powers. The work manifests the same needs as a person, it needs to be "fed," *la tengo que bañar y vestir* (p. 89).

She writes that through writing, "I make sense of [my traumas], and once they have "meaning" they are changed, transformed" (p. 92). In the context of indigenous storytelling, remembering is an epistemological practice (Kovach, 2010). For example, Simpson (2015) writes that in Nishnaabeg intellectual traditions, (re)producing collective memory is an everyday pedagogical practice encoding, making sense of, and (re)producing Nishnaabeg relations with the land in the context of settler colonialism and its violences against these relations. The relational, memory-based storytelling of Nishnaabeg intellect "[p]ropel[s] us to rebel against the permanence of settler colonial

reality and not just "dream alternative realities" but to create them, on the ground in the physical world, in spite of being occupied" (p. 8).

Haug et al. (1987) emphasizes writing as a transgression of borders, "an exploration of new territory" (p. 36). Writing within memory work, for Haug and others (cf. Davies, 2001), is the means by which participants are able to uncover and analyze their subjection, for example, by paying close attention to the construction of "I", linguistic peculiarities, word choice for affect, action, etc. (Haug, 1998, p. 13). For Haug and the collective of women she worked with, CMW is a means to make the personal political, and in doing so, collectivize and theorize 'female sexualization'. The end goal is to "reach a point in which we no longer see ourselves through the eyes of others" (p. 39). However, storytelling via writing and linguistic analysis are not always the best or most accessible means for CMW. For Simpson (2015), memory in Nishnaabeg tradition is rooted in the non-linear webs of relationships between the story, the land, people, their ancestors, and their sociopolitical conditions. Academic invocations of memory work (like my own here) exist in tension with decolonial memory work practices. Simpson argues that the creation of alternative realities, of decolonization and healing, can only flourish with the abolition of the state-run education system, which she argues ignores and violently devalues Nishnaabeg intelligence, universalizes settler consciousness. She writes, "You can't graduate from Nishnaabewin" (p. 10).

Nagar (2014), in her study of memory work, feminist storytelling, and coauthorship in the context of sowing the seeds of what is now a major labor movement in Sitapur, India, acknowledges that feminist storytelling and coauthorship that "intentionally grapples" with what kinds of new realities are produced is "one way of

working across sociopolitical, cultural and institutional locations, languages, and histories," cross-border grappling that is critical for strengthening social movements (Nagar, 2014, p. 169). Inspired by Nagar's call to engage memory work in self-aware and thoughtful, reflexive ways towards movement building work, I examine my own and teacher educators' participation in education institutions in ways that illuminate my/our complicities and our possible routes of resistance.

Community-Based Participatory Action Research

The third and final methodological tradition I engage builds upon the collective and collaborative practices of institutional ethnography and CMW, yet highlights in a more pronounced way the need for research to respond to and support decolonial, anti-racist, queer, and working class social movements. While traditions of CPAR, which emphasize movement-embedded study, have guided my engagement and trajectories of thinking within my geographies of study, my dissertation is not (allowed to be), nor necessarily should be, a participatory writing project. Rather, it is one product that arises out of the everyday participatory cycles of study and action that I have engaged in with others: within teacher education (with Audra), within the Ojibwe language revitalization movement alongside my fellow Grassroots Indigenous Multimedia (GIM) staff, and in the context of organizing with members of the Social Justice Education Movement (SJEM) toward working class education self-determination and Black and Brown liberation.

It is important to acknowledge that my dissertation is largely to satisfy requirements for my degree (ability to remain "inside") and bound within certain

(relatively) restrictive norms and modes of circulation. While this particular writing

project has been a critical learning experience for me that I bring/have brought with me to

inform my participation in various other spaces of struggle, other more impactful

coauthored texts have emerged from the collective study that informs this project, e.g.,

grant applications to fund the creation of Ojibwemowin story books, petitions, protest

signs, power maps, calls for proposals, mission and vision statements, Facebook event

pages, blog posts analyzing the terrain of Twin Cities' education justice initiatives,

among so many others. In addition to these texts, the ebb and flow of our relationships of

love, care, and commitment to one another in these spaces are untrackable, unmeasurable

products of knowledge production – these are the stuff of movement-building.

For the purposes of this study, I engage the questions and controversies that

CPAR and activist research traditions raise for academic research. The formation of

CPAR, in education research, arose in response to the ways in which "ethnographic

research has largely been confined to studying problems, prevention, and pathology (i.e.

negative or oppositional attitudes) among urban youth rather than assets, agencies, and

aspirations" (Akom, Ginwright, & Cammarota, 2008, p. 2). CPAR challenges the ways in

which dispossessed peoples and communities have been positioned as mere subjects and

not actors always already producing research and knowledge. Youth participatory action

research (YPAR), a form of CPAR, for example, asserts that "young people have the

ability to analyze their social context, to collectively engage in critical research, and resist

repressive state and ideological institutions" (Akom, Ginwright, & Cammarota, 2008, p.

2, also see Tuck & Yang, 2013; Cammarota & Fine, 2010). Community-based and

activist research traditions have also raised questions around the accessibility of academic

writing and circulation, and engages "acts of making knowledge public (to tell) and making public knowledge (to be seen)" (Ibáñez-Carrasco & Meiners, 2004, p. 1).

CPAR practitioners also often challenge modernist notions that knowledge is produced within discrete, autonomous individuals. In Tuck et al.'s (2010) documentation of the work of the Collective of Researchers on Educational Disappointment and Desire (CREDD), they collectivize the ways in which their experiences with alienation and school push-out and draw on these shared experiences to explore and learn together intergenerationally. In a response to their research, Grande (2010), appreciative of their disruption of the modernist epistemological practices, writes: "A collectivity makes me think of self- determination, of a group aligned in purpose but not necessarily means, and of the search for sovereignty. It makes me think of tribe" (p. 84). Grande points to the ways in which autonomous, collective research disobeys western epistemologies and academic institutional practices that celebritize and reward individuals, and devalue and discount collective work (e.g., as with what publications "count" in a tenure portfolio).

Yet, because researchers claim CPAR or YPAR does not necessarily mean they practice epistemic disobedience. The popularity of YPAR and its increasing institutionalization within the academy makes it ever more vulnerable for co-optation and commodification by academics and inter-related institutions and easier to ignore its more radical forms and enactments. For example, instead of rejecting the modernist-scientific measures by which education research is often deemed 'significant' (its capacity to be generalizable), Kirschner (2010) argues for merely expanding the definition of "generalizability" as a way to value both the goals of YPAR and "the goals of the human sciences" (p. 245-247). He explains his argument by drawing on Whyte's (1989) study

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that illustrates how participatory action research projects on the shop floor in workplaces contributed to advancing organizational theory (p. 245). Like his example, where the labor of workers is used to further advance a field that has traditionally produced knowledge about how to better manage workers, seeking the inclusion and legitimization of YPAR within the academy can lead to the exploitation of youth labor and can reinscribe the very hierarchical relationships that many YPAR practitioners seek to disrupt.

Now, folks in applied developmental sciences are taking up YPAR, citing well-known critical, anti-racist, anti-capitalist YPAR practitioners and theorists like Michelle Fine and Julio Cammarota, to argue for the 'benefits' of YPAR – 'benefits' that do not seem all that different from the epistemological practices that Akom, Cammarota, and Ginwright (2008) stridently critique. For example, Kirshner, Pozzoboni, & Jones (2011), in a study of a YPAR after-school program focusing on school closures, write that YPAR enabled students to manage their passions and biases successfully. They cite one researchers' field notes to illustrate the effectiveness of YPAR to socialize students into doing research the "right" way: "The administrator said she was impressed that the students were ''open to the data,'' that even though they came to it with passions and biases they were able to still develop an ''objective'' report, adding, ''This is how professional researchers do research''' (p. 150). Instead of seeing youth engaging critical ethnographic research as an opportunity and means for disrupting the ways in which schools devalue and criminalize affect, feeling, and body knowledge, these researchers view YPAR as a means to enforce the management of these divisions, making YPAR 'respectable'. Within the context of this project, students are rewarded for their impulses

to emulate professional researchers, disconnected from the ways in which "professional research" has historically contributed to their exploitation and dispossession.

In some cases, as with CPAR's recuperation into dominant disciplines that tend to perpetuate narrow developmentalist assumptions, the co-optation of formerly "disobedient" practices of research to reinscribe the status quo are more obvious. Others are less so, as participation in academic publishing and the usage of institutional resources to do research are always bound up with those institutions' colonial histories and their embeddedness within capitalism. One way that academics who participate in CPAR negotiate these tensions and power differences is through de-emphasizing their own research within the broader collective goals of the project and using their research and writing as a means to disseminate and open up new possibilities for other educational researchers (Katsarou, Picower, & Stovall, 2010; Picower, 2013; Dececco & Kumashiro, 2013; Fox et al., 2010; Quinn & Meiners, 2009). For example, Dececco and Kumashiro (2013), as editors, use their academic positions and resources in order to circulate and honor autobiographies by and for queer Asian/Pacific American activists, disrupting institutionally inscribed notions of who can and should produce educational research and knowledge. These questions have been brought up in different ways by critical scholars who seek to struggle against the ways in which the "most sought after" communities can be colonized and objectified by educational research. Ngo, Bigelow, and Lee (2014) argue that, in research with immigrant communities, the importance of data collection, analysis, and writing to the academic should sit well below her commitments to reciprocity, understanding the nuanced ways in which communities are affected by research, and must be critically engaged with the kinds of issues, questions, relationships

and concerns that are of importance to those communities. In the same issue, Kumashiro (2014) highlights the ways in which activism and research within immigrant communities can be problematic, impositional, and fraught with tensions.

Further, other researchers challenge the ways in which "collaboration still often emerges as *the* (singular) method" that will ultimately challenge the university's rigid borders and hierarchies of power (Desai, Bouchard, & Detournay, 2010, p. 52). In Ibáñez-Carrasco's and Meiners' (2004) edited volume on activism in education, they challenge the dichotomization of 'university' and 'community' as an "inside/outside" problematic: "Why is institutionalization overwritten as "bad' and anti-institutionalization coded as "good"? Does inhabiting the inside always imply cooptation?... And does inhabiting the outside always and everywhere guarantee radicality?" (p. 4, citing Fuss, 1991, p. 5) They unsettle the dichotomization of good/outside versus bad/inside by putting to question how, why, and for what purposes are the "inside/outside" of institutions constructed. They embrace the complexity of their relative 'insiderness' as a necessary risk:

> We accept this risk of inclusion/exclusion with a belligerent spirit, much in the same way that people who are visible (or sexual) minorities frequently inhabit committees, boards of directors, staff rooms, artistic projects, or university departments, as "tokens." We aim to cause trouble by being there, by simply occupying the space (p. 4).

Critical and activist education researchers have embraced the complexities of insider/outsider through disrupting the hegemonic borders between education institutions and other sites of study and knowledge production. For example, Stovall's (2004)

research reflecting on the use of the city, including its streets and neighborhood spaces, as a critical race classroom within a high school social studies course disrupts the boundaries between 'school' (valorized as the 'house of knowledge') and 'street' (devalorized as a place of criminality).
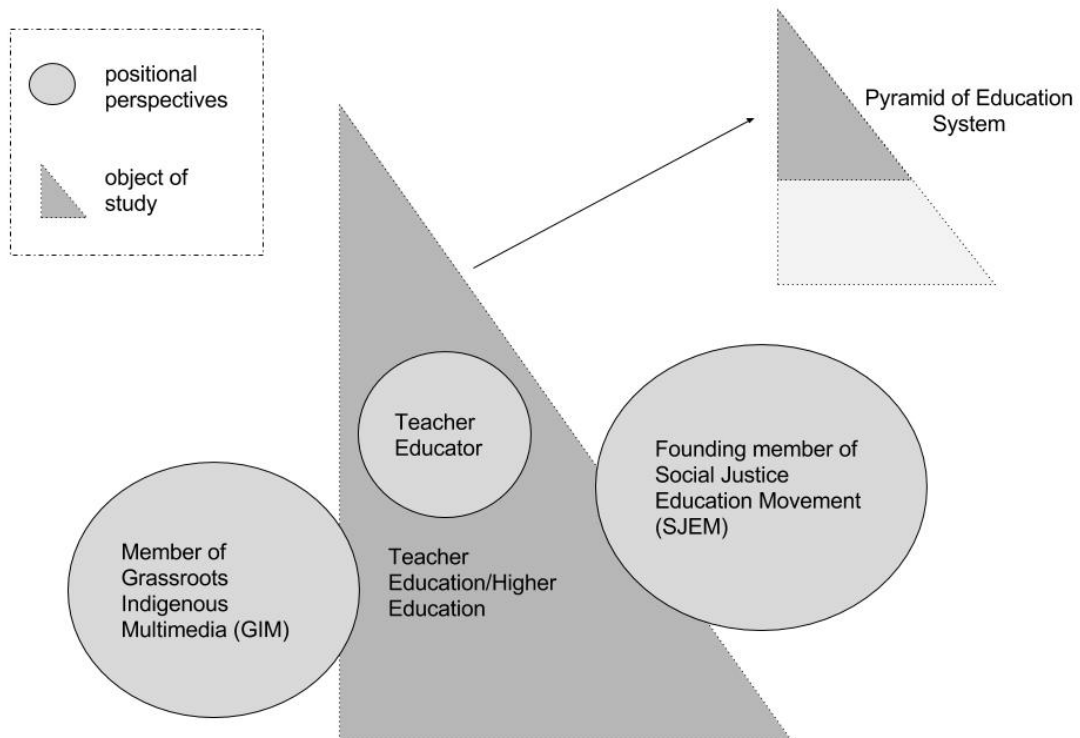
Keeping at the fore the ethical-political problematics that CPAR and activist research methods demand researchers confront, I have attempted to hold myself accountable to the groups and movements from which my study arises. Throughout, I have asked myself: How am I prioritizing my writing/work for the academy in relation to my work with and for GIM, SJEM, and other movement-building projects? How am I leveraging what institutional resources I have access to in order to further these projects? And, how can I de-center myself as knowledge producer and deeply acknowledge the practices of coauthorship and collective study that drive this writing? Throughout the course of this writing project, there have been many moments when I have been less than satisfied with my answers to these questions. For example, at the moment I write this, I have had to temporarily take a step back from my responsibilities to SJEM in order to finish writing and matriculate on time. However, as Hale (2008) writes, activist research is an ongoing process of "engaging contradictions" (p. 1).

Engaging a Critical Bricolage: Methods, Data, and Analysis

I mobilized my bricolage of methodological traditions unevenly, calling up certain practices and frameworks as it made/makes sense to do so within the different space-times, contexts, and webs of relations that comprise each of my three particular positional perspectives (see Figure 1): as a teacher educator at the University of

Minnesota (chapter four), a member of Grassroots Indigenous Multimedia, which works across Ojibwe country in Minnesota and Wisconsin (chapter five), and an organizer with the Social Justice Education Movement (SJEM), which focuses mainly on the issues facing Minneapolis and St. Paul public schools (chapter six). It is from these three (overlapping) locations that I explored the "diversity gap". From each perspective and from within the relations that comprise my everyday participation in each, I attempted to translate my/our everyday experiences into extra-local/translocal social relations and processes, mapping the ruling relations (of teacher education) and our own locations within them.

Figure 1: Positional Perspectives

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Research Questions

While I had a general sense of my methodological approach when I wrote my research proposal, my methodology emerged alongside my study, analysis, and even my writing. My emergent braided methodology evolved in response to the needs of and relevance to my central problematic (cf. Smith, 2005), itself inspired by my experiences organizing within my college against its partnership with Teach for America. From within each positional perspective, the following questions guided my data collection, analysis and writing:

1. How is the "diversity gap," or the increasing gap between white (women) teachers and their increasingly diverse student population, articulated within teacher education research and practice?

    a. What solutions, practices, and responses have emerged within teacher education in response to these articulations?

    b. How do these articulations and responses understand teacher education's historical relationship to the production of the "diversity gap"?

2. In what ways are GIM staff and Ojibwe immersion teachers and SJEM members articulating the increasing whiteness of U.S. teachers in comparison with the increasingly racially diverse student population? What are their desired responses, visions, and solutions?

    a. What histories and memories of struggle do they draw from to do so?

    b. How do these articulations and responses relate to those offered by teacher education?

As I began to engage more deeply with my data, and as I discussed these questions more deliberately with Audra and members of GIM and SJEM, I realized that the above questions did not adequately capture the affective, gendered, settler colonial, and racialized dimensions that characterized the ways in which the folks I was working with experienced the "diversity gap" and the spaces of teacher education first hand. So, I developed and put to use the following questions that attended more specifically to teacher education's management function. The following, alongside the above questions, further guided my analysis and writing:

- In what (sometimes subtle) ways does teacher education reproduce a racialized, gendered/sexualized, and classed normative teacher figure, what Meiners (2002) terms the "white Lady Bountiful"? On the other side of the coin, how are certain bodies, dispositions, and ways of knowing excluded and devalued within teacher education?

The above questions focusing on reproduction/exclusion seemed to offer a more useful analytic for thinking about the functionary and productive aspects of teacher education in relation to the "diversity gap".

Data Collection and Analysis

As I attempt to describe in my introduction, I did not intentionally design my study so much as the spaces and relationships within which I moved seemed to coalesce around the problem that teacher education and certification continually acted as barriers to substantive diversity, even as administrators and other institutional workers freely made claims to value it. Within each positional perspective, I draw from email

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communications, jottings, meeting notes, formal and informal one-on-one and group

conversations, and written memories in the various contexts of my positional

perspectives. I also draw from websites, and other institutionally-mediated texts from the

University of Minnesota, education policy organizations, and other education institutions.

In the case of chapter four, I additionally draw from collective memory writing and

analysis with Audra. As I write this list of "data", it does not seem to adequately capture

all the ways I came to learn about my topic. Because I was studying in and through a

variety of spaces and places I regularly inhabited prior to "official" inclusion in my

dissertation study, I made decisions about what to collect or record often based on the

needs of our work in each location. For example, memory work with Audra arose out of a

pressing need to make sense of our dis-ease with our participation in teacher education as

teacher candidate and teacher educator.

I also made decisions about what *not* to record or collect based on how I was

needed within each particular context. For example, GIM held a workshop on pedagogy

for Ojibwe and Dakota immersion teachers from across reservations and schools led by a

veteran immersion teacher. I imagine I could have gathered important insights on the

needs and issues facing Ojibwe immersion teacher preparation, however, I was needed

for childcare. So, instead of 'collecting data' I hula-hooped and played basketball with a

crew of young children in the school's gym. As another example, at SJEM events, I often

took turns cooking, cleaning, caring for children, or engaging in relationship-building in

order to grow SJEM's capacity. To say it a different way, I tried to privilege participation

and the needs of each organization and my relationship with Audra above the needs of

my study. These forms of participation were not unproductive, however. Privileging

participation in this way also led to strengthened relationships and more insightful and frank discussions around controversial topics later on. For example, an immersion teacher welcomed me into his classroom for a rich and winding conversation about immersion teacher preparation after acknowledging my caregiving at an earlier immersion workshop. While we talked in his classroom he, himself, was caring for a co-worker's children afterschool. For the purposes of this study, my methodological decisions were contextual, responsive to my research relationships, and always embedded within broader ethical-political questions.

For me, such questions often revolved around my own complicated and privileged positionality as a White woman and academic, with self-proclaimed "radical" political commitments. Often, this socialization clouded my ability to see the subtle relations of racialized power in play in the moment, especially in spaces of organizing. For example, I and Meyerhoff (2016) interrogated relations of power and privilege that shaped the trajectory of the Experimental College of the Twin Cities (EXCO), an anarchistic free school we organized that emerged out of struggles surrounding labor exploitation and increasingly exclusionary enrollment policies at Macalester College and the U of M. We studied significant moments when EXCO struggled with capacity and its indeterminate trajectory. We found that these moments were often cast as problems that could be solved by more bureaucratic management processes (e.g., reorganization of roles, point-people who would ensure people completed tasks they committed to). This technocratic move had the effect of submerging deeper tensions surrounding the relations of power between university-based White students (like me) and community-based organizers of color.

Along similar lines, within the same free school, I and Meyerhoff (2013) engaged in a co-research study in the context of a course we co-taught on "radical pedagogy". Upon careful analysis of our facilitation practices, discussion, and interviews with course participants, we found that we problematically presumed our "radicality" (versus leaving it open to question) and, in the process, subsumed racialized tensions and controversies that unintentionally marginalized the few people of color in the course. For example, we discovered our discussions of race were usually in the abstract, and we avoided interrogating our own racialized identity formations as facilitators or the ways in which race shaped our course discussions. As a result, one participant of color shared that she did not feel safe bringing up race or whiteness in the course. Both studies strongly argue for creating and normalizing movement-embedded study practices that welcome and openly engage controversy, regularly excavate (versus bury) tensions, and generally produce more thoughtful, self-aware organizations (also see Nagar, 2014).

These experiences have deeply informed my research trajectory. In a way, this study builds on these attempts at self-awareness across multiple scales. In chapter four, I engage my own complicity as a teacher educator in reproducing the conditions of alienation that shaped Audra's experiences in the program. In chapter five, through highlighting the ways in which teacher education and interlocking institutions that manage knowledge authority stultify school-based efforts to revitalize Ojibwe language and life ways, I implicitly critique the ways in which our resistance to TFA at the U of M problematically positioned both institutions at odds (versus entangled in the same web of ruling relations). Finally, in chapter six, I zoom in on racialized tensions that nearly tore SJEM apart. I analyze the ways in which White members (including myself) attempted to

shape the narrative of social justice in education in ways that de-emphasized White

educators' violences against students, especially students of color, and the effects this had

on marginalizing the voices and perspectives of SJEM members of color. Inspired by

Weis and Fine's (2012) call to attend to lives *and* structures, I attempt to contextualize

these critiques within broader historical, social, and political processes of

neoliberalization – not so much to de-emphasize the agency of myself or other teacher

educators and White organizers, but to trace a genealogy that can aid us in understanding

why and how we reproduce these conditions of alienation and exclusion within teacher

education and beyond, within spaces of grassroots organizing. Further, through

understanding this reproduction/exclusion, we can engage strategies and praxes that

continue to make visible and challenge those moments of reproduction/exclusion.

In the following, I describe in more detail the specific data and practices of

collaborative analysis within each particular context. These processes were intimately

entwined with and provide critical context for the themes and issues that emerged in

relation to the "diversity gap" and teacher education from each positional perspective.

Chapter Four: Engaging Memory Work Across Institutional Positionalities

Audra and I were longtime friends and co-organizers in SJEM before Audra

became a teacher candidate in the Second Languages and Culture (SLC) Initial Licensure

Program (ILP), the University of Minnesota's (U of M) "traditional" licensure program.

After she began the program, I became her teaching assistant for a child and adolescent

development course she was required to take. Our relationship was tested with this new

invasion of institutionalized authority relations. All of a sudden, I was positioned as a

(White) expert responsible for grading her assignments and measuring her progress in the class. Our collective memory work study began, first, not as any kind of formal endeavor, but as a means to work through the tensions we were experiencing in our own friendship, the anxious, pestering feelings emanating from deep in our guts that we could not quite put into words at first.

For us, memory work was an iterative process. Our research, took place during the 10-months that comprised Audra's program year and began with informal, regular meetings to discuss our, and especially Audra's, experiences and frustrations in her program. We then graduated to writing our memories and collectively analyzing these. During these relatively unstructured analysis sessions, we highlighted themes, disconnects, and gaps in our articulations where we felt we did not quite capture our unsettledness in writing. We would then mind-map together further avenues to explore, wrote more memories, and undertook more analysis. We engaged in this process for three or four sessions before settling on a few salient themes to explore deeper through collective writing. Our sensemaking was not limited to linguistic analysis (cf. Haug, 1987; Onyx & Small, 2001) but additionally engaged the embodied ways we re-experienced important moments and situations together, including through tearful re-tellings of particularly painful experiences, boisterous laughter as we uncovered contradiction, and frustrated grunts at our inarticulateness as, for example, we sat in a dark parking lot on campus after a class debriefing for hours.

Our initial conversations early on in Audra's program were not intentional research sessions. In fact, it was difficult to find any time at all at first due to Audra's jam-packed schedule of coursework, student teaching, and her weekend job that helped

her to pay her rent. As time went on and she felt increasingly disaffected by her experiences at the university, our study became more important: a time to process and make sense of what was happening to us, and how it was impacting our capacities to align our actions within education institutions with our ethical-political commitments. Thus our inquiry is an extension of our friendship and our ongoing conversations based in the relationships and social movements we are embedded within. Our memory work culminated in a collective writing project, and we presented this at the 2015 American Education Research Association annual meeting in a symposium themed on memory work. This chapter is based on my own meta-analysis of our data and our work together, yet it is deeply indebted to our collaboration and collective writing. Of course, any missteps here are mine alone.

Chapter 5: Learning from the Ojibwe Language Revitalization Movement with

Grassroots Indigenous Multimedia

While the previous chapter complicates teacher education as a site of alienation and reproduction of gendered and racialized teacher tropes, chapter five attempts to think inclusion and decolonization together from the perspective of my involvement with Grassroots Indigenous Multimedia (GIM), an organization that works toward Ojibwe language revitalization through production of Elder-informed language materials and pedagogical support for school and community contexts. I began working with GIM through my relationship with its director, Mary Hermes. She also happens to be my professor, friend, and fellow feminist research collective member.[11] I desired to learn

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[11] We are both members of the Hayward Research Collective, which formed out of a lack of space for feminist and queer studies and methods in education within our department and college.

more about and contribute in some way to language revitalization after I took a course

with Mary on language revitalization and activist research methods. Through our work

together in courses and in the feminist collective, Mary invited me to put my

organizational/organizer skills to work for GIM in the spring of 2014. As an

administrative assistant and a white settler, my knowledge of the work and politics of

language revitalization is partial, to say the least. To put my minor participation into

perspective, Ojibwe and other indigenous language revitalization movement workers

devote their lives to learn the language and foster infrastructure, community, and support

for others to do so as well. Language revitalization is a way of living. The work is

intense, emotional, conflict-ridden, joyous, and concerned with survival in every sense of

the word (Hermes, 2004). I am gracious of my fellow GIM staff, immersion school

educators, and others who helped me learn more about the context of Ojibwe language

revitalization, and for forcing myself to seriously reflect on my path forward in the

struggle for decolonization.

I mainly draw from formal and informal conversations with five Ojibwe language

immersion educators. With three immersion educators, I engaged in formal conversations

in the context of gathering information about the perceived challenges/possibilities for

immersion teacher preparation. Invitation to these sit-down conversations were described

as a part of my role with GIM and as academic researcher writing on the challenges

facing Ojibwe immersion teacher preparation. For GIM, we were engaged in a grant-

funded project to explore this issue. For my own study, once framed as a project targeting

and critiquing the institution of teacher education (not their own work or language

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Through this collective, I and others first engaged with memory work methods as a form of
inquiry.

revitalization), participants willingly accepted. In the chapter, I draw extensively from my formal conversations with two immersion teachers. The third formal conversation and informal conversations with other immersion teachers in the context of GIM workshops. In the chapter, I also draw from an Ojibwe immersion educator's ethnographic study of her classroom in relation to Wisconsin's state standards (with her generous permission), and reports on the needs for immersion teacher preparation by the Volunteer Working Group for Dakota and Ojibwe Language Revitalization and Preservation (VWGDOLRP).[12] My research questions and analysis are also grounded firmly within my experiences and work with GIM.

While my writing (I hope) reflects this groundedness, the institution of teacher education and the ruling relations within which it is embedded remains my research object. It is the institution that I wish to make more transparent through my scholarship, *not* Ojibwe language revitalization communities, GIM, or the workings of immersion schools and teachers. My analyses are embedded within the work and praxis of GIM and wider language revitalization movement communities with whom I crossed paths. In the following, I keep my research gaze steadily on the institution of teacher education,

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[12] The VWGDOLRP is a part of the Indian Affairs Council, made up of representatives from Cansa'yapi - Lower Sioux Indian Community, Mdewakanton - Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community Pezihutazizi Oyate - Upper Sioux Community, Tinta Winta - Prairie Island Indian Community, Asabiikone-zaaga'igan - Bois Forte Band of Chippewa Gaa-waabaabiganikaag - White Earth Band of Ojibwe, Gaa-zagaskwaajimekaag - Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe, Kitchi-Onigaming - Grand Portage Misi-zaaga'iganiing- Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe, Miskwaagamiiwi-zaaga'iganiing - Red Lake Nation, and Nah-gah-chi-wa-nong - Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa.

mobilizing movement-embedded questions, tensions, and conversations that arose in these contexts as both fuel and guidance.[13]

Chapter 6: On Theft: The Challenges and Possibilities for Movement Methods
with the Social Justice Education Movement

In chapter six, I continue to engage movement-embedded study through my work with the Social Justice Education Union (SJEM). SJEM is, at its heart, a union attempting to build a movement to transform Twin Cities schools on the basis of (sometimes in-tension) values such as worker and community control of schools, decolonization, anti-capitalism, anti-racism, and feminist/queer/trans liberation. It is a local of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), an international, industrial and anti-capitalist union that saw its heyday in the labor militancy of the early 20th century (Bird, Georgakas, & Shaffer, 1985). Founding members of various leftist orientations (anarchists, trade unionists, syndicalists), such as Lucy Parsons, desired to build working class power through a more directly democratic and explicitly anti-capitalist form of organization than any trade unions offered at the time. Today, for various reasons including violent state repression, it's much smaller yet still strong, and the Twin Cities is home to a major branch.

Unlike most trade unions, where each job category negotiates a separate contract via union-employed representatives, the 'industrial' principle of the IWW means that workers organize themselves by industry across job classes. Possibilities for disruption exist across the entire chain of production, making it more difficult for employers to

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[13] At different moments, I cite my experiences or memories in language revitalization movement contexts (with permission when necessary) in order to offer deeper insight into the colonizing force of the institution.

continue business as usual during a strike or action. In the education industry, for example, teachers do not have their own union separate from workers who clean and maintain school buildings, bus drivers, clerical workers, or food service workers—all organize together. The goal is not necessarily to win a contract with employers but to build worker power horizontally, and to leverage that power through direct action.[14]

In the Twin Cities, IWW members have organized most prominently of late in the fast food industry.[15] The larger union also exists as a hub for workers across various industries with anti-capitalist political leanings to gather, share their grievances, study their workplaces, and scheme plans to organize in however small ways to resist exploitation and improve their working conditions. I provide background on the IWW mainly for context. While many individual SJEM members were/are involved in the broader union in some way (i.e., many also organize with the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee and/or the IWW African Peoples Caucus, two particularly vibrant aspects of the IWW at the moment), my research is centered squarely within SJEM, which operates with the support of but autonomously from other parts of the broader union.

The first instantiation of SJEM included myself, a former daycare worker and graduate student; John, a White, seasoned IWW organizer, former fast food worker, and ESP; Eleanor and Sarah, both White women, longtime IWW members and ESPs in Minneapolis and St. Paul respectively, and, finally, Carrie, an Ojibwe middle grades science teacher in Minneapolis. That first year, we put on the first annual Twin Cities

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[14] See Bird, Georgakas, and Shaffer (1985) for one historical account of the union (there are many), and the IWW's website, www.iww.org, for resources on its history, its branches, and past and present campaigns.

[15] See http://www.jimmyjohnsworkers.org/ for more information on the campaign to improve working conditions at local Jimmy John's sandwich shops in the Twin Cities.

Social Justice Curriculum Fair, with 125 attendees and 12 workshop sessions. Four years later, our 2015 Fair brought out more than 700 educators, students (which comprised almost half of all attendees), parents, youth workers, and community members. During the year of my data collection, our collective grew to 12 core members and continued to be comprised of what some members have termed "the edge of education" (i.e., ESPs, parents, clerical workers, school- and community-based youth workers). Exactly half of us identified as White, five of us identified as Black, and one as Latinx. During the past year and a half, we desired to do more than organize a yearly conference and community gatherings, and began active campaigns to challenge racist, capitalist, and colonialist violence in schools in the Twin Cities. Among other activities, we succeeded in pressuring the district to accept a majority of ESPs of color into a newly created "grow your own" alternative licensure program (Northside Schools Collective, 2015), we engaged in coalition-based actions to protest school resource officers' (SROs') presence in schools and police brutality against students. And, we succeeded in our most recent campaign demanding the district cancel its relationship with Reading Horizons, a Utah-based racist, sexist K-2 phonics curriculum (Nelson, 2015).

As a founding member, I had been involved for three years prior to my concerted year of research and data collection from the fall of 2014 through the fall of 2015. The experiences that I draw from are mainly from this year of focused study, however, I also draw on relevant experiences and memories prior to and following this year with my continued involvement in SJEM. Early on, my topic evolved from many conversations with past and present SJEM members as we came to understand our work in the context of broader narratives shaping social justice and education in the Twin Cities. As majority

non-teacher education workers[16] within an anti-capitalist union, questions emerged as we grew from a smaller, mostly white group of non-teacher educators to a larger, multiracial collective: What might education in non-capitalist futures be like, and what problematic, modernist ideas about teaching and learning are we unintentionally retaining that constrain our imaginations? How can we seize worker and community control over our schools? What do we mean by "community" and "worker"? How are various kinds of education work and workers (potentially problematic all-encompassing categories) historically and perpetually devalued? And, most importantly, who are we organizing *with* and *for*? At the same time we were raising these questions in the context of our organizing, I had been considering interrelated questions from my perspectives within teacher education and in my work within Ojibwe language revitalization: how does teacher education as an institution manage who and how one can become a teacher in concert with the very same ruling relations that manage who and how one can teach in the classroom?

In the summer/fall of 2014, these questions and considerations converged more directly when we made a collective decision to begin a campaign to demand that Minneapolis and St. Paul public schools increase the number of and support for staff and teachers of color (largely the subject of this chapter), which became a key experience in our development as a collective, shaping our trajectory in significant ways. As this campaign ruminated and evolved in the months leading up to and during my year of data collection, I discussed ideas for my larger project with SJEM members during one-on-

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[16] SJEM includes parents/caregivers, community-based educators, and even students within that category, although there is disagreement about the latter group. For an argument in favor of articulating students as workers, see chapter four in Marc Bousquet's (2008) *How the University Works: Higher Education and the Low-Wage Nation*, "Students are Already Workers".

one conversations, in meetings, and in other social settings. These discussions helped me

to develop and articulate my central problem and research trajectory in ways that were

relevant to our organizing. While I collected meeting notes, notes on formal and informal

conversations, personal reflections, and other collective work we produced through this

campaign and related activities to refer to or further analyze, I understood my "data

collection" and "research" as mainly an opportunity to steal my time from the university

to build with SJEM. Through prioritizing the needs and desires of our collective, I

ensured that, for the most part, our work together guided the ways in which I understood

teacher education and the reproduction of whiteness in teaching.

Far from romanticizing my research process with SJEM, I want to also emphasize

the challenges and difficulties my status as researcher posed. For many other members,

SJEM was their third shift of work after paid day jobs and caregiving. With the help of

my dissertation fellowship, I was able to dedicate my time that year to engage in research

for our campaigns and concerted reflection on our group practices that informed our

visioning processes (alongside my work with Grassroots Indigenous Multimedia). While

my increased capacity served as a resource for the group, it also meant that I shaped

conversations and produced, sometimes, more polished interpretations of our efforts that

others did not always have time to develop or engage. In other words, a hierarchy

persisted within SJEM between those who had more time (like myself and a few of the

single, childless men in the group) to engage deeply in certain modes of intellectual work,

while others (especially the single mothers of the group with full-time jobs) had much

less time for writing-as-knowledge production.[17]

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[17] Interestingly, writing as thinking has been a peripheral form of knowledge production within SJEM. We have openly engaged the gendered power dynamics that troubled our early organizing,

I was/am also the only non-P12 educator in the group. As a former daycare worker, I identified with the devaluation of caregiving work within/as education. As a White woman currently working in teacher education, I did not have the same kinds of visceral, embodied daily experiences of devaluation as other non-teacher educators in SJEM. While I remembered how it felt to work nine hours in the classroom, barely making a living wage, and trudge to meetings in the evenings and on weekends, I was not living that life in the moment as many SJEM members were. In response to this power dynamic, I worked to prioritize our collective needs and desires over my own research interests (though they were so entwined, it is difficult to determine, after the fact, which was which).

One major way I prioritized SJEM in my research process was through collecting data in ways that were intertwined with and largely indistinguishable from my work with and for SJEM. I collected data when we needed to research other similar initiatives (i.e., Minnesota Educators 4 Excellence's "diversity gap" campaign described in chapter two), information to craft our campaign language and literature (i.e., local statistics on teachers and staff of color), or when we needed to have conversations with one another to flesh out ideas, create proposals, and/or push our work forward in some way. These data then became the basis of my study. They were not isolatable from our daily work nor were

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usually quite productively, though these issues are never completely resolved. As a result of engaging various gendered controversies over how decisions are made, meetings are facilitated, etc., SJEM has lately been primarily led by women and, particularly, women of color inspired by Black feminist traditions of activism. The kinds of knowledge production we have engaged as a result has tended to center relationships, affect, art, and joy during our gatherings – which have strengthened our collectivity, care, and our capacity to communicate and learn with one another – versus, as had dominantly been the case before, an emphasis on coauthoring written proposals in-between meetings to discuss and vote on during meetings – which privileged the perspectives of those who had time and energy to meet up and write proposals in addition to meeting weekly. Since this shift in leadership, we engage a sort of blend of these two ways of operating.

they discrete events collected and put away to analyze at some later date (though I did that too).

My analysis process was collaborative and embedded within our movement-building efforts. For example, after our "more staff and teachers of color" campaign fizzled out, our collective reflections on and analysis of this campaign became the basis for a three-month long visioning project to renew and rejuvenate our work in ways that better aligned with our politics. This analysis and visioning significantly shaped my understandings of teacher education/teaching and the ruling relations. While I continue to analyze and reflect on my experiences within SJEM as I write, the following themes largely emerged from our collective analysis in the service of moving us forward as a group, including one collaborative writing project on education and the radical imagination (Dyke, Evol, & Meyerhoff, unpublished paper).

Concluding Thoughts: Epistemic Disobedience Against Education's Borders

Returning to our methods textbooks and research handbooks, ethnography, "the earliest distinct tradition of qualitative inquiry" (Patton, 2002, p. 81), is characterized by the researcher (the "human instrument") immersing herself within a particular cultural community for a length of time and engaging in participant-observation as her main mode of data collection (Patton, 2002). Often, in academic research, naming the correct methodology and then following the "rules, procedures, and methods of inquiry" becomes more important than naming and carefully thinking through the actual ethical-political problematics of engaging in research. In order to truly engage in these problematics, we would have to consider the kinds of material questions Smith (1999)

calls on us to deliberate – most importantly, who does the research benefit? What purposes will it serve? Instead, as education researchers (especially as graduate student-researchers-in-training), we are often asked by publishers or reviewers to name and justify our methodology, and therefore our research credibility and legitimacy.

Drawing from three overlapping positional perspectives and centering the ethical-political questions and issues that undergird institutional ethnography, collective memory work, and CPAR and activist methodological traditions, I hope to illuminate the ways in which teacher education cannot neatly dissociate itself from decolonial and urban education justice movements as a benign site of expertise. Within the frameworks of institutional ethnography, memory work, and CPAR, I aim to shift the gaze to the inner workings of the institution itself. As Weis and Fine (2012) note, we critical teacher educators can and must take up more confrontational and politically bold statements of solidarity within our research and praxis. All the while, we can also acknowledge and continue to work through the risks of epistemic disobedience, our relatively precarious positions as both insiders and outsiders, and the slippages and compromises we make to attempt to remain institutional insiders.

CHAPTER FOUR

Within the Neoliberal University:

Subversive Collective Study Against Disciplining "Diversity"

Introduction

It seemed as if the universe was determined that I should become friends with Audra. A year prior to our collaborative memory work, I met with a friend and fellow graduate student in my department, Matt, at Hard Times, a punk co-op coffee shop near campus. With riot grrl blaring in the background, we commiserated over our abolitionist desires and our uncertainty over whether education – as a brick and mortar system, as a mode of study, as a historically enlightenment social formation – was recuperable for the world we wanted to live in. What other forms of and infrastructures for study have existed, still exist in minor ways, or could we imagine anew that would foster decolonial, anti-racist, feminist, queer, and non-capitalist ways of living and relating? As we talked, he insisted I had to meet an educator he had just crossed paths with while teaching adult English language learners at a local library. She seemed to share affinity with our political perspectives. Asking these kinds of questions from within the field of education often felt isolating, sometimes even blasphemous. To connect with others who were also engaging these questions often felt like a gift, an affirmation that they were worthy of consideration.

Some time passed. I was at my friend Izzy's house hunched over her stove, elbows deep in a pot of macaroni and cheese. We were cooking for a weekly community

dinner at our local social center when her front door creaked open and slammed closed. We could hear voices and laugher in the living room. Izzy ushered me out of the kitchen so she could introduce me to her housemates, one of whom, to my surprise, happened to be Audra. Immediately, I liked her warm, easygoing, and quick-to-laugh personality. I chatted with her for just a few minutes. She informed me that we had another close mutual friend, David, who I knew through our attempts to organize a graduate student union at our university. Audra shared that David had been urging her to meet me, he knew that we would hit it off. We set up a time to get together and after that first cup of coffee, we learned that the universe had been right to get us in the same room. We became fast friends.

A year after we met and first began studying and scheming together on anything and everything from prison abolition to feminist science fiction to our collaborations in the Social Justice Education Movement, Audra shared that she had decided to begin a secondary licensure program in Second Languages and Cultures in my department. With her Moroccan immigrant background, Audra was multilingual in French, English, and Darija, and she had been working in a middle school as an AmeriCorps tutor. Becoming a language teacher seemed a good next step to further her commitments to education justice and prison abolition (each tightly entwined with the other). When we met to talk more about her enrollment in the program, she seemed excited to be returning to school, and shared that she was especially interested in studying multilingual classrooms and the possibilities of reading and producing speculative fiction as a transformative pedagogical tool. I remember trying to push her to consider applying to my PhD program, knowing that the licensure program provided little time for creative autonomous study. Yet, my

program did not provide her a way into K12 classroom teaching. And Audra, as she later shared with me, underestimated the kinds of limits that would be placed on her activities and time as she worked toward her license, let alone the violences she would endure as one of only two people of color in her 40-person cohort (and one of only a few people of color among all of the 250 or so teacher candidates at the university).

At first, we stumbled together to make sense of our dissonance with the university while continuing to participate in its spaces. Through our collective memory work study during the course of her program, we found that we were (differently) disciplined, and at times participated in disciplining ourselves (sometimes intentionally to survive, other times we were unaware), into particular forms of "safe" or "professional" diversity. The enclosure and short-circuiting of certain forms and practices of diversity often invisibilized Audra's experiences of marginalization within her program. Her experiences, perspectives, unabashedly queer brown body, and politics on the periphery were rendered illegible, and at times, unprofessional and even insubordinate. My own marginalization was relative: as a PhD student, I was afforded a certain level of autonomy, and my political outspokenness sometimes served as cultural currency in the university where graduate students must compete for publications, research and teaching assistantships, among other increasingly "scarce" resources. On the other hand, sometimes my outspokenness on issues like the Teach for America controversy caused not-so-quiet whispers from some faculty and administration.

I begin by demystifying the institution's claims to value and enact diversity, framing the institution's "inertia" (Ahmed, 2012) in relation to its contemporary histories of struggle and dissent, focusing especially on the University of Minnesota (U of M). I

then draw from political theorist Wendy Brown to briefly narrate what she describes as a shift from humanism to neoliberalism as the guiding rationality animating the daily workings of the university (and teacher education). With this in mind, I move to analyze our memory work, illuminating the ways in which this pervasive neoliberal rationality disciplines diversity in our daily institutional lives. In doing so, I seek to highlight the ways in which the institution has adapted this rationality to preserve and perpetuate the paternalism of university-based education research and teaching in relation to (white) feminized lower education. In this analysis, I focus on three salient themes that help elaborate this relationship: 1) the hierarchization of my PhD program over Audra's teacher licensure program, 2) the ways in which our precarity constrains teacher candidates' capacities to engage deeper questions of whiteness, culture, and diversity, and 3) the cleavage of diversity and justice issues from the category "effective" teacher. I conclude by considering the radical possibilities for rejecting teacher education's status quo made possible by our border-crossing study. I begin to theorize an inside/outside approach that can support teacher education scholars and practitioners to study, theorize and take actions toward challenging the university's disciplining "diversity", an approach I term a politics of contingency (cf. Moten & Harney, 2012). I continue to develop this approach throughout the following chapters.

Disciplining "Diversity" in Context: Framing the University

Ahmed (2012) notes that higher education institutions' appropriations of diversity rhetoric are quite savvy and emotionally manipulative. It feels important to begin an analysis of our experiences of being disciplined/disciplining ourselves into and resisting

institutionalized diversity with a brief portrait of the institution from below. The following begins to frame predominantly white universities (and our institution in particular), not as sites of enlightenment and discovery, but as sites of ongoing struggle for power over/against the (re)production of white supremacist, capitalist, heteropatriarchal, nationalist, and colonialist futurity. Throughout our memory work, and longer relationship, Audra and I identified with social movements within and against the university. Audra was a key organizer at her university in Montreal during the student uprisings in 2011, which saw hundreds of thousands of students strike and take to the streets to protest tuition hikes. I have been involved in projects with similarly rebellious sentiments in the Twin Cities, even before I became a student at the U of M, organizing a grad student union campaign and a free school that fostered insurgent community study against the increasingly enclosed spaces of higher education in the area.

Our participation in these university-focused movements are part of a longer history of decolonial, Black, Chicanx/Latinx, feminist, and other movements to challenge and rework the historically white supremacist, capitalist spaces of higher education. As Wilder (2013) writes, U.S. universities are mutually constitutive with slavery and colonization:

> The founding, financing, and development of higher education in the colonies were thoroughly intertwined with the economic and social forces that transformed West and Central Africa through the slave trade and devastated indigenous nations in the Americas. The academy was a beneficiary and defender of these processes" (p. 2).

Rogers (2012) argues that, despite common depictions that Black American struggles within and against universities took place only during the mid-twentieth century civil rights era, popular Black resistance against white supremacist universities have existed as long as universities have been around.

Wilder (2013), Rogers (2012), and other scholars of Black, Feminist, Indigenous, and other struggles to reclaim universities challenge "official" developmental narratives of universities. These revisionist narratives describe universities as sites of progress where change occurs through the development of better science and enlightened reason. In turn, this knowledge contributes to social progress and inoculation against the evils of ignorance (Mignolo, 2011). Consider the U of M's "Driven to Discover" tagline. In one campaign video highlighting the important work of Keith Mayes, professor of African American and African Studies, the narrator of the 30-second advertisement describes his work as innovation enabled by the institution: "Discoveries at the University of Minnesota are creating curriculum that will inspire high school students in *new ways* and help close the achievement gap" (U of M Website, emphasis added). This official narrative frames out the ways in which ethnic studies departments at the university have been under attack of late under the guise of budget "crises" (Shahjahan, 2012), and the fact that Mayes' department and position exist *only* because the Black Student Union occupied the university's administration building in 1968, forcefully demanding its creation and inclusion (Hughes, 2006).

Carpenter et al. (2014) eloquently argue against the reality of such crisis narratives the university draws upon to justify the increasing exploitation of its more vulnerable workers and students:

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On the one hand, the "crisis" is produced by and in turn reproduces real historical

tendencies; on the other, these tendencies are neither natural nor inevitable.

Perpetual increases in tuition, outsourcing, predatory and unsustainable debt, the

immiseration of university food and service workers through poverty wages and

union busting, and the replacement of full-time, tenure-track faculty with part-

time, precarious labor are all products of specific choices and intentional policy

on the part of university administrators, regents, and trustees. These last have also

colluded with bond underwriters and capital markets in the "financialization of

everything" that helped to bring about the broader financial crisis, which in turn

negatively impacts the lives of students, teachers, and university food and service

workers. In other words, the academic crisis does not play out in between the

university and the broader capitalist economy; rather, the capitalist crisis plays

itself out within the university as a microcosm of the social whole (p. 382).

Against reproducing this "new natural" of perpetual crisis, Carpenter et al. (2014) call for

collective action to "resist business as usual" (392).

Recently at the U of M, creative student protests during the past year on the part

of the student-run Whose Diversity? collective forced the university to commit to a

cluster hire across gender and ethnic studies departments (Fine, 2015). Prior to their

efforts, the university had been gradually de-funding these departments (Whose

Diversity? Website). After the fact, the U of M's President Eric Kaler announced they

had already been working on issues of diversity in their efforts to create a report

documenting "campus climate", insinuating the protests were redundant and ill-advised

(Fine, 2015). Thirteen students associated with the protests received disciplinary

sanctions originating from the Office of Equity and Diversity (no less). The U of M takes official credit for "progress" and its commitment to diversity even as it represses the very dissent that catalyzed change in the first place.

To further frame the U of M's orientation toward "diversity": During the past decade, the university decimated the General College, which served as critical infrastructure to support working class students to transition from community college to a four-year degree at the university (Helms, 2005); repressed a clerical workers' strike that sought to provide fair wages for and end the increasing exploitation of clerical staff, and which culminated in a faculty hunger strike in support of strikers (Sigal, 2007); the university removed "safer" spaces in the student union that housed ethnic and cultural student group offices, replacing them with a room full of individual and small group study spaces where "all" (read: White) students would feel comfortable (Lerner, 2014); and repressed the most recent attempt on the part of graduate students to organize a union (Friedrich, 2011). This partial list provides merely a few of the most visible struggles in recent years against the institution's attempts to become whiter, "brighter", and more elite. These examples do not include the mundane and daily ways the institution fights to maintain and increase its prestige at the expense of working class people, Indigenous people, and people of color.

The U of M is not alone in its attempts to shift resources from the "studies" departments (i.e., Women/Gender/Sexuality Studies, Ethnic/Race Studies), and to programs and departments and administrator salaries that can translate to student employability. These departments, the result of hard fought, often violent struggles, are coming increasingly under attack as state and federal funding diminishes and universities

shift more and more towards business and entrepreneurial modes of governance. As I write this, San Francisco State University (SF State) students, faculty, and community are taking to the streets to protest the imminent shut-down of their College of Ethnic Studies, the first of its kind in the nation created through a mass student strike in the late 1960s (Flaherty, 2016; Barlow & Shapiro, 1971). Higher education institutions, like SF State and the U of M, have supported or maintained substantive diversity only to the extent that they are forced by social movements to concede space and resources.

Brown (2015) argues that universities, during much of the twentieth century, were dominantly undergirded by humanist values that sought to produce citizen-subjects (however white, masculine, and middle/upper-classed), or what Foucault describes as *homo politicus*, capable of participating in the democratic polity. Today, she argues, with the rise of neoliberalism as a governing rationality that pervades most facets of Euro-American life, humanism has become lip service, if it is called up at all. Diversity is conceived and enacted only to the extent that it can improve the institution's market value (also see Baez, 2007; Turner, González, & Wood, 2008). Drawing on Foucault's later writings on neoliberalism, she describes a quiet and dangerous shift from *homo politicus* to *homo oeconomicus,* where the purpose of education (and all socializing institutions) is to produce a subject capable of successfully competing in the market economies. This rationality invades and dominates previously non-economic domains, as, for example, the internet and social media has transformed the ways in which we interact with our friends, families, and romantic partners.

As Mimi Thi Nguyen states, even social justice work beyond the university is not immune from a neoliberal rationality:

Our surveillance apparatus and the security state also depend on our becoming

trackable entities. This runs deep, so that even on social justice Tumblr or Twitter

— which are often platforms through which marginalized persons might articulate

a desire for freedom — recognition and validation comes in the quantifiable,

trackable form of likes, favorites, reblogs, and retweets. The more we produce,

the more we circulate, the more recognition we receive, the more that recognition

becomes translated as approximating justice. It is impact, absolutely. But what

does it mean to measure impact and influence through these viral measures, which

collapse quantifiable recognition with evidence of political movement? Is

community the consequence of success on the market? (Adams, 2015, n.p.)

The ways in which value is determined through identifiable, measurable data points, and

our desires to improve upon those data points, has increasingly come to define most

aspects of our sociality (Brown, 2015).

As states disinvest from universities, they have increasingly taken up an

entrepreneurial logic to draw students-as-customers (Brown, 2015; Ahmed, 2012).

Because tuition is a coveted source of income with which most universities are free to

allocate and invest how they see fit (versus other forms that often come with restrictions,

i.e., donations, state resources), institutions find ways to market themselves to draw

students (and students who can pay) (Schirmer & Hanson, 2012; Hanson & Noterman,

2015). Students, themselves socialized as *homo oeconomicus*, must make decisions about

how to "invest" in their education to make a positive return on investment (ROI). Brown

(2015) notes that ROI is, in fact, "one of the leading metrics the Obama administration

proposes to use in rating colleges for would-be consumers of higher education" (p. 178).

The purpose of knowledge is no longer to foster the capacity for self-governance, instead "knowledge, thought, and training are valued almost exclusively for their contribution to capital enhancement" (p. 177). Thus, higher education, on the whole, has largely been disinvesting from the humanities and cultivating programs in business, the sciences, and other value-producing disciplines (Slaughter, 1993; Slaughter, 1998; Aronowitz, 2000; Shahjahan, 2012).

This rationality subordinates "diversity" (and justice and sustainability) to the institution's and its participants' ability to appreciate in value. In her 2004 text on race, diversity, and teacher education, Marylin Cochran-Smith (2004) argues that this shift became visible and tangible in teacher education in the 1990s as the institution came increasingly under scrutiny by policy makers, researchers, private interest groups, and the public at large. She describes the ways in which teacher preparation, at the time, was already being increasingly conceived as,

> A training and testing problem to ensure all teachers have basic subject matter knowledge and the technical skills to work in schools devoted to brining pupils' test scores to certain minimum thresholds. And preparing young people to live in a democratic society is increasingly being conceptualized as efficiently assimilating all schoolchildren into mainstream values, language, and knowledge perspectives so they can enter the nation's workforce, contribute to the economy, and preserve the place of the United States as the dominant power in global society (p. 1).

She frames this period as the start to a shift from teacher education as a means to produce an educated democratic citizenry to the reduction of teacher preparation to "cost-benefit

analyses or value-added accountability systems" (p. 2). Unmentioned in her framing is the pivotal role that U.S. colleges of education played in producing this neoliberal shift.

During the late 1980s and into the 1990s a taskforce comprised of more than 100 deans of colleges of education in the U.S. gathered under the title the Holmes Group with a purpose to 'professionalize' teaching. In response to the National Commission on Excellence in Education's infamous 1983 report *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative of Education Reform*, the Group sought to address the claim that the "failing" (feminized) education system threatened American economic competitiveness, which *A Nation at Risk* framed as a danger to national security (Labaree, 1997). In their first report, the Group argued for a more rigorous scientistic approach to preparing and evaluating teachers, including the production of and an increased reliance on objective measures of competence, scientific research-based standards, and more rigorous examination and certification practices as further quality assurance (Labaree, 1992, p. 631). In his analysis, Labaree describes the production of and reliance on "disciplinary knowledge" as means to ensure the indispensability of colleges of education:

> It elevates the university expert over the classroom practitioner and the citizen, and it effectively removes schools from popular control by transforming them from a political problem (amenable to democratic process) into a technical problem that can be solved only by those with the necessary specialized knowledge (p. 633).

At the time he wrote this, Labaree did not use "neoliberalism" to describe this shift in orientation from 'teaching to produce citizens' to 'teaching to produce successful global economic competitors'. Yet, the construction of teaching as a set of "specialized

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knowledge" epitomizes Brown's (2015) theorization of the quiet coup of neoliberal rationality in the context of teacher education (Casey, 2013). Through scientific research, university-based researchers would continue to produce "best practices" for instruction and assessment, and the task of teacher education would be to "transmit" these practices and evaluate the success of the transmission (Labaree, 1992, p. 631).

Labaree (1997) writes that this move to cohere a science-based discipline was not necessarily a move to de-feminize teaching but to actually keep women from leaving K12 teaching. As Carter and Wilson (1992) have documented, the number of undergraduates receiving degrees in education dropped dramatically by more than 55% between 1976 and 1987. At the time of the Holmes Group reports, the successes of the feminist movement saw (white) women entering universities and fields of professional work in numbers that were previously unprecedented. He writes, "Apparently thinking of teaching's femaleness as unprofessional, the professionalizers seem to be trying to reshape the female schoolteacher in the image of the male physician" (p. 139). Interestingly, this metaphor persists, for example, through popular satire pieces that critique fast-track teacher education, like Teach for America, through fictionalized accounts of "Doctors for America" – 'if teachers can be prepared in five weeks, why not doctors?' (e.g., Riviera, 2005). These progressive critiques associating teaching with doctoring mask the fact that teachers have much more in common with the similarly feminized labor conditions of nurses. While school administration and university-based education research were already considered "professions" and historically male-dominated, and the push to "elevate" teaching did not change their dominance over the still-primarily feminized teaching force, nor did it afford the "professionalizing" field of

K12 teaching with any more authority over what constitutes a quality teacher or "successful" learner.

Labaree's (1992; 1997) analyses of the Holmes Group and similarly-minded Carnegie Task Force on Teaching's *A Nation at Risk, A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century* gesture to professionalization as a method of self-preservation for teacher education as an institution within a predominating neoliberal rationality. As historians of teacher education have illuminated, this move to economize teacher value according to scientifically-determined metrics of teaching efficiency/effectiveness is a continuation of the dominance of masculinized research and administration over the feminized work of teaching (cf. Goldstein, 2014; Grumet, 1988; Lortie, 1971). The deans that comprised the Holmes Group were securing their own institutions' economic viability in the political economy of higher education: They were strategically positioning colleges of education as producers of *teacher oeconomicus*, to play on Brown's (née Foucault's) terminology. This professionalization initiative on the part of colleges of education arguably created the conditions for the contemporary ways teachers and teacher candidates are disciplined according to their data (e.g., student performance measures, the Teacher Performance Assessment (edTPA) that all University of Minnesota teacher candidates are now required to complete prior to certification). A deeper examination of this relationship between teacher education leadership discourse and neoliberalizing higher education during this era is beyond the scope of my study (though understudied). However, it provides important context that frames my and Audra's particular experiences in our programs.

The Space-Times of Our University Diversity

As Smith (2005) writes, institutions objectify consciousness in ways that seem to remove agency from individual actors or relationships, yet these relationships remain the sites where the ruling relations are reproduced and granted legitimacy. Through our work together, Audra and I often found ourselves wondering: if the licensure program, the department, and college of education were officially committed to "diversity," and many of the teacher educators in our programs (including me) were also committed to (sometimes, not always) more radical practices of inclusion and antiracism; then how, in practice, did the institutional version of professional or safe "diversity" become reproduced and disciplined in our classrooms, offices, and relationships? And, how did we (and, especially me as a person with relatively more institutional privilege than Audra) participate in short-circuiting possibilities for challenging what we experienced as the institution's weak diversity? Further, we can consider how these disciplining mechanisms perpetuate the alienation of certain unruly bodies and dispositions and facilitate the comfort of others, such as those who can embody or at least approximate the "white lady bountiful" archetype (cf. Meiners, 2002).

Hierarchized Tracks: Teachers versus Scholars

In my track, learning is primarily framed as *productive*. Students are provided the tools and resources to go out into the "field" and originate "new" knowledge, knowledge that will then contribute to the innovation of education. In Audra's track, learning is conceived as primarily *consumptive* -- where teacher candidates are provided the tools and resources to ensure that they and their future students can reproduce knowledge

recognizable by predetermined standards (Sleeter, 2008; Kumashiro, 2010). As an example of this, Audra wrote of an experience in a class where a professor felt compelled to preface a discussion on the importance of advocating for English Language Learners with, "Don't worry, this discussion meets the standards." Audra remembered responding with a quick burst of laughter, at first interpreting this qualifier as sarcasm – a critique of the ways in which the "standards" police teachers' relationships with students. Yet the classroom and professor remained quiet, ignoring her response after a brief, painful pause at the interruption. The preface was sincere.

In a written memory of an interaction Audra had with two faculty advisors after she mentioned her participation at AERA, she further became aware of her exclusion from participating in the conversations shaping the field of education:

I met with my professors to talk about my progress in the program. I wanted to check in with them about what I was doing well, and what I could improve on because I wanted to start the new semester off on the right foot. It came out in our conversation that a paper I was co-writing had been accepted to [the American Education Research Association Annual Meeting (AERA)]. They were very congratulatory, but one of my professors noted that she did not think any teacher candidates had ever gone to AERA. While she was most likely genuinely happy for me, I initially interpreted her response as shock that 1) I even knew what AERA was, and 2) that I had had time to put effort into something that was not the program. It was confusing if she was impressed or simply had not expected someone in the licensure program was capable of going beyond and contributing to greater academia (Audra, written memory).

For further context, at this time in her program Audra was supposed to be neck-deep in preparing her edTPA portfolio. This fact had been commented on in more than one of her classes and in the meeting she recounts above with her advisors. Her professors' surprise illuminates the unstated, unofficial but well-known fact that teacher candidates were not supposed to have any time for anything (even working while in the program was unofficially discouraged), let alone write an academic paper for AERA.

This surprise is interesting considering teacher education research is overwhelmingly supportive of developing teacher candidates' research capacities (Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2006; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999; Shagoury & Bower, 2012). In fact, in our Masters of Education program, students' culminating thesis is an action research project. Yet, Audra's professor's supportive if surprised reaction also illuminates that, because her work on this paper was not value-producing for her or the institution (i.e., it was not includable within or helping her to finish her edTPA portfolio), Audra's research and attempts to participate in broader public conversations about education were articulated as exceptional.

My experiences sharing our collective writing and research often earned a very different reaction. Because conference attendance is one metric by which my productivity and employability as a PhD student is measured, my mention of our work to faculty and fellow graduate students was met with immediate recognition and support. I find myself wondering what language I had used to describe our work to other colleagues that inspired such recognition and affirmation, ("we are writing a paper", "doing a conference presentation", "it is part of my dissertation research"). How could I have described it in ways that aligned more with the relational values fueling our inquiry? ("We are creating a

better, more resilient friendship", "doing insurgent study", "it is part of our efforts to incite decolonial revolution"). Would my latter explanations receive the same kind of recognition? Could I put those "products" (love, friendship, insurgent praxis) on my curriculum vitae?

The different reward/discipline systems Audra and I experienced coerced our knowledge production to take on a particular character and move within particular circuits: While my knowledge production was expected to spiral out from me and into the (relatively closed) circuits of scholarly publics, Audra and her fellow teacher candidates' produced knowledge largely about themselves, i.e., the edTPA, teacher identity self-study assignments, and dispositions assessments. The latter assessment evaluates students' "professional conduct," "professional qualities," and skills for "communication and collaboration". Students were required to be assessed by their supervisors (often graduate students) prior to their placement in classrooms and again at the end of their program. The rubric for assessment was quite sparse, with five to nine dispositions listed under each of the three categories and just one and a half pages long. Some examples included, "arrives on time" and "presents self in a manner appropriate to the setting" (CEHD Dispositions, p. 1). The only dispositions specific to issues of diversity require students to "show appreciation" and "respond appropriately to issues of bias and discrimination as they arise" (p. 1).[18] The assessment assumes that supervisors have the specialized knowledge to assess students' ability to "display sensitivity," "use good judgement," and "behave ethically" (p. 1-2). All of these forms of study that dominated Audra's time

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[18] A group of critically-minded graduate students tasked with completing these assessments initiated a project to revamp the rubric to include more substantive categories surrounding how students' dealt with issues of race, class, gender and language. The new rubric is being piloted this (2015-2016) academic year.

served to make her teacher "self" more discoverable and measurable for evaluation by the institution, the state, and private corporations (e.g., Pearson) (Day & Gu, 2013).

In my own work as an instructor for a master's level curriculum studies course, I would often find myself frustrated that my (usually all-white) students, the majority of whom were practicing teachers, seemed quickly to defer to the authority of state standards in our discussions. Take, for example, a memory of a conversation with one student in the class:

> Here I was in a discussion about the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) during a Master's level class with a math teacher getting his M.Ed. We had just finished reading Wayne Au's (2013) critique of CCSS, and my student says that he doesn't agree with the way that CCSS was implemented but we need standards because then how will we know what to teach kids what they need to live and survive in today's world? I prompt him, "Who's version of the world are we preparing young people for?" Then, to my surprise, this very intelligent 15-year veteran teacher shrugged his shoulders and shook his head, "I mean, *I'm* not smart enough to be able to determine that! I take what I'm given and find ways to engage the students to learn it" (Erin, written memory).

Karen Lowenstein (2009) argues in a review of multicultural teacher education research that teacher candidates tend to be viewed through a deficit lens. She argues teacher educators are often prescribed the role of "hero to the rescue" who will save teacher candidates from their multicultural ignorance (p. 178). Given my frustrations with my students' general resistance to engaging with deeper questions around standards or whose knowledges they exclude and devalue, one could interpret the above as a "hero to the

rescue" response: my student merely needs to open his mind and develop his criticality. Yet, criticality, in and of itself, is not empowering (Ellsworth, 2014), and my student already demonstrated his willingness to critique the standards, at least the way they were implemented.

In analyzing this memory with Audra alongside her experiences of feeling constrained in terms of what or how she could study, my student's response illuminated the significance of analyzing the working and learning conditions of teacher education (versus his individual blinders or shortcomings). My student was not saying that he was not smart (of course he knew he was), but that he was not privy to the spaces where "today's world" is dominantly constructed (such as, the entwined spaces of academic scholarship, policy-making, and the webs of funding institutions/private interests that control the spaces of most education institutions). Our interaction illuminates our participation within an historical relationship that hierarchizes (particular forms of) university-based research (which can relatively freely produce knowledge about teaching, even critiques of the status quo) over K12 teaching (responsible for their students' survival in a world they are largely excluded from participating in creating). Framed out of our discussion was the ways in which teachers (and students, parents, and certain communities) are disciplined from the kinds of critical, autonomous study required to organize and enact everyday resistance to scientific efficiency and standardization.

The kind of learning that teacher candidates are encouraged to engage in, structurally and practically, discourages teacher candidates from studying and reflecting on their craft, education and the socio-political processes it is bound with via the management of their time, energies, and activities. Further, the differences and divisions

between my track, as PhD student, and Audra, as teacher candidate, raises more questions about the ways in which the institution hierarchizes and constrains relations among all students and other non-faculty university workers (e.g., what resources for study are afforded the racially diverse teamsters who clean and maintain our classrooms and buildings? the clerical workers without whom the university would cease to function? how does "professionalization" mask the relations between students and faculty and the prison labor that likely built their classroom furniture?) (Bernes, 2011), and the effects of these divisions on creating opportunities, relationships, and knowledge for transforming the institution.

Precarity as Discipline

For Audra, as this section illuminates, her alienation in the program (and, later, from classroom teaching altogether), was not just (or even mostly) the result of being one of just a few brown bodies in a sea of white. Through our memory work, precarity and its limiting effect on space-times for critical, transformative study emerged as a salient theme contributing to Audra's marginalization. Precarity, as a concept, has been multiply deployed to attend to and describe the changing conditions of life in late capitalism (Puar, 2012). I draw on the term here, in particular, to describe the general intensification of life within the university. Lately, universities narrate themselves in perpetual "crisis" as means to justify increased tuition and fees, chipping away at tenure lines, hiring adjunct instructors, the intensification of time-to-degree completion for most students, and the increased exploitation of the most vulnerable university workers through reorganization, layoffs, furloughs, and work speed-ups (Bousquet, 2008). Through our memory work

study, Audra and I uncovered ways in which precarity infiltrated our relationship to one another and the university in deeper ways than we could at first articulate.

When Audra first became a student to my teaching assistant (TA), I imagined that it would be something akin to taking a course together. I was excited. Prior to the start of our first class meeting, I chatted with the professor at the front of the room about the plan for the day as students filtered in. I remembered keeping an eye out for Audra. When she arrived, I excused myself to greet her. Usually, we would say hello with a big, warm hug and a laugh. Yet, on this day we were awkwardly reserved, exchanging a quick hello before she joined her cohort-mates toward the back of the classroom. One night, early on in our semester, I was just about to crawl into bed when Audra sent me a frustrated text:

> quick question: why did you and [the professor] decide not to return our critical essays, seems to not be in line with formative assessment and giving feedback…. just feels counter to what we will be attempting to do as teachers. I'm not calling you out, just curious… I feel confident in my contributions and analysis and maybe don't need as much feedback but I'm wondering how someone with more problematic thoughts/analyses can progress without some direct, immediate feedback but I suppose I would also appreciate being challenged if I haven't totally addressed something fully or correctly. "correctly" haha I guess there is no "correct" anyway just thinking out loud! (Audra, text message).

I responded by sharing that the professor asked me to refrain from providing feedback on these weekly essays out of respect for my time: there were 43 students in the course and I had a ten-hour/week appointment. We had other papers and assignments to grade that occupied the bulk of that time. I also shared with her that, in all honesty, the essays were

mainly a form of accountability to ensure that students read and engaged with the assigned texts. The professor, myself and the other TAs from the other sections of the course came up with this idea as a less-punitive solution to ensure in-class discussions were "productive," and less like pulling teeth. This did not help her come to terms with the lack of feedback!

By the end of our text conversation, Audra had pushed me to commit to providing feedback on the essays at least every other week. In order to make those critical essays valuable for her beyond exchanging them for a check mark in the gradesheet, I needed to perform unpaid labor. Our later analysis of this situation and conversation (a conversation made possible by our friendship) enabled us to make sense of the feminization of teaching and the ways in which teaching is romanticized as a "calling", as virtuous, as benevolent but never as capitalist work (cf. Harvie, 2011). Further, we were able to make sense of the ways in which the very conditions that made it difficult for me, as a teaching assistant, to meaningfully engage with student writing or construct alternative relations of accountability (i.e., engaging students interests, relationship-building) were intimately entwined with the reasons why students felt discouraged from carefully engaging the course readings. Her anger that her precious time spent writing was for nothing more than making our jobs, as teachers, easier, was more than justified. We considered together: What if the course instructor and I had openly discussed these challenges and analyses of precarity with students? Why did Audra have to be the one to bring it up with me?

Reflection on this interaction and the following memory also enabled us to interrogate the root issues behind students' seeming collective lack of desire to engage in

difficult discussions around culture, race and power. Based on my experience within an undergraduate class I taught on "culture, power, and education," I wrote for Audra:

> Early on in the semester, we read critiques of "additive" models of culture in classrooms. I was very excited about the nuanced ways in which students were taking up culture, asking and carefully thinking through complex questions (they'd ask each other, 'is religion cultural? yes, we think so, and, how so?'). Fast forward a few weeks when students take turns leading class. One group asks the class to take turns sharing how they hope to address culture in their future classrooms. Nearly every student shared some variation of: "I hope to include all my diverse students' cultures equally" (Erin, written memory).

In the course, we spent weeks discussing and reflecting on our own diverse backgrounds, experiences, and cultural practices in complex, often exciting ways. Yet, many of my mostly White students simultaneously took up dominant, powerful narratives that positioned themselves as culture-less in relation to their imagined culture-ful/color-ful students, and into roles where they are managers of their classroom's difference. Diversity simultaneously operated for students as a complex, fraught concept *and* as simply a marker of non-whiteness, of 'other', and for what 'foreign', non-English-speaking, non-white people eat, speak, and dance to. It was clear from earlier class discussions that they did not completely agree with the latter version.

Students' capacities to engage deeply with the relations between education, racialization, colonialism, and epistemological hierarchies were constrained by precarity

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in ways they could articulate through their own lived experience, without any help from me. For example, as part of the culminating group project for the "culture, power, and education" course, I asked students to gather with others around a shared community, which they self-identified. The goal of the project was to foster students' capacities to study and come to know better and deeper an issue facing a community they felt they were a part of. A third of my 24-person class grouped together around the community "students" and the issue "the hidden costs of being a student". Their biggest challenge was narrowing in on just one issue: with little input from me, they identified the costs to mental health, social relationships, physical health, economic security, among others. The issues seemed to pour out of them, and as they talked, I remembered sensing the energy shift from the usual quiet reluctance to speak or move or participate to righteous chatter that grew louder and louder with each passing minute of group work time. In their final presentation, they shared the double bind of needing a college degree yet knowing they would likely continue working their part-time service jobs after graduating, many unsure if they could afford to take out more loans for the one-year post-baccalaureate licensure program.

According to many of my students (through conversation and course evaluations), this and the other "critical" course they were required to take (a course on social class sensitive pedagogy) were two of the most interesting in their program – most students' desire to at least engage these issues was, to me, not a question. These examples illustrate the necessity for material analyses that collectivize, versus individualize, the issue of fostering critical teachers for diverse classrooms. As Jupp, Berry, & Lensmire (2016) write, we need to develop more and more effective anti-racist identity possibilities for

White teacher candidates – demanding better working/learning conditions is a key part of doing do.

"Effective" Teaching and Additive Diversity

My students' problematic go-to version of diversity-as-other is not only an understanding they developed from their white racial identity formation out in the "real world". As this section illuminates, it is codified in the institution's framing of effective teaching. Analysis of Audra's experiences in her program illuminates the ways in which teacher candidates were socialized into and evaluated on their mastery of a form of diversity that shielded the institution from critique. For example, in their dispositions assessments, mentioned above, Audra and my undergraduate students were all evaluated according to how well they demonstrated "appreciation" of diversity, not to what extent their own histories and backgrounds produced themselves and their students as racialized, gendered, classed, or (un)professional bodies. In fact, as an elementary education school practicum supervisor, I was required to assess students according to the above-mentioned dispositions metrics, and some of my practicum students were also students in my "culture, power, and education" course. In the moments following my students' contradictory and simplified diversity speak I recount above, I remembered feeling a sense of frustration with my students as individuals. At the time, I conveniently ignored my complicity in subjectifying students through the dispositions assessment, disconnecting my activities as a practicum supervisor from my role as course instructor. Our experiences illustrate that social justice teacher educators, as

Lowenstein (2009) also argues, cannot understand (white) teacher candidates'

reproduction of problematic diversity speak without deeper interrogation of the

institution itself.

Labaree's (1992; 1997) analyses of the teacher education's shift to

professionalization as a movement to produce and cohere a scientific body of teaching

expertise has created serious impacts for the ways in which diversity is dominantly

framed in practice in teacher education. There exist numerous critiques of additive or

reformist multiculturalism in the context of K12 education or education in general (cf.

Yeo, 2013; Hermes, 2005). This varied body of work cites the ways in which the project

of multiculturalism in education has often produced institutionalized responses that short

circuit substantive engagement with regimes of colonialism, white supremacy,

heteropatriarchy, modernism, and racial capitalism. These regimes marginalized,

excluded, and devalued "other" cultures in the first place while celebrating cultural

pluralism and essentializing "culture" (Race, 2015). Yet, there are fewer examples that

analyze or critique the success/failure of multiculturalism in teacher education programs

(Yeo, 2013).

Today, teacher education programs, including Audra's, have been pressured to

demonstrate (at least a rhetorical commitment to) active recruitment and retention of

teacher candidates of color. The official policy and standards for teacher education tend

to frame the benefits of teacher diversity according to cultural or racial "match". The

Council for the Accreditation of Educator Programs (CAEP), which oversees and

implements accreditation for all teacher education programs, published a standard titled:

Candidate Quality, Recruitment, and Selectivity. The rationale behind the standard argues

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that "students of color make up more than 40 percent of the public school population, while teachers of color are only 17 percent of the teaching force. The *mismatch* has consequences… student achievement is positively impacted by a racial/ethnicity *match* between students and teachers" (CAEP, 2013, n.p., emphasis added). The Council writes, "'[s]uccessful programs recruit minority teachers with a high likelihood of being *effective* in the classroom'" and "concentrate on finding candidates with a *core set of competencies* that will translate to success in the classroom'" (n.p., emphasis added). The scientistic language underscored by the Holmes Group pervades CAEP standards, with its emphasis on "competency" and "effective".

The failure of the institution to be diverse while at the same time appearing to open up is a part of a project to capitalize on and commodify diversity. Audra's presence at the university makes the institution a diverse place – a teacher candidate of color is "capital" for the university (Ahmed, 2012). As Kyra (2014) notes, "[r]ather than respecting difference and redistributing power based on it, diversity only "celebrates" difference in order to exploit multiculturalism for its economic value."(n.p.). Ahmed (2012) writes that this strategy to frame diversity as a goal or something external to work towards both creates diversity as something that is "visible" (skin deep) and provides the institution room to maintain its status quo. The institution can market itself as being/becoming diverse, for example through the images of racially diverse students on its website's homepage, or through empty bureaucratic gestures such as the "campus climate" report while, in practice, they remove institutional supports for students of color to transition from community

college to the university or altogether lack intentional or substantive recruitment processes for people of color into the licensure programs.

As a "diverse" body, Audra often experienced being read as an expert on issues of diversity, yet her capacity to share or engage this expertise was often policed and tolerated only to a certain extent in her courses. Her following memory juxtaposes being read as an "expert" on culture and diversity with her actual experiences of discussions of these issues as superficial and stultifying:

> [A faculty member] told me yesterday that after reading my admissions essay that she and [another faculty member] thought that I could have taught the class… unclear which class she was referring to, but I imagine it has to do with cultural competence/identity/power dynamics... I feel very honored that she would say that, but also frustrated by how unchallenged I feel [by the content]. My perspective is important, and I understand this, but I want to be able to go further in my learning and understanding. Constantly feel like I have to start @ ZERO and that I am part of the same kinds of conversations without really going anywhere for my own understanding (Audra, written memory).

In fact, Audra was popularly characterized by professors and fellow students in her program as the 'critical one', and she was told by a few of her professors that she "should really go into academia". While Audra felt "very honored" she also felt "frustrated by how unchallenged I feel". Audra's memory illustrates both her recognition that the professor was being supportive in acknowledging her expertise and smarts. However, underlying this support is the implication that her program was not a place for the kind of criticality she embodied.

Yet these perspectives were valued to a point. Audra's negotiation of what constitutes diversity talk that is "safe" or that threatens her standing as "professional" and an "effective teacher" was often a messy, confusing process. In classroom discussions, there were moments where Audra sensed that she overstepped this invisible boundary only after the fact. For example, in one class, her professor showed a video that presented learning a second language as valuable for U.S. nation-building (the discussion was framed via material from American Council of the Teaching of Foreign Languages (APCO Worldwide, "Lead with Languages" Video). Given Euro and U.S. imperialist violence in her family's home country of Morocco, the terrors of U.S. violence against the Arab and Muslim world, among many other reasons, Audra immediately raised issue with this problematic portrayal. Her comment was almost immediately interrupted by the professor, who stated that they needed to keep the discussion "relevant to future teachers." Her comment implied that discussions of U.S. imperialism were tangential to what future teachers should be interested in. Audra described feeling as though she were the only one to ever raise critiques along the lines of race, class, gender, sexuality, and oppression/power. In this moment, her professor – the very same who, in private, marveled at Audra's knowledge of "cultural competence/identity/power dynamics" – let her (and her classmates) know the value of her critique.

Elenes (2013) writes that "'effective' teaching upholds "hegemonic ideologies [that] have multiple ways to silence oppositional voices, sometimes directly through violence, and others by rearticulating their views assimilating them and making them palatable to institutional needs" (p. 138). As Salazar (2013)

powerfully states the consequences of such a conceptualization: "You can be an effective teacher, yet you can steal my humanity?" (n.p.). To further illustrate the ways in which the institution shields itself from critique or implication, the Minnesota Standards of Effective Practice for Teachers, does not require explicit knowledge of systems of power. The only mention of institutional or systemic understanding is "how to recognize and deal with dehumanizing biases, discrimination, prejudices, and institutional and personal racism and sexism" (Statute 8710.2000, subp. 4, standard 3, D).[19] After ten months, teacher candidates in Audra's program are not expected to be able to explain the effects and intersectional nuances of how white supremacy, colonization, classism, and heteropatriarchy divide and discount their own and many of their future students' lives. Teaching diversity and notions of social justice education become depoliticized for the sake of college and career readiness (Elenes, 2013).

Developing a Politics of Contingency

As analysis of our experiences have shown, institutional diversity is multiply disciplined through the production of hierarchized tracks between (masculinized) university research and (feminized) teaching, precaritized conditions of education work, and the articulation of "effective" teaching as a politically neutral set of evidence-based skills. These modes of discipline ensure that the institution can perpetuate its status quo and legitimate its existence. My white students were disciplined into particular discourses

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[19] Other parts of the statute require vague understandings of cultural, racial and economic groups, how to bring multiple perspectives to the discussion of subject matter, learners' personal, family, and community experiences and cultural norms, but never with explicit discussions why. (subp. 4, standard 3, F, H,).

of diversity and teaching that subordinated their own intersectionalities, experiences, intelligence, and capacity for critique to the business of determining "what students need to know to survive in today's world" and the science of determining if and when they know it. This institution did not afford them space and time for critical study and constrained their 'teacher' identities within narrow (feminized) conceptions of professionalism and respectability (versus militancy or anti-racist solidarity).

As a Brown, queer woman with a critical understanding of the role of schools in society, Audra experienced more extreme, sometimes violent forms of discipline. She was continually reminded of her objectification as a "diverse" body. She was read as an "expert" on diversity to the extent that she shared this expertise in the right times and places and in ways that did not detract from other teacher candidates' learning and socialization into "effective" teaching. Her racialized experiences, immigrant and linguistic identities, and her sexuality were (supposed to be) cleaved from her 'teacher' identity: she could not be *both/and* in the classroom as teacher candidate or, eventually, teacher (Dillard, 1994). This institutional discipline was carried out by people (including myself) in ways that deflect agency – we did not have a choice (?). My supervisor required me to evaluate students' professional dispositions according to the definition produced by a web of ruling relations that included the U of M, the Board of Teaching, and the Minnesota Department of Education. Audra's professor had to get through the required material in their brief class encounters in order to ensure students' success on the edTPA. In many cases teacher educators hold openly anti-racist and social justice commitments as they/we do the work of the institution.

The risks for failing to assess students or cover the required material can be high: If I had not turned in my students' dispositions assessments, I could have been declined a future assistantship as a practicum supervisor. Audra's professors, mainly non-tenure track teaching specialists or graduate students, often feel a greater sense of pressure to appear successful. Yet, there are ways that we can become more aware of and resist this conscription into doing the work of the institution. Moten and Harney (2012) write that we can imagine such resistance by being *within* and *against* but not *of* the university. Our collective study from within the belly of the institution illuminates the ways in which the professionalization movement and its recuperation of "diversity" was the institution's adaptive response to the pressures of feminist, decolonial, and anti-racist struggle as well as neoliberalism's transformation of the political subject. Our project was not merely an exercise in critique but a transformative praxis in and of itself. Through out memory work, we were able to make the institution more visible, to develop our capacities to be more self-aware institutional workers and to identify moments and opportunities for subversion, critical study, relationship-building, and revaluing the aspects of ourselves that do not fit within the institution's normative conceptions of 'teacher candidate', 'teaching assistant', or 'scholar'.

During our collective work, we conceived of our memory work as a kind of nepantla pedagogy (Abraham, 2014), where our border-crossing meaning-making was made possible through our contingent relationship to the university as un-waged or low-waged students, as queer people, as people with radical politics, among the other identities unwanted or excluded from the university's official spaces. While this contingency is structural, we also find power in claiming it as a valuable political

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perspective. Our space of contingency -- which we theorize as a kind of nepantla or borderland -- is the place from where this project was realized. Anzaldúa writes,

> [Nepantla is] the zone between changes where you struggle to find equilibrium between the outer expression of change and your inner relationship to it. Living between cultures results in "seeing" double, first from the perspective of one culture, then from the perspective of another. Seeing from two or more perspectives simultaneously renders those cultures transparent. (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 548-549 as cited in Elenes, 2013).

We not only "see" double from each of our different institutional positions but we are also able to "see" through and across our different shared worlds (the university, our speculative futures formed through our political desires, and the rooted places we inhabit everyday within our communities). Our commitments to one another as comrades and relationship as friends provided us avenues to engage in this cross-world work, busting through and questioning the authoritarian divisions between university and community.

Contingency as a political perspective rejects the ways in which our institutional tracks discourage our identifications with one another, or with our students in K12 and higher education, respectively. As Stommel (2015) writes to readers in response to the ways in which the *Chronicle Vitae* tends to pathologize students in humorous ways, we must "rant up, not down" (n.p.). Why is it that these institutional borders and hierarchies discourage study between students working to become teachers and students working to become scholars? One theory, for us, is that it is dangerous. If we work together in ways that put to question versus take for granted the purposes and end goals of our tracks, then contradictions begin to seep through the cracks our relationship has made in these

borders: Audra and I have both worked in classrooms in various capacities, worked as child caregivers, studied social and cultural issues in education (together and beyond) – what about me provides me with the authority to evaluate Audra's "teacher" knowledge? How are our allegiances being subtly shaped to those in positions at or above us within the educational hierarchy of authority? (i.e., Audra to her cooperating teachers and professors, Erin to her tenured program faculty). And, how can we learn to trust our own gut feelings of dis-ease in our work for our institutions in ways that lead us to study, articulate, and collectivize those feelings, and then do something about them?

Conclusion

Memory work can be a critical tool and epistemological stance that can foster these kinds of questions. As Nagar (2014) writes, methodological discussions around storytelling as feminist coauthorship are important because they "recenter marginalized conversations about which or whose knowledge counts, and how" (p. 175). As we talked, told stories, and remembered previously hidden away experiences, we realized commonalities across our positions in ways that aided us to disrupt studies of teacher education that avoid or ignore its embeddedness within neoliberal higher education institutions -- particularly, studies that construct the "white teacher" problem as a problem of individual, racist White people and not also a structural problem of teacher education and higher education institutions and their relationship to the maintenance of nation-building and racial capitalism. Memory work across institutional borders and from perspectives of those who maintain a contingent relationship to the institution are productive for what the tradition of institutional ethnography terms "studying up" (cf.

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Smith, 2005). Memory work is also a relationship building process -- while we "studied

up", we also strengthened our relationship and came to know one another in deeper ways,

a core aspect of movement-building, and of beginning to see "what will be". The

challenge for us and for others who practice memory work as feminist alliance-building

is to carve into and recuperate "official" institutional space and time in order to continue

to harness the power of the periscope.

CHAPTER FIVE

Ojibwemowin Against the Wall:

Teacher Education and the Reproduction of Coloniality

"You can't graduate from Nishnaabewin."

Leanne Simpson, 2015, p. 10

Grassroots Indigenous Multimedia's (GIM) office occupies a classroom in the Bdote Learning Center, a Dakota and Ojibwe immersion school that lives within a century-old building. The school building is attached to and managed by a Catholic church. This missionary zeal to colonize, moralize, educate, and civilize this Dakota land still vibrates through the chipped paint covering the hallway walls. The 1868 Dakota uprising that ended in the single largest state-sanctioned massacre in U.S. settler colonial history is not far from this place in memory or mileage.

I am on my way to a meeting there – late, unshowered, and disheveled. As a mother to a newborn, this has become my normal mode of existence of late. It helps to know no one at GIM will notice or care that I am not "presentable". After pulling open the great big wooden and religiously-adorned front door, I make my way up the steps to the second floor, hauling my 3 month-old baby along with me. As I walk into the office, I am greeted by a face full of feathers and a loud "flap flap flap" *as a neon yellow cockatiel attempts to fly past me. Fortunately, her escape attempt is half-hearted and she lands on the carpet at my feet. With a quick "boozhoo", her caretaker comes over to*

lovingly scoop her up, sets her on her perch next to his desk, and gets back to designing

layouts for Ojibwemowin children's books.

At the doorway, I survey the office and its mostly donated odds and ends. A pair

of gently used bright red and orange paisley-patterned back-to-back couches with a deep

red shag carpeting trim – perhaps the greatest thrift store find in the history of the world

– serve as the room's eclectic centerpiece. "Boozhoo. Aaniin ezhi-ayaayan?" I join the

rest of the GIM staff, plus a few veteran immersion teachers skyping in from out of town,

at the long table. Out in the hallway, I hear a chorus of young children marching

somewhat riotously on their routine group bathroom trip, herded along by the heavier

steps of their teacher. His deep baritone voice methodically counts children off as they

go, "bezhig, niish, niswi, niiwin, naanan ..".

As the meeting begins, I get ready to take notes with one hand while I hold my

now-fussing baby to my breast with the other. (Note-taking is just about the extent of my

ability to contribute to this work so far.) We settle into planning a language workshop for

the White Earth Tribal Nation's Head Start teachers while baby gurgles and the bird

squawks pleasantly in the background.

Introduction

During our graduate student resistance to our college's partnership with Teach for America (TFA), I came across the following blog post by Lynne Colombe (2012), a Rosebud Sioux:

The greatest problem that I can voice on this issue, is that NOBODY asked our community what they thought, or even if they wanted to subscribe to having

66.6% of our children being taught by Ivy-league graduates without teaching

degrees in the first place. Secondly, it outsources our own employment here on

the Reservation to non-residents who will not live in our community longer than 2

years. Finally, it does nothing to create long-term strategic planning, nor does the

TFA Initiative give any credence to the fact that perhaps, for a change, *Rosebud*

Sioux people are capable of changing ourselves! (This is not a personal attack on

people in general, but a criticism on what is best for our communities.) (n.p.,

emphasis added).

At the time, I interpreted the post as a pointed response to TFA's recuperation of social

and racial justice. We used Colombe's critique in literature we distributed opposing the

partnership. Through my participation in GIM and deeper engagement with the Ojibwe

language revitalization movement, my interpretation of her critique deepened and

implicated myself and teacher educators generally. TFA did not start (though it

continues) the ways in which university-based teacher education (and education as a

colonial technology) dispossessed/disposesses Indigenous communities of their right to

self-determine "what is best for [their] communities". TFA did not start (though it

continues and participates in) the "outsourcing" of teachers within Indigenous

communities.

As colleges of education and various interest groups locally and nationally

articulate a movement to "increase American Indian teachers and teachers of color"

(Sanchez, 2015), Ojibwe and other indigenous language revitalization workers struggle

for language survival against a loudly ticking clock. In Ojibwe country, which today

encompasses large swaths of what is now called Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Canada as

well as a thriving diaspora, there are around 1000 first speakers of the Ojibwe language, most of whom are elders over the age of 60 (Hermes & King, 2013). This means that in the next ten to twenty years, nearly all speakers of Ojibwe may be language learners, not first speakers.

That Indigenous language immersion schools have emerged as a key tool in the movement to revitalize indigenous languages across the globe (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014) points both to the need to use "all the tools in the toolbox" – to fight for spaces within and underneath the education system while also holding longer-term decolonial visions. With successful examples in Hawaii (Hawaiian) and New Zealand (Maori), North American tribes have sought to learn from and build on these practices (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014; Hinton & Hale, 2001; Wilson, 1998). In our part of Turtle Island, Ojibwe immersion schools (pre-K-5th grade) have proliferated during the past fifteen years despite the overwhelming state and institutional barriers that persistently frustrate these efforts (Hermes, 2004; McCarty & Nicholas, 2014). There exist between five to ten Ojibwe immersion schools and even more emergent immersion programs within public and tribal schools. Unlike other immersion school contexts, endangered language immersion schools face unique challenges. As one immersion teacher explained to me, there is almost no existing curricula, texts, or even pop culture materials from which to draw from in their daily work, as with other language contexts. Immersion teachers (often language learners themselves), paraprofessionals, and administrators must make up everything as they go, relying on existing (often colonial era) language documentation and Elder knowledge.[20] They must simultaneously abide normative education standards

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[20] To illustrate the kind of work involved in what would otherwise be a relatively simple planning task, during our conversation in his classroom, an immersion teacher presented me with an

and teach in and through Ojibwe tradition (Simpson, 2015). In addition, immersion school educators must also continuously seek out and apply for government and foundation funding to keep their schools in operation.

Compounding these challenges, no programs exist that prepare Ojibwe immersion teachers to create a rigorous, culturally relevant learning environment in the Ojibwe language. Programs to prepare Native teachers (not necessarily for immersion), constituted through partnerships between universities and tribal colleges, and funded through soft federal grants, are often found lacking in the areas of language and culture (Manuelito, 2003). Members of the immersion school and language revitalization community, above and beyond all else they must do to keep their schools in motion, have gathered to try to solve the issue that Ojibwe language learners interested in becoming immersion or language teachers have no good route to the classroom(VWGDOLRP, 2011; 2013). The paucity of opportunities for preparing Ojibwe (and Dakota) immersion teachers for the specific needs of language revitalization is not a failure of teacher education as an institution, or the result of benign inattention.

In this chapter, I draw from conversations with immersion teachers and, generally, from my nearly two years of work with GIM to consider the ways in which the institution of teacher education is complicit with and actively reproduces a gendered/sexualized coloniality. Via its embededdness within the ruling relations, teacher education carefully manages (material access to) epistemic authority and the resources for cultural reproduction in ways that exclude, devalue, and marginalize Ojibwe life ways, including Ojibwemowin (Ojibwe language). Dominant policy and academic discourses frame the

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adapted form of a colonial era Ojibwe documentation text he was using to create worksheets themed on synonyms and antonyms.

"diversity gap" as an absence of teachers of color and Indigenous teachers (e.g., Boser, 2011). From the perspective of Ojibwe language revitalization, the problem is not representation but one of decolonization and Indigenous self-determination.

To build this line of thought, I begin by describing in more depth the Ojibwe language revitalization and indigenous immersion school context, historicizing the "diversity gap" within the context of early attempts to produce Indigenous educators. I move next to elaborate three major themes that complicate the dominant framing of the "diversity gap" as representation and inclusion: 1) the inherently relational epistemology of Ojibwemowin and Ojibwe life ways, 2) the dominance of English and western epistemologies in teacher education, and, finally 3) I draw from conversations with immersion teachers and documents from the Volunteer Working Group on Dakota and Ojibwe Langauge Revitalization and Preservation to illustrate more directly the needs and desires for Ojibwe immersion teacher preparation. I culminate the chapter by discussing these themes in relation to the university's selective inertia, drawing on the University of Minnesota as example, and continue to develop a praxis and politics of contingency for critical teacher educators with commitments to decoloniality.

While this chapter continues an interrogation of the institution of teacher education, it also raises questions and concerns that are, perhaps, in tension with the themes and ideas raised in chapters that precede and follow it. What does it mean to be *within* but not *of* an institution (Moten & Harney, 2012) that continues to actively colonize, exploit, and extract resources from indigenous peoples and lands?[21] How can

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[21] To illustrate one such contemporary extractive, exploitative practice, University of Minnesota scientists have studied manoomin (wild rice indigenous to Ojibwe country whose cultivation is central to Ojibwe life ways) in an effort to export a genetically modified version to the Global South for profit (Hassel, 2014).

the subversive academic steal space from an institution that steals Dakota land? And, as McCarty and Nichols (2014) write, even as immersion schools have proved important, they alone will not revitalize Indigenous languages absent decolonized home and community spaces that can sustain Indigenous socialilty and modes of living. What does it mean to fight for Indigenous community control over state institutions? I attempt to make these questions and tensions productive as I work to understand more deeply a few ways in which teacher education, within a constellation of governing relations, reproduces a normative white teacher/knowledge authority (and normative, universalized conceptions of western knowledge (cf. Mignolo, 2011)) through the exclusion and devaluation of Ojibwe life ways.

Ojibwemowin Under Threat

I met a man, a guest participant in my Ojibwe language revitalization class. He seemed about my age, early to mid-30s. He told me he was from Ojibwe country up in Canada. As a young child, he said he spoke Ojibwe with his parents in his home. After he started going to school, he lost it. Now, he is taking language classes at the University of Minnesota, among other means, to get it back.

<p align="center">*   *   *   *   *</p>

THE PUPIL TEACHERS.

One of the most helpful features of the School is the normal training given students who show ability, and desire to qualify as teachers. This department becomes more and more important each year as the students thus trained increase in number and go out to fill positions in other schools.

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Image text: *The Pupil Teachers. One of the most helpful features of the School is the normal training given students who show ability, and desire to qualify as teachers. This department becomes more and more important each year as the students thus trained increase in number and go out to fill positions in other schools* (Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections, Carlisle Industrial School circa 1895).

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Within teacher education, many critical scholars have long been raising serious questions about the relationship between teacher education, white supremacy, the fetishization of standards, and the general exclusion of Indigenous, Black, Brown, and AAPI ways of knowing and living within school contexts (Britzman, 2000; Picower, 2009; Au, 2011; Nieto, 2000). With universities, colleges, and broader national discourses increasingly concerned with teacher diversity (e.g., Boser, 2011), some argue that these institutions, the state, and other education power-brokers are finally taking up

and addressing these critical questions (cf. Chiarello, 2014). However, many indigenous scholars have long been wary of institutional appropriations of "diversity" values or even the recuperable potential of the 'school' as an institution that can be made use of for imagining and enacting decolonial futures (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Grande, 2004; Grinde, 2004; Simspon, 2015).

Looking to the past, one of the earliest efforts to provide American Indians access to teaching in 'Indian schools' was lead by Colonel Richard Henry Pratt and supporters of the Hampton-Tuskegee model as an experiment. Pratt brought a group of American Indian prisoners to enroll at the Hampton Institute in 1878, which was at the time comprised of Black students, to teach them "steady work habits, practical knowledge, and Christian morals" (Fraser, 2007, p. 100). This experience inspired Pratt to form the Carlisle Industrial School in order to, "induct Indians into a culture of hard work and traditional European values, and to assimilate them so thoroughly that they could then take the new culture they had learned […] back to their tribes" as teachers in what were then called 'Indian schools' (p. 100). Sun Elk's (Taos Pueblo Indian) description of his experience at the Carlisle Industrial School in the 1880s illustrates Pratt's infamous mantra at work, "kill the Indian and save the man" (Grande, 2004, p. 14):

> A white man took us to Carlisle Indian School, and I stayed there seven years....
> They told us that Indian ways were bad. They said we must get civilized.... It
> means "be like the white man." I am willing to be like the white man, but I did not
> believe that Indian ways were wrong. But they kept teaching us for seven years.
> And the books told how bad the Indians had been to the white men-burning their
> towns and killing their women and children. But I had seen white men do that to

Indians. We all wore white man's clothes and ate white man's food and went to

white men's churches and spoke white man's talk. And so after a while we also

began to say Indians were bad. We laughed at our own people and their blanket

and cooking pots and sacred societies and dances. I tried to learn the lessons

(Grinde, 2004, p. 28).

Fraser (2007) writes that Pratt's motivation for preparing future American Indian teachers

was to "weaken the tribes and teach individual Indians in an individualist model" (p.

101).

White middle/upper class women who championed the feminization of teaching,

were deeply involved in the colonial project of Indian education during this era (Fraser,

2007). The persistent archetype of the white Lady Bountiful has deep roots in the project

of Indian education where teachers were tasked with "saving souls and colonizing minds"

(Grande, 2004, p. 12). Emma Willard was an early and influential proponent for opening

teaching and college education to white women. She founded the Troy Female Seminary

in Massachusetts in the early 19th century, which served as the inspiration the Mount

Holyoke Female Seminary and, later, the Cherokee Female Seminary. The latter was lead

by the Christian Cherokee elite in the aftermath of their forced removal to Indian

Territory (now Oklahoma) to produce Cherokee teachers who could 'uplift' their

children. The seminary largely excluded poorer Cherokee women who sought to maintain

traditional Cherokee life ways. Willard, in her advocacy for a feminized teaching force,

argued that "[Nature] has given [women], in greater degree than men, the gentle arts of

insinuation, to soften [children's] minds, and fit them to receive impression" (p. 30).

The Carlisle Industrial School and Hampton Institute trained both women and men during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Graduates (usually a fraction of all enrolled students (Fraser, 2007)) went on to various positions on and off reservations, including teaching within 'Indian schools' modeled after the Carlisle. Superintendent of the 252 Indian schools in existence across the U.S. from 1898 to 1910, Estelle Reel wrote of her affirmation of the Hampton-Tuskegee model for preparing American Indian teachers:

> The children learn to speak the English language through doing the work that must be accomplished in any well regulated home, and at the same time is being trained in habits of industry, cleanliness and system. He learns to read by telling of his daily interests and work with the chalk on the blackboard. In keeping count of his poultry and in measuring his garden, he becomes familiar with numbers in such a practical way he knows how to use them in daily life, as well as on the blackboard in the schoolroom (Fraser, 2007, p 101).

Thus, Willard's, Pratt's, and other leaders' successful progressive-reformist efforts were foundationally premised on the argument that women, and Black and Indigenous people were better equipped to indoctrinate their children into hetero, male, Euro and white supremacist worldviews. They argued that women and cultural "insiders" as teachers would more effectively ensure gender, racial, colonial, and class domination (Grande, 2004, also see Rodriguez, 2009). As Grande (2004) importantly notes, "Indian education was never simply about the desire to "civilize" or even deculturalize a people, but rather, from its very inception, it was a project designed to colonize Indian minds as a means of gaining access to Indian labor, land, and resources" (p. 19).

Efforts to prepare women, Black people and American Indians to teach were considered progressive and somewhat controversial at the time (Watkins, 2001). While not all who backed such efforts shared the explicitly genocidal intentions of Pratt, white progressive (arguably) well-intentioned efforts to "uplift" indigenous peoples had the same effect: linguistic and cultural genocide, and the weakening of tribes' capacities to challenge treaty violations and attacks on their sovereignty (Grande, 2004; Grinde, 2004). Watkins (2001) argues that a web of "political, civic, charity, and reform organizations" conspired to produce a settled American nation that could secure the abilities of elite, Northern white men to continue to accumulate capital through labor exploitation and resource extraction (p. 15). The preparation of a feminized and racially segregated teaching force was meant to cultivated Black, Indigenous, and other marginalized youth according to ideologies that advanced industrialist and capitalist agendas.

The history of American Indian education is also a history of resistance to this violent boarding school legacy. Largely through the momentum produced through the American Indian Movement in the 1960s and 1970s, tribes "persisted in their uphill struggles to take control of their education," creating tribal-run colleges and schools, including programs to prepare Native teachers (Reyhner & Eder, 2004, p. 308).[22] Struggles for self-determination and Native backlash over the horrors of "Indian schools" forced federal policy to shift from "de-Indianizing" (coercive assimilation) to "Indianizing" education. In 1990, congress passed the Native American Language Act proclaiming the right of Native Americans "to preserve, protect, and promote the rights of Native Americans to develop Native American languages […] and to use Native

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[22] In addition to state-accredited tribal colleges and schools, the American Indian Movement also produced myriad efforts toward autonomous and free schools against and beyond a politics of recognition (cf. Davis, 2013; Coulthard, 2014).

American languages as a medium of instruction all schools funded by the Secretary of the Interior" (Reyhner & Eder, 2004, p. 309). In Minnesota, schools are now required to learn about Ojibwe and Dakota peoples and history ("Minnesota K12 Academic Standards", 2011).

Despite this shift, Tuck (2009) argues that education research continues to reproduce a version of the "Indian problem" through its focus on pain narratives that position Indigenous communities as damaged and capable of speaking only to their pain (versus, for example, the powerful efforts of Indigenous language activists to create spaces for language reclamation and renewal). She writes, such frameworks prevalent in progressive (well-meaning) education research may gesture toward histories of colonialism but ultimately submerge continuous, contemporary colonial practices.

> It looks to historical exploitation, domination, and colonization to explain contemporary brokenness, such as poverty, poor health, and low literacy. Common sense tells us this is a good thing, but the danger in damage-centered research is that it is a pathologizing approach in which the oppression singularly defines a community (Tuck, 2009, p. 413).

Such frameworks ignore the structural and ongoing ways in which Indigenous voices and perspectives are perpetually silenced within academic spaces. Grande (2004) writes that, "unless education reform happens concurrently with analyses of the [contemporary] forces of colonialism, it can only serve as a deeply (if not negligent) Band-Aid over the incessant wounds of imperialism" (p. 19).

As Reyhner and Eder (2004) note, while federal policy claims to value and commit to the defense of Indigenous language and culture, in practice, these values are

not backed by sufficient or stable resources. In the language and effects of NALA, Native American language and culture are sentimentalized and disconnected from material issues of decolonization and non-capitalist modes of living –the conditions necessary for Indigenous languages and cultures to truly thrive. Further, NALA does not include any kind of enforcement mechanism, and thus, relatively little recourse for Native communities to hold the state accountable to the policy (McCarty & Nichols, 2014). The education system, in practice, continues to work in concert with the state to circumscribe tribal sovereignty and limit self-determination (Grande, 2004).

A decade after the passage of the NALA and the federal commitment to protecting indigenous languages, the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) mandated high stakes, English-only testing, a culture of state and federal school accountability that persists today. Wilson (2012) argues that NCLB violates and exists in direct contradiction to NALA, which ensures the rights of indigenous people to "to use, practice, and develop their traditional language in public schools" (p. 36). English-only standardized testing, among other policy-based forms of "language policing" (Blommaert, 2013), have produced increased constraints on the efforts of immersion schools, including anxieties among Native parents and families that indigenous language immersion will not ensure their children's school success and capacity for social mobility (McCarty & Nichols, 2014, p. 129).

As I illustrated in chapter 2, teacher education research dominantly frames the solution to the diversity gap along the lines of inclusion and access. Research produced from the center of teacher education (cf. Boser, 2011; Tyler, 2011) frames the problem of access and inclusion as mainly logistical (i.e., a problem of resource allocation) while

maintaining the legitimacy of the institution's specialized expertise and authority on teaching teachers. Meanwhile, scholarship that centers the perspectives of scholars of color and many critical whiteness scholars, both marginalized within the broader field, have argued that the institution is a site of political struggle (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2016; Jupp, Berry, & Lensmire, 2016). And, the perspectives of Indigenous immersion school and language revitalization communities who have a great deal to say about their visions and needs for teacher preparation are mostly excluded from these discussions altogether. Absent the context of education's role in coercive assimilationism, well-intentioned calls for inclusion risk reproducing state strategies to recruit Indigenous people to further the project of settler colonialism.

As Simpson (2015) writes, efforts to foster more Indigenous scholars within academia cannot be predicated on evaluating their worth according to their ability to earn western credentials:

> The problem with this approach then, and now, is that it reinforces colonial authority over Nishnaabeg intelligence by keeping it reified and fetishized within a settler colonial approach to education designed only to propel settler colonialism. This serves to reinforce asymmetrical power relationships between Indigenous Knowledge and western knowledge, and Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. It sets both Indigenous Knowledge Holders and Indigenous learners up in a never-ending battle for recognition within that system, when the academy's primary intention is to use Indigenous peoples and our knowledge systems to legitimize settler colonial authority within education as a training

ground to legitimize settler colonial authority over Indigenous peoples and our

nations in Canadian society (p. 22).

As I move to discuss the relationship between teacher education and Ojibwe language

immersion education, I consider: In what ways are progressive calls for the inclusion of

Native American teachers related to the settler colonial legacy of American Indian

education? How does the institution frame (out) issues of sovereignty, ecology, and

decolonization in relation to the work and study of teaching?

Teacher Education as Threat

By highlighting Ojibwe immersion education and the language revitalization, I

seek to emphasize that Indigenous-led efforts to teach their young within Indigenous

epistemologies are often erased from the conversation surrounding the "diversity gap,"

including in the ways in which we publicly articulated our opposition to Teach for

America (TFA) at the University of Minnesota (U of M). For Ojibwe immersion

educators, the institution does not need to "open up" but must get out of the way and stop

frustrating their work, prohibiting and precluding would-be immersion educators.

Building on themes explicating conflicts between universalized western pedagogical

norms and Ojibwe relational and land-based epistemology, I highlight already-articulated

needs for teacher preparation drawing primarily on the VWGDOLRP. I conclude with a

of critique teacher education's seeming inertia in supporting local Indigenous

communities and their desperate need for immersion teacher preparation via a brief

analysis of my institution's partnership with TFA.

Knowledge versus Relations

At the U of M, Ojibwe language instruction takes place within the department of American Indian Studies. Many immersion teachers and Ojibwe language learners make use of these courses to build their language skills. Often, they are active in language revitalization work already and find an institutional home within the marginalized department. Across the Mississippi River, more than a mile across campus, lives the College of Education and Human Development (CEHD), the home of the university's pedagogy experts, the place where standards and professional expectations for teaching and learning are (re)produced (whether directly or indirectly through its (re)production of education's professional class). This distance is more than geographic. Through its universalization of practice knowledge (which makes "best practices" a coherent phrase) and its systematic exclusion of Ojibwemowin and Ojibwe ways of knowing from its teacher education programs, the institution (and the ruling relations within which it is entwined) reproduces itself at the epistemic "zero point" (Mignolo, 2011, p. 99).

Mignolo (2011) describes the epistemic zero point as a colonial/modernist assumption that producing knowledge takes place in the 'mind' ("I think therefore I am"). The zero point is a placeless, heavenly (non)location of objective knowledge production. The professional (i.e., academic, Department of Education worker, or testing corporation data scientist) that mobilizes such an epistemology wields it as an authority to provide justification and credibility to colonial disciplining mechanisms like curricular standards and standardized tests (Smith, 1999; Tuck & Yang, 2014). In Ojibwe and many indigenous, decolonial cultural ways, thinking and knowing are embodied activities rooted in place, kinship relations, and memory ("I am where I think and do") (p. 99;

Kovach, 2010). Simpson (2015) argues that western education norms contradict many Indigenous life ways: "Indigenous education is not Indigenous or education from within our intellectual traditions unless it comes through the land, unless it occurs in an Indigenous context using Indigenous processes" (p. 9). While standardized curricula and testing are means to objectively measure student learning, according to Simpson, "objective" distance means the researcher is just farther away. Study always takes place on the ground and in the body – it is land-based, relational, and contextual.

Within teacher education programs, teacher candidates are disciplined into reproducing the zero point via standards that privilege measurable knowledge over relations. Analysis of the Minnesota's Standards of Effective Practice illustrates an inherent assumption that teacher candidates can "see" their students through knowledge (versus relationships). Teacher candidates are expected to be able to "understand the cultural content, world view, and concepts that comprise Minnesota-based American Indian tribal government, history, language, and culture" (Standard 3, subpara. G). While this is standard might be a well-intentioned attempt to ensure White teachers have some understanding of Indigenous contexts in Minnesota, the standard implies this (extensive!) knowledge can be acquired in spite of candidates' (white settler) relationship to the land or absent meaningful relationships with tribal communities.

A former kindergarten Ojibwe immersion teacher of seven years, Michelle Haskins (2015) described, in her masters of education (M.Ed.) thesis, the limits placed on (geographic) community-based education via the ways state standards discipline Ojibwe ways of teaching and learning. Her ethnographic study of her immersion classroom examined the challenges imposed by Wisconsin's Common Core State Standards

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(WCCSS) on the capacity for her students to learn in and through their language and culture. She argues that the WCCSS, among other disciplining mechanisms, contradicts and opposes the values and practices of language revitalization and the immersion school.

In one example of such surveillance, Haskins described the ways in which the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (WDPI) characterizes students who demonstrate an inability to perform the WCCSS as, potentially, learning disabled. Students would then require a Response to Intervention (RTI), triggering evaluation by a host of specialists to determine if additional services are necessary. Haskins describes one such student labeled and evaluated through this mechanism due to his propensity for daydreaming. After the required testing, it was discovered that he did not, in fact, have a learning disability. In response to this experience, Haskins wrotes:

> As a young girl, I observed my relatives telling others to leave a child daydream
> when they are observed doing so. It has been said that the manidoog [spirits]
> could be communicating with the child during a daydream, validating a thought or
> perception of the child's role or contribution that they will make to society and
> perhaps even solidifying their destiny, as the child understands it to be (p. 48).

She further argued that making room for daydreaming "is a challenge in the classroom especially when the educational intent to deliver the newly created, labor-intense curriculum, and the urgency to meet WCCS are at the forefront" (p. 48).

Haskins' (2015) study further illuminates the contradictions between Ojibwe immersion approaches and the need to conform to WCCSS, which rationalizes the standards within a framework of knowledge as consumption and success as college and career readiness. The standards are justified as follows:

To build a foundation for college and career readiness, students must read widely

and deeply from among a broad range of high-quality, increasingly challenging

literary and informational texts. Through extensive reading of stories, dramas,

poems, and myths from diverse cultures and different time periods, *students gain*

literary and cultural knowledge as well as familiarity with various text structures

and elements. By reading texts in history/social studies, science, and other

disciplines, students *build a foundation of knowledge* in these fields […]. Students

can only *gain this foundation* when the curriculum is intentionally and coherently

structured *to develop rich content knowledge* within and across grades. Students

also acquire the habits of reading independently and closely, which are essential

to their future success. (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 2011, p. 37,

emphasis added).

Haskins described a reading of the book *The Three Little Pigs*, a "rich text" as designated

by the standards. In her recounting of the discussion, she illuminates the conflict between

a "knowledge" approach versus her relational pedagogy:

S8 raised her hand and waited to be called on. When S8 was given an opportunity

to speak, she said, "Ma'iingan wa'aw Bimijiwanikwe's doodem [Wolf is the

teacher's clan]". I responded by saying, "Ma'iingan ogikendaan gichi-niibowa,

gichi-gikendaasod [Wolf knows a lot, as he is really smart]. Wenipanad da-

amwaadwaa gookooshag miinawaa bizhiikiwag, agiw miigaazosigwaa Chi-

mookomaanag awesiiyag [It's easy to eat pigs and cows as those European

animals have no way of fighting]." S7 said, "Oh yeah! Nimikwendaan gii-

piidoonaawaag bizhiikiwag on those gichi-jiimaanings mewinzha [I remember

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they brought the cows on ships a long time ago].” I said, “Mii gwayak, ishwaaso

daso-giizisag booziwag da-bi-izhaawaad omaa Anishinaabe akiing [It took several

moons/months to get to America on a boat]”. S1 said, “Ma’iingan

nindinawemaagan [Wolf is my relative]”. I reinforced S1’s statement by saying,

“Gidebwe, Ma’iingan gindinawemaaganaanig [You speak the truth, the Wolf is

our relative]”. I asked the students again, “Aaniin dash awiiya gaa-tibaajimowaad

yo’o Niswi-gookooshag [Why was the story of the Three Pigs told]?” S9 said,

“Ganabaj...Aaniin ge-ikidoyangiban to make people be scared of Ma’iingan

[Maybe...How do we say, to make people scared of the Wolf]?” The students did

not see wolves as being bad, and they did indeed need to be respected for their

intellect and wolf’s role in our Creation Story. Students also identified how the

wolf helps to keep balance among the lifecycle and should be especially respected

as brother of the Anishinaabeg (p. 37).

Haskins (2015) wrote that, in fact, the *Three Little Pigs* is “a story retold to ensure that

the fear and hatred toward wolves lives for generations through Euro-American fairytales

because early settlers feared the loss of livestock brought to North America” (p. 36).

Against the ways in which WCCSS describes the import of literacy in its capacity to

facilitate the ingestion of disciplinary knowledge, Haskins’ class read the text critically

and through a decolonial lens. Nishnaabe scholar, Lisa Simpson (2015), argues such a

pedagogy that is rooted in relations is a “land-based pedagogy” rooted in Nishnaabe (a

northern relative of Ojibwe) intelligence: “[Michi Saagiig Nishnaabe epistemology] takes

place in the context of family, community and relations. It lacks overt coercion and

authority, values so normalized within mainstream western pedagogy that they are rarely ever critiqued. The land, aki, is both context and process" (p. 7).

As Haskins wrote about these contradictions, she acknowledges that the act of conducting research for and writing up her M.Ed. thesis was a colonizing project that created challenges for her work as an Ojibwe immersion educator:

> I am an Anishinaabekwe [Ojibwe woman] who has been required to articulate my ideas and perceptions through a Western scientific process, which inevitably attempts to infiltrate my cultural role among my fellow Anishinaabe. The nature of this Euro-American project superimposes this need to clarify that I am merely describing my experiences based primarily on a formal process that was driven through academia in post-secondary education (Haskins, 2015, p. 4).

Haskins was "required" to conform her experiences according to a "Western scientific process." Her use of the word "infiltrate" suggests that the process threatened her relations with students and the school, and her capacity to develop her decolonial immersion praxis. Haskins' experience illustrates a way teacher education and the state discipline pedagogy and the research processes through which the teaching profession is articulated. Haskins' (2015) study suggests the project of school-based Ojibwe language revitalization holds a fraught relationality to settler colonialism (McCarty & Nichols, 2014; Hermes, 2004).

Native Teacher Preparation and the (English) Language of Pedagogy

Building on the experienced divide between western conceptions of "knowledge" and land-based relational epistemologies, in my conversations with Ojibwe immersion

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and language teachers with experience in teacher education programs, one theme arose again and again (and again): pedagogy and teaching skills were articulated as distinct and separate from (and elevated above) language and culture. The courses required for available university-based teacher education options are distant from the contexts, values, and ways of Ojibwe immersion schools and the language revitalization movement more broadly.

Within teacher education literature, there exist relatively few studies of contemporary Native teacher preparation programs (Manuelito, 2003; Pavel, 1999; Bergstrom, 2009). The Center for Indian Education at the University of Arizona has produced one of the largest studies. In a three year study of 238 students' experiences in 27 Native teacher preparation programs across the U.S., including one Ojibwe-focused program in Minnesota, Manuelito (2003) found that, even though most programs included in the study identified the inclusion of Native languages and cultures within their programs, "[f]ew respondents (26%) felt prepared to teach their Native/tribal language, English as a second language (25%), or bilingual education (24%). While half of the respondents felt prepared to teach multicultural education, only about a quarter (26%) felt prepared to teach Native/tribal culture" (p. 6). According to the Ojibwe immersion educators I spoke with who earned licensure through Native-focused teacher preparation programs, these findings resonated with their experiences: language instruction was marginalized in relation to coursework on western pedagogy. Manuelito (2003) writes, "assimilationist curriculum, the hallmark of American education, […] continues to thrive in academia, including in Native teacher education programs" (p. 3).

Alternatively, Heimbecker, Minner, and Prater (2000) discuss two examples of what they characterize as successful Native teacher preparation programs, on in Kayenta, Arizona (Navajo) and one in Thunder Bay, Ontario (Nishnabe). Only the latter community-based program remains in existence. The former program relied on federal funding, as with nearly all Native-focused teacher preparation programs, and is now discontinued (Collier, 2012). The authors articulate the success of each program, where success is defined by the rate of matriculation and teacher candidates' capacity to teach in and through their language/culture, as the result of their community-based locations. Teacher candidates worked within Indigenous immersion schools within the communities where they lived and had relations. Both programs were rigorous, requiring teacher candidates to attend class after school, write academic papers, and learn from master teachers. Faculty instructors from the respective universities granting the credentials and administering the programs were required to travel to reservation communities to deliver their courses.

The Volunteer Working Group on Dakota and Ojibwe Language Revitalization and Preservation (VWGDOLRP) (2011, 2013) found that, while there exist more than 100 programs and activities that provide language instruction in Minnesota school and community spaces, "few of these programs recognize the essential pedagogic requirements for language revitalization, which require immersive language experiences and leadership roles for fluent speakers" (p. 12). With NALA and the rise of immersion school efforts, a couple attempts have been made to create Ojibwe immersion-specific teacher preparation opportunities in Wisconsin. One of the most recent, the Future Indian Teachers Project (FITT) was a four-year project administered by University of

Wisconsin-Superior (UW-Superior) and the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa Tribal College. FITT sought to prepare Native teachers with Ojibwe language skills and a cohort of five Ojibwe immersion teachers. In a public talk about the program, a FITT program faculty person shared that UW-Superior's bureaucracy and inattention to the specific needs of FITT students actively frustrated teacher candidates' ability to be successful in the program (e.g., providing them with textbooks well after their courses had started, marginalizing language learning in relation to education coursework) (Nichols, 2014). After the completion of its first year, UW-Superior's program is no longer in operation.

Within the borders of Minnesota, no immersion or Indigenous language teacher preparation programs exist, despite repeated documentation of the need (VWGDOLRP, 2013). The VWGDOLRP outlines the available opportunities for Ojibwe and Dakota immersion teachers:

> Teachers may be licensed to teach Ojibwe and Dakota as world languages; they may be licensed to teach in specific academic areas or grade levels and have attained some level of language proficiency; based on their language proficiency alone, they may have received a waiver from the Department of Education to teach while attending a formal program of licensure preparation. The total number of all of these teachers is less than 80, and most of those are not teaching Dakota or Ojibwe language (VWGDOLRP, 2011, p. 13).

The only avenue for Ojibwe language and culture teachers to become certified without attending a "normal" teacher preparation program is to obtain an eminence credential. To obtain the credential, the would-be teacher must enlist a tribal government representative and someone who can speak to their language and culture expertise as sponsors. From

there, they are able to petition the Board of Teaching to receive certification (VWGDOLRP, 2011). However, the eminence credential only allows for teaching Ojibwe language and culture, and disallows teaching in content areas, rendering it useless for immersion school contexts. Given the limited "language and culture" teaching positions within tribal and public schools (VWGDOLRP, 2011), the eminence credential does not offer much of a pathway to the classroom for Native teachers with language skills.

One immersion teacher, Melanie[23], earned her licensure through a university-based program that partnered with her local tribal college to produce Native teachers with language skills. She described to me how discussions of appropriate classroom behavior in her teacher education program were presented through a framework of authority and management relations. Alternatively, she shared that she wished she had taken a class on Ojibwe approaches to classroom management, "through an Ojibwe epistemology". Such a course, she said, would provide all the Ojibwemowin necessary to establish the kinds of kinship relations to foster real accountability, where the teacher acts "because all of you are my nieces and nephews" and "because I love you". Melanie taught for many years at an immersion school housed within a tribal elementary school building. She shared with me that she often felt belittled by the largely white tribal school teachers. They hinted in various ways, she says, that "we were just doing our Indian voodoo thing", and that immersion education was not serious education, somehow easier and less rigorous than "normal" education.

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[23] I use psuedonyms for Ojibwe immersion teachers.

Another immersion teacher, Dylan, shared that his teacher education program, a similar program as Melanie's housed in a different institution, did not (and likely could not) teach him about land- or culture-based pedagogy – the operating logic of Ojibwe immersion schools. The persistent cleavage of language/culture from teaching practice perpetuates a colonial and gendered dichotomy between "normal" civilizing education – controlled and articulated through the masculinized university and its specialized knowledge authority – and Ojibwe ways of knowing and living. In the context of Ojibwe in Minnesota, there are few opportunities for would-be Indigenous immersion teachers to engage in community-based language learning and pedagogy and none that offer a pathway to licensure.

Ways Forward for Ojibwe Immersion Teacher Preparation

Within language revitalization communities, ways forward to solve the desperate need for more Ojibwemowin-proficient immersion teacher have been and are being articulated within immersion schools, the Minneosta Indian Affairs Council, and the language revitalization community more broadly. These ways forward are practical and very possible. However, they need institutional support and resources to materialize. In this section, I draw form conversations with Dylan, an immersion teacher with strong opinions about teacher preparation, and the Volunteer Working Group on Dakota and Ojibwe Revitalization and Preservation (VWGDOLRP) of the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council to outline their visions for preparing immersion teachers. I also draw on my experiences participating in a gathering of language activists and educators to address the need for Ojibwe immersion teacher preparation.

Visions for Ojibwe immersion teacher preparation revolve around three key characteristics: community-based control and oversight, the importance and centrality of Ojibwemowin and epistemology, and a high level of rigor and intensity. Dylan described a vision for Ojibwe immersion teacher preparation where teacher candidates apprentice with veteran immersion teachers and fluent speakers (master teachers). His ideal situation, he said, would place the authority to certify teachers within a community-based and -accountable tribal body, not with the state. He described his ideal as "old school", where teacher candidates would work with master teachers, and the whole of the program would be "a part of the [immersion] school". He argued that such a program would need to be at least eight hours per day with additional work – immersion education demanded rigor. During our conversation, he must have noticed my eyes widen at his description of the kind of work-intensiveness that should be expected. He quickly added, "hey, it's not for everybody". Dylan and Melanie point to the ways in which teacher education/education and its elevation of western pedagogy, reified via university-based science and research, imagines Ojibwe modes of study as lacking rigor or theoretical intensity.

Dylan articulated a culture- and land-based approach to teaching as an "immersion pedagogy." He argued that such an approach to teacher education is "applicable in any situation". A teacher is "always going to be somewhere different, so these [culture- and land-based immersion] tools would be beneficial for everybody. Do you know how to be immersed in a different community?" Dylan's assertion suggests that the dominant approach, which cleaves culture/language from pedagogy, is not just a problem for producing Indigenous immersion teachers. It assumes that teachers' work in

classrooms and schools is not rooted in place or culture (or power, history, or settler politics). While all teachers would benefit from developing their understanding of immersion pedagogy, Dylan also writes that a community-based model of immersion teacher preparation would look different in each geographic Ojibwe community because "communities have different needs and wants".

Along similar lines, the VWGDOLRP's (2013) strategic plan to foster more Ojibwe and Dakota immersion and language teachers also recommended an immersion school-based master-teacher program (p. 13). They wrote that such a program would fully compensate teacher candidates to engage short-term, intensive language learning with a one-on-one or small group relationship with a fluent speaker and master teacher. They wrote that this notion is not anything new, but needs resources to expand in an organized way: "[S]uccessful models for master apprentice programs do exist. Many of the individuals who teach Dakota and Ojibwe in universities within the borders of Minnesota and beyond are the products of these relationships" (p. 13). The group cited one Dakota community member, "I know that by working with an elder who speaks the language, one on one, I can become proficient. But I need the time. Please create opportunities for master apprentice programs" (p. 13).

In addition to the creation of master-apprentice programs, the working group wrote that teacher training must "improve". This objective is more briefly articulated in the report, and framed as a *requirement* versus a need: "These [immersion school teaching] positions *require* credentials" (p. 14, emphasis added). They articulated language learning as an intensive process, one that requires needing time and the expertise of master teachers. Alternatively, their arguments for improving teacher training

are largely geared toward making the hoop a little easier to jump through, writing of the need to replicate fast-track programs (like TFA) that can move teachers into classrooms quickly. This temporal disconnect articulates teacher education as a barrier, not as something useful for Ojibwe immersion education.

"In creating more teachers -- as in every aspect of language revitalization – the involvement of community members is the most important key to success" (p. 12). The working group further wrote, "We also need wide-spread involvement of our own community members in teacher training, and culturally-grounded standards for evaluating language revitalization activities aimed at creating more teachers" (p. 14). The demand here is that Ojibwe and Dakota community members are directly involved in the decision-making and construction of Native teacher preparation programs and the ways in which they are evaluated. The working group stated, "To address these challenges, we need productive relationships with local, state and federal educational bureaucracies," as though these relationships do not already exist (p. 14). The brevity of this objective and the reference to "educational bureaucracies" suggest the inner workings of the institution are closed off and inaccessible to the working group.

At the moment, Ojibwe immersion teachers must cultivate their knowledge and pedagogy via what one GIM staffer dubbed "guerilla teacher education". The term gestures toward the ways in which Ojibwe language educators and immersion teachers cannot find space within "normal" teacher education for the kinds of knowledge and skills needed for their specific contexts. Instead, "guerilla teacher education" takes place in and through, for example, mentorship relations with Elder First Speakers, GIM- or immersion school-organized professional development sessions, through immersion

classroom teaching experience, ceremony, self-organized language camps, among other

spaces and relationships carved out within local, regional, and global language

revitalization communities. These "guerilla" efforts are precarious: Immersion and

language teachers are often strapped for time and overworked; immersion schools often

operate in isolation due to geographic, cultural, and other differences and limited

time/resources; and funding for such work is piecemeal. Further, these efforts are often

geared at supporting already-practicing immersion teachers.

Teacher Education as Colonizing Force

Through these themes, I have illustrated that existing teacher preparation

programs that seek to support Indigenous people in Minnesota and Wisconsin subjugate

language and culture to western pedagogy and teaching practice. My conversations with

Ojibwe immersion educators illuminate the ways in which a western pedagogy,

disciplined through teacher preparation and English standards, cannot deeply account for

Ojibwe epistemology premised on relations and a land-based approach to teaching and

learning. I have also illustrated that, within Ojibwe and Dakota language revitalization

and immersion communities, there exist exciting and practice-based ideas for ways to

solve the need for Indigenous immersion teacher preparation. In this section, I briefly

turn to the University of Minnesota (as an institutional example) to provoke questions

and considerations about why Indigenous visions for Ojibwe immersion teacher

preparation appear to be so difficult to implement and so distant and disconnected from

the institution.

Teacher education, and the ruling relations within which it is embedded, masks the coloniality of its zero point epistemology through claims to value Ojibwemowin and Ojibwe immersion education. Yet, efforts to open up the institution to support and house Ojibwe immersion teacher preparation are short-circuited by bureaucracy and (selective) institutional inertia. As Carpenter et al. (2014) write, inertia As the example of the TFA partnership illustrates, bureaucracy does not inhibit major transformations if the ruling relations demand them. For Ojibwe language revitalization workers, teacher education can appear to be an impenetrable wall, yet the wall exists only for certain people and issues, as CEHD's partnership with TFA illustrates. It depends on who you are and who you know.

In response to widespread controversy over the fast-tracked partnership, the Dean, in a college-wide email response, argued that the need for such a partnership arises from the rights of students (as individuals) to be prepared through a variety of alternative pathways:

> Some might suggest that it is a contradiction for the University to have both its existing, comprehensive teacher preparation programs and a TFA program. We do not believe this is true. Instead, we recognize that individuals with bachelor's degrees who want to work with P-12 learners *have the right to other options* under state law for a path to teaching through TFA and other alternative models (Quam, 2014, email communication, emphasis added).

She further writes that CEHD's imperative to provide such options requires widespread collective effort and resource reorganization:

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As we undertake this new partnership, it is imperative that we provide TFA corps members with an effective preparation program that is influenced by research in teacher development, focused on supporting P-12 students' learning, and grounded on principles of equity and cultural responsiveness. *To accomplish this, we will need to assemble a team of CEHD faculty, graduate students, staff, and community leaders to design and implement the program.* We also need to craft an ongoing evaluation study of the TFA preparation model to identify what is most successful in improving the effectiveness of corps teachers and educational leaders (Office of the Dean, 2014, email communication, emphasis added).

An Associate Dean, in a letter to the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, further describes the ways in which CEHD was able to quickly (in the span of months) discover and direct resources to fund the development of TFA and other alternative pathways to licensure:

It is expected that *Alternative Pathway initiatives will have budgets and pre-planning that ensures that they are self sustaining* and produce income that addresses [research and development] work associated with continuous improvement and overhead costs (e.g., costs of running and overseeing the initiative; initiative accountability). As these initiatives generate income (e.g., over implementation, accountability, and research costs), then a percentage of these monies (to be determined) would be transferred back to the department" (Office of the Associate Dean, 2014, email communication, emphasis added).

These communications illustrate that the institution can quickly generate the resources and will to fund the development of alternative forms of teacher preparation.

I attended a meeting on the possibilities of creating an Alternative Pathway initiative for Indigenous immersion teacher preparation. While there was rhetorical support, we were told that we would need to find outside funding for such an effort – like TFA and other pathways, it would need to be "self sustaining". After it became clear that any effort to create such a program at the U of M would require undo effort on the few Indigenous faculty at the U of M and relatively little support from the administration, the conversations abruptly ended.

Selective institutional inertia is one means by which the U of M is able to resolve contradictions between the its claims to value supporting more teachers of color and the ways in which, in practice, it, alongside interlocking ruling relations, passively aggressively frustrates language revitalization. This institutional inertia is not (necessarily) the result of a few bad apples. As analysis of our graduate student-led opposition to TFA in the introduction shows, our unintentional reification of "traditional" teacher education contributed to naturalizing a hierarchy of knowledge authority. Naturalizing the institution serves to deny Indigenous communities' agency and sovereignty in reproducing their own life ways.

Conclusion

Erin nindizhinikaaz. Ningaa-ojibwem. Daga nindaa biindige ina?

My name is Erin. I will speak Ojibwe. Can I come in, please?

GIM facilitated a workshop at a non-profit networking conference in Minneapolis put on by a foundation that funds its work. Attendees made up a diverse crowd, however, White settlers were in the majority. GIM's session asked participants to reimagine what might be if their/our ancestors had asked permission to arrive on Turtle Island and had learned and honored the language and life ways of the Ojibwe people. What language might we be speaking today? How could life be different? I helped facilitate small groups in learning some language, but otherwise, I engaged as a participant. Three Elders sat in the front of the classroom on a fictional Turtle Island, and participants learned to ask in Ojibwemowin, "Nindaa biidige ina?" Can I come in? Elders responded with, "Geget, biindigen!" Yes, come in! Or, "Gawiin giwii biindige." No, you cannot come in. They also prompted participants to use more Ojibwemowin, to respond to their concerns (what will you bring? will you speak Ojibwe?). The exercise did not ask participants to lament the past transgressions of the first settlers, but to imagine what is necessary to ensure Ojibwemowin can survive and thrive. The workshop unsettled our settler existence by forcing us to recognize the Elders' sovereignty, and to understand the question, "can I come in?" as one that needs perpetual asking and requires engagement with and a worthy response to Elders' concerns – what will you bring with you? Will you speak Ojibwemowin?

In their influential essay, Tuck and Yang (2012) forcefully assert, "decolonization is not a metaphor". They argue that decolonization "wants something different" and cannot be subsumed into the directives of other "civil and human rights-based social justice projects" (p. 2). They critique education and social science researchers that casually use the term with "no mention of Indigenous peoples, our/their struggles for the

recognition of our/their sovereignty, or the contributions of Indigenous intellectuals and activists to theories and frameworks of decolonization" (p. 3). My interrogation of teacher education does not aim to open new avenues for reform in the name of "decolonizing teacher education". In fact, Tuck and Yang's (2012) articulation of the project of decolonization puts to question the possibility of such a phrase.

Within the institution, in the previous chapter, I described possibilities for enacting a politics of contingency, including creating subversive study spaces within and across institutional hierarchies. Indigenous Action Media (2014) further describes such an identity possibility as an "accomplice" orientation (versus "ally"). They write, an "ally" is often someone "whose career depend on the "issues" they work to address" (n.p.). Instead, an "anti-colonial accomplice" approach to justice work is relationship-based: "As accomplices we are compelled to become accountable and responsible to each other, that is the nature of trust" (n.p.). They further write, "An accomplice as academic would seek ways to leverage resources and material support and/or betray their institution to further liberation struggles. An intellectual accomplice would strategize with, not for, and not be afraid to pick up a hammer" (n.p.).

Despite the myriad challenges they face, Ojibwe language revitalization workers are engaging this work and producing a new generation of young Ojibwemowin speakers. Becoming accomplices not allies means we critical teacher educators work with and for language revitalization communities to make demands on our institutions, to shift resources and control over credentialing and preparation to community-based and -accountable tribal bodies. Settler critical teacher educators must find ways to support language revitalization and immersion school communities' reproductive self-

determination. Such work may require us to "pick up a hammer" against the colonizing forces of our own institutions and to work with and for Indigenous communities to build alternatives. We must acknowledge and continue to study the ways in which teacher education actively commits colonial violence through dispossession of Indigenous people right to teach their language/life ways on their land in their bodies. Becoming accomplices means we continue to ask, "nindaa biindige ina?"

CHAPTER SIX

Troubling Inclusion: Imagining "Education Worker" Beyond Education's Borders with the Social Justice Education Movement

Introduction

In recent years, Minneapolis and St. Paul have been ranked, nationally and internationally, as one of the "best" urban areas to live. In a compilation of eight major rankings lists for 2015, Minneapolis was awarded the number one spot for book lovers, green living, foodies, bike-friendliness, job seekers, and walkability, among others (Ward, 2015). *The Atlantic* even dubbed Minneapolis a "miracle" city, a place where one can still live the elusive "American Dream" (Thompson, 2015). These idyllic images of the Twin Cities as cultural playground for young, creative professionals have produced widespread critique that working class people, people of color, and indigenous residents experience the cities quite differently (Seavert, 2015).

In a widely circulated rebuttal to these whitewashed narratives, Nickrand (2015) writes that the Twin Cities have one of the worst records when it comes to racial inequality, citing the massive wealth gap between white residents and all other racialized groups, school and neighborhood segregation, its disproportionately policed and criminalized Black and Brown communities, and the vast disparities in educational resources and academic achievement among white and non-white students. In fact, Minnesota has one of the widest racial gaps in standardized test cores in the nation (IMO,

2015). Nickrand writes that utopian representations ignore the ways in which (white) Twin Cities' wealth is produced on the backs of its poor and through continued exploitation of Indigenous land and resources.

The origins and significance of the "diversity gap" between Minnesota's white teachers and their increasingly racially and ethnically diverse students is similarly represented in divergent, often in-tension ways. The experiences and perspectives of teachers of color and the much larger group of largely invisibilized, more precarious non-teacher educators of color are often submerged within narratives of public urban education that focus narrowly on the plight of teachers. In Minneapolis, there are around 1,800 paraprofessionals (compared to around 2700 teachers), locally termed education support professionals (ESPs) (MDE Website, 2015).[24] ESPs work directly with young people in educative capacities within classrooms, often with more opportunities for one-on-one and small group contexts. They engage in behavior, teaching, and counseling support, among other roles. ESPs are much more racially diverse than teachers (47% percent are people of color compared to less than 13% of teachers in Minneapolis (Minneapolis Public Schools Website, 2015), and generally have fewer credentials.

While articulations of and institutional responses to the "gap" have narrowed in on teachers, specifically the recruitment and retention of more teachers of color, the shifting conditions of education labor in Twin Cities' schools is largely framed out of the conversation: as student populations have grown over the years, the number of ESPs in Minneapolis and St. Paul have rapidly increased over the years, much more so than teaching positions (MDE Website, 2015). In Minneapolis and St. Paul school districts,

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[24] In St. Paul, paraprofessionals are called Education Assistants (EAs) and Special Education Assistants (SEAs). However, I use the Minneapolis-based term ESP throughout the rest of the chapter for clarity and consistency.

respectively, ESPs and other school support staff (i.e., clerical workers, food service workers) make up 43%/43% of all district staff compared to teachers, who make up 43%46% of all staff (Minnesota Department of Education Website, 2015).

ESPs and other school support staff are paid much less than teachers, do not have access to tenure, and often must fight for access to professional development opportunities, among other benefits. According to my conversations with ESP union members and other non-teacher education workers that make up the majority of the Social Justice Education Movement (SJEM), they tend to be marginalized within their schools due to their lack of credentials (despite being nominal "professionals"). ESPs are not the only group of education workers who have been largely left out of conversations framing and responding to the "diversity gap" (beyond consideration as recruitment pools for "grow your own"-type teacher education programs (cf. Villegas & Clewell, 1998)). Similarly, within and beyond teacher education, parents/caregivers, community members, and non-school-based youth workers are largely erased within dominant discourses framing diversity and teacher education. The "diversity gap" discourse presumes that these folks would/should become teachers if not for issues of access to teacher education and certification. Consequently, the labor and knowledges of precaritized non-teacher educators (of color) are devalued and marginalized within what dominantly "counts" as teaching experience/expertise within teacher education.

Drawing from my years of experience organizing with SJEM, an autonomous, directly democratic education union made up of a racially diverse group of majority non-teacher education workers, this chapter presents the need to complicate the "diversity gap" discourse within teacher education. It challenges teacher educators to consider the

issue from the perspective of labor, and, particularly, non-credentialed, precaritized education labor. Just as critics of the "Minneapolis Miracle" trope have argued against a universalizing narrative of the area, the production of the "diversity gap" is a tale of (at least) two Twin Cities education systems: From the perspective of teacher education, the gap is dominantly imagined as a problem of creating a more racially diverse and culturally responsive teaching force (Wong, et al., 2007; Villegas & Lucas, 2004; Villegas & Irvine, 2010; Picower, 2009; Stevens, et al., 2007). From the perspective of non-teacher education workers, many of color, within and connected to SJEM, the problem is more broadly conceived as a problem of reconfiguring "teacher" (and schools generally) according to non-state, community-based relationships, desires, and forms of accountability.

In the previous two chapters, I historicize the racialized, gendered, and classed construction of teacher education to ground discussions of the "diversity gap" in relation to the experiences of a teacher candidate of color and in the context of Ojibwe language revitalization efforts. Here, I contextualize SJEM's efforts to challenge a politics of recognition within a contemporary portrait of the racialized tensions between (white) teachers and working class and communities of color. I begin with a story about race and unions in the context of St. Paul Public Schools' (SPPS) recent, very public controversies surrounding an upsurge in school violence. I argue that the story illuminates racialized tensions within progressive education efforts and illuminates the significance of SJEM's efforts to rethink "teacher" beyond inclusion.

I move next to narrate SJEM's brief and contentious campaign to increase the number of and support for more staff and teachers of color in the Twin Cities. In the first

theme, I consider our first action in the campaign: our attempts to hold the University of

Minneosta (U of M) and Minneapolis Public Schools (MPS) accountable to a newly

announced partnership to implement a "grow your own"-type alternative licensure

program targeting ESPs. I begin to highlight the disconnects between the ways in which

SJEM members and U of M/MPS understood and articulated the issue. In the second

theme, I recount the racialized conflict the enveloped SJEM as we attempted to move

forward with the campaign. Picking up themes from the controversies surrounding St.

Paul school violence, I argue that our conflict was symptomatic of the tensions between

(white) progressive educators and students and communities of color. Finally, I engage

the collective study processes that SJEM engaged after the racialized conflicts that

stultified the campaign. I argue that progressive efforts to engage the "diversity gap" can

learn from SJEM's struggle to articulate the issue beyond inclusion. Further, it offers key

insights and strategies for moving beyond dominant social justice education/teachers

union narratives that invisibilize and marginalize the perspectives of working class

people of color and non-teacher school- and community-based educators.

Labor, Materiality, and the "Diversity Gap": Re-thinking "Teacher"

The [New York] Teachers Union's [TU] objective –building a radical movement for

social change –connected its concerns to working class Black and Latino communities.

TU members were seen as partnering with parents for change. The TU helped establish a

culture of teacher-community unparalleled in the city's history.

On the communist party-affiliated, primarily women-led union just before thousands of teachers were subpoenaed and hundreds fired via Cold War hysteria, effectively destroying the union (Taylor, 2013, p. 319).

Teachers have been physically threatened ... School buildings have been taken over by extremist groups using public property and tax money to teach children to hate. ... Teachers and children have been kept out of school by outsiders – not parents and community groups. With over 15,000 parents in the district, less than a dozen participated in the action. The Legislature's Decentralization Plan Will Mean More of the Same. Don't let our school be taken over by local extremists.

New York Times advertisement placed by the United Federation of Teachers (the more top-down, masculinist social democratic successor to the TU) derogating the Black Power Movement's takeover of Ocean Hill-Brownsville public schools in 1967. Many White teachers were dismissed and physically barred from entering school buildings (Goldstein, 2014, p. 149).

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *   *   *</p>

Teacher education literature from the perspective of labor has largely argued that the fight to improve teachers' working conditions are at the center of debates surrounding diversity in teaching and teaching for diversity (Weiner, 2008; Weiner, 2012; Ingersoll & May, 2011). Ingersoll and May (2011) write that we must pay attention to the extremely high numbers of already-practicing teachers of color leaving the profession and do more to improve teacher autonomy and influence than recruiting people of color into teacher education. In the context of the Twin Cities (Minneapolis, in particular), the number of

teachers of color appear to be declining. According to data for Minneapolis and St. Paul

public schools, the number of teachers of color has dropped markedly in the past decade.

During the 2006/2007 academic year, the districts had a respective total of 16% and 16%

teachers of color. During the 2013/2014 academic year, these percentages dropped to

13% and 16%. In Minneapolis today, 66% of all students are students of color and 32%

of staff are people of color. In St. Paul, 78% of students are students of color and 35% of

staff are people of color (Minnesota Department of Education Website, 2015). Recent

events surrounding issues of school violence in St. Paul Public Schools illustrates,

however, that simply increasing teacher autonomy and influence will not alone create the

conditions for retaining teachers of color or substantively address the racialized,

gendered, and classed tensions between teacher and non-teacher education workers in

schools.

In the fall of 2015, a controversy erupted in the Twin Cities when a 16 year-old

St. Paul Central High School student physically assaulted a white teacher as he attempted

to break up a fight in the school's cafeteria.[25] The teacher suffered a traumatic brain

injury as a result, and the student was charged with felony third-degree assault and

sentenced to 90 days in-home probation (Xiong, 2016). The incident evoked myriad

responses from teachers, activists, students' communities, the district, and the teachers

union. Leading up to and immediately after this eruption, the local media had been

cultivating a narrative that argued student violence was significantly on the rise, mainly

due to the district administration's years-long efforts to decrease suspensions (Holmquist,

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[25] I want to acknowledge that my inclusion and reading of the controversies surrounding school
violence in St. Paul and its relationship to our understandings of racialized tensions between
white teachers and parents, community, students, and other non-teacher education workers is
deeply influenced by an intense large group conversation working through some of these
complexities in a recent SJEM meeting.

2015). These efforts emerged in direct response to communities rising up against the disproportionate number of Black and Brown students disciplined and pushed out of schools.

Despite these efforts, suspensions are on the rebound amid an increase in incidents similar to the one described at Central High School. More than 1,015 students were suspended in the first quarter of the 2015/2016 academic year, the highest in five years. While 77% of those suspensions were Black students, they make up only 30% of the district's student population (Pioneer Press, 2016). Immediately following the incident at Central, the Saint Paul Federation of Teachers (SPFT) leadership, in the midst of contract negotiations with the district, demanded the superintendent address the conditions that, they argued, caused this uptick in violence. SPFT, which threatened to strike if necessary, called for increased funding for implementation of restorative practices and a commitment to increase the number of counselors and other support staff across SPPS (Lindberg, 2016). Influenced by the 2011 Chicago Teachers Union strike, SPFT previously organized a mostly successful contract campaign in 2012 that went beyond bread and butter issues (i.e., pay raises and benefits) and addressed students' learning conditions. They won some of their demands on issues like class size limits, increased resources for special education, and support for teachers to engage in home visits to build relationships with and learn about students' home lives (Fought, 2013). Since then, SPFT leadership had cultivated a reputation among some as a "social justice union". While the union's leadership has moved in this direction, many of its members responded to the issue of school violence as an issue of working conditions, specifically from the perspective of teacher (and school resource officer (SRO or school cop)) safety.

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Thus, SPFT leaders were surprised they were being taken as "against students and families" by some local Black and Brown community leaders in their responses to the Central High School incident. In reference to the threatened strike, one prominent organizer in the Black Lives Matter-St. Paul movement went so far as to say: "What makes me the most sad and truly fearful for the well being of our students and youth, is that […] the SPFT union [is] using the same narrative to not teach our kids as the police use to kill unarmed black people, "fear". Let that sink in for a minute... ." He wrote that the teachers union was, in actuality, calling for a "war against students" (Facebook post, 2015). The link between police brutality against Black lives and the increasing attention to (student) violence in schools was further complicated by the connections between SPFT and the St. Paul Police Union. Roy Magnuson, a 40-year veteran teacher in St. Paul, the St. Paul Police Federation treasurer and an executive board member for SPFT, publicly called for harsher punishment of students, arguing that SROs, like teachers, fear for their well-being (Jany & Sawyer, 2016).

To further complicate relations between SPFT and Black Lives Matter-St. Paul, following the Central incident, a White teacher became injured after he escalated a fight between three Black young men in his classroom (for which the students received felony assault charges) at St. Paul's Como High School. Following this, a White veteran teacher of the school, Theo Olson, took to social media to argue that the school-to-prison pipeline is pure smokescreen. Along similar lines as Magnuson, Olson argued for increased teacher authority to discipline their inherently violent students (of color) (Mullen,

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2016).[26] Olson, in a blog post, wrote that demonization of the union is misplaced: "there's either something wrong with me, or in my union fighting for safety while demanding supplication to the Kool-Aid, 'I'm white, so I'm a white supremacist'" (Mullen, 2016). Many SPFT members and White parents came to his aid after Black Lives Matter-St. Paul threatened to shut down Como High School lest Olson be removed from his position (Sepic, 2016).

Throughout that year, the local media had been cultivating a discourse where under-resourced teachers were being irresponsibly placed in dangerous situations – violence in local schools was becoming dangerously out of hand. A in-depth piece on the issue in the *City Pages*, titled "Distrust and Disorder: A Racial Equity Policy Summons Chaos in the St. Paul Schools", includes the illustration of a Black student in a hoodie sitting at a desk trying to read a book with snakes and flames and a gun encircling him, attempting to lure him away from his text. Another image shows a white woman teacher perched, smiling, on a desk in an empty classroom with two white male teachers standing protectively to either side of her in active poses, unsmiling. The text states:

> Within Harding's corridors is a turbulent clutter of students who push and cuss
> and bully their way from one end of the building to another. Brandt [one of the
> male teachers in the image described above], a finalist for Minnesota's Teacher of
> the Year and a 20-year veteran of the English department, doubles as a hall
> monitor. *It is his job to somehow tame them*. When the bell rings, the majority
> trickle into classrooms. But 50 or so roamers remain. They come to school for

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[26] After the story gained attention, Olson's personal blog surfaced (and public access was quickly removed) where he details hundreds of instances of violence between students of color. His tone and language is voyeuristic, depicting his students as 'savages' and 'disordered'. E.g., "

breakfast and lunch and to wander the halls with their friends. He commands them

to get to class, but his authority is empty (Du, 2015, emphasis added).

While SPFT leadership was attempting to move toward social justice unionism, local

reports like the above cast an image of 'White savior teachers' inhibited from doing their

important work by students innately tempted by violence. The image and text taken

together appear to create a narrative where male teachers must waste their intellectual

expertise, and instead must use their brawn to "tame" the wild hallways.

Meanwhile, (white) women teachers 'deeply fear of their safety': Another local

news outlet, the *Pioneer Press*, republished an anonymous letter sent by a woman who

teaches at Central High School in response to the media flurry over violence in SPPS:

I am not complaining about my district, my administration or my school. We are

all in this together. *I think teachers just want people to know we feel afraid. We*

are afraid of some students and some parents. We are afraid for our students who

want to learn and can't because some of their classmates are stealing

their education. Parents need to back us and believe that we love their children

(Rosario, 2015 December 16, n.p., emphasis added).

The editor who published the letter genders the letter writer as "she" and sympathizes

with her pleas for teacher safety. She rounds out her letter with, ""I believe sometimes I

might be their only hope." The letter writer individualizes the issue of violence ("a small

group of children are out of control") and absolves the district, school, and administration

("we are all in this together"). She conveniently ignores the epistemic and bodily trauma

that students experience in schools daily, and draws on coded racialized language to

indict "some students and some parents". The narrative, cultivating a fear of primarily

young men of color, is further fueled by adjacent (interrelated) media narratives depicting Black and Brown Muslim young men as inherently susceptible to terrorist extremism and radicalization **(**Temple-Raston, 2015**).**

The controversy surrounding school violence in St. Paul is complex, and not all SPFT members or St. Paul teachers are arguing for solutions that provide increased teacher/police autonomy to discipline "violent" students with "effective" authority. While SPFT leadership's response attempted to reframe the conversation around the district's lack of (and even decreased) support for preventative efforts, restorative mediation, and training for teachers in de-escalation, the racialized tensions and mistrust between Black organizers and community members and the largely White teaching force went unattended. And this mistrust is well-founded – as many public teacher responses to the violence indicated, increasing teachers' autonomy meant increasing their authority to enact punitive discipline in order to create safer spaces for more respectable "good (White) students".

In much progressive teacher education literature, the source of the problems facing schools are often articulated as teachers' poor working conditions and lack of autonomy (cf. Weiner, 2012). Teacher education's dominant articulation of the "diversity gap" also heavily narrows in on the plight of teachers, largely ignoring the ways in which teachers of color and, to a larger extent, non-teacher educators of color are already working on the frontlines in their schools and communities. Weiner (2012) describes three groups of progressive teachers, gesturing toward some of these tensions:

> Most teachers I work with focus on making change through their teaching. They
>
> consider what they do in their classroom the way to change the world. Another

group of teachers and school professionals, often those who work with immigrant

students and teachers of color who have gone into teaching to be of service to

their communities in which they live, see themselves as advocates for students,

families, and communities that experience prejudice and limited social

opportunity. And I'm seeing more and more teachers who want to make their

unions more democratic, proactive, and militant. I've also observed that these

groups of teachers often don't collaborate and may not see each other as allies (p.

4).

While Weiner states that it is imperative for these groups of teachers to come together

and unite, the context of school violence in St. Paul illuminates the complexities,

mistrust, and controversies that perpetuate these divisions. And divisions that Weiner

does not mention here, such as those between teachers and the even more precarious and

devalued labor of non-teacher school- and community-based educators.

Teachers' working conditions definitely *do* need to improve. However, as I

attempt to illuminate below, the voices and perspectives of movement-embedded non-

teacher educators complicate a narrow discussion of race and teaching confined to

teacher credentialing and professional autonomy. Further, tensions between (White)

teachers and students and families (of color) have existed throughout modern education,

as Goldstein (2014) points out in her historical look at the long embattled U.S. teaching

profession. Arguments that limit themselves to mere inclusion/representation

underestimate deeply held memories of the uses and abuses of White teacher (and cop)

authority in school spaces. These violences, largely unattended to by progressive

movements and education literatures, lie at the root of the perpetual exclusion and devaluation of certain bodies, knowledges, and dispositions.

Breaking Out of the "Diversity Gap" Discourse

Across the IWW nationally and internationally, SJEM is one of only a few attempts within the IWW to organize the education industry. With little historical memory or institutional guidance from the larger union, questions such as "what is the education industry?" and "who is an education worker?" have been perpetual points of reflection and tension that have guided our growth and trajectory. Articulating collective responses to these questions has produced both opportunities and challenges. For example, membership in the larger union is constrained by one rule: members cannot be bosses (although there are other ways for people who have hiring and firing power to organize with the IWW as allies and supporters[27]). This rule is meant to create safer spaces for organizing. However, in SJEM (as in other parts of the IWW), myriad forms of racialized, classed, generational, and gendered power dynamics infiltrate our organizing spaces. In the following, I engage some of these dynamics in the context of our campaign to increase the number of and support for more staff and teachers of color in the Twin Cities. Within the context of SJEM, I attempt to illuminate the ways in which White progressive attempts toward diversity and inclusion in the name of communities of color can marginalize and invisibilize the needs, desires, and visions held by leaders, educators, and activists within those very communities.

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[27] One major way that people with hiring and firing power can organize in support of the union is through the General Defense Committee (GDC), which provides legal support for workers engaging in strikes or other direct actions to improve their working conditions.

Active Exclusion Versus Absence:

Scraping Up Against the "Diversity Gap" Discourse

In the fall of 2014, we started to work on a campaign to demand that Minneapolis and St. Paul schools support more staff and teachers of color. At the persistence of, in particular, more seasoned organizers with the IWW, we jumped immediately into action, at the reservations of myself and a few others who felt that we needed more time to flesh out our visions, collectivity, and strategy. Our first actions together were aimed at pressuring Minneapolis Public Schools (MPS) to accept a majority of ESPs of color into its newly created "grow your own"-type alternative licensure program, the Minneapolis Residency Program (MRP). The program was the product of a partnership with the University of Minnesota's (U of M) College of Education and Human Development's (CEHD) initiative for alternative pathways licensure, interestingly titled "Equity Based Teaching and Learning Projects Initiative" and created to house the U of M's Teach for America (TFA) partnership. Loosely modeled after grassroots initiatives in other states to increase teacher diversity (cf. Skinner, Garreton, & Schultz, 2011), the program was designed to recruit ESPs already working in schools to complete their licensure through a 15-month residency, drawing on the infrastructure CEHD created for TFA.

The language mobilized by CEHD and MPS drew heavily on "diversity gap" discourse, articulating the new pathway as a means for ESPs who "could not stop working" to earn their license (MRP Flyer, 2014). MPS stated the number one "impact goal" of the program was "Diversity: To create a pipeline to licensure that will diversify the teaching corps in a way that is responsive to student, community, and district needs" (MPS Website, 2014). As information about the recruitment and focus of the program

became available, SJEM members realized that MRP leadership within MPS and CEHD did not define what they meant by "diversity" nor did they outline any goals or plans for accountability to ensure the program would be diverse along the lines of race and ethnicity, in particular.

The program planned to accept a mere 25 ESPs with bachelor's degrees (out of 1,800 total ESPs). We feared that, without community-based accountability, the program would be much more accessible for White, college-educated ESPs and less so for working class ESPs of color. Unlike other "grow your own" initiatives, the cost of attending the U of M was not included, nor were other forms of support like childcare and transportation (see Skinner, Garreton, and Schultz (2011) on the importance of these supports for the Illinois Grow Your Own Teachers program). The MRP's benefits included: "a $24,900 payment paid over the course of the program [for continued employment as an ESP]; Benefits eligible; reduced price for U of MN program of $15,000 (usual cost is $24,000); guaranteed MPS position upon successful completion of program (teaching position not guaranteed)" (MPS Website, 2014). It also initially required that applicants be bilingual (which it eventually changed to a "strong preference"). As Audra and I knew from our experiences with her nearly all-white Second Languages and Cultures cohort of teacher candidates at the U of M, bilingual did not equal racial diversity.

In a meeting to determine our response to the announced program, we collectively discussed and wrote up our rationale for creating plans to hold CEHD and MPS accountable to hiring 100% ESPs of color:

These programs and efforts are in name only, as changing hiring practices, racist

staff discipline practices, increasingly exclusionary teacher training programs, and

a lack of simple or effective recruitment efforts are actually *pushing out teachers*

and staff of color - in particular, teachers and staff of color *who are more*

connected to their communities, who have authentic relationships with students,

and who dare to critique the narrow histories and curricula they are often forced

to pass along to their students (emphasis added).

From the beginning, we were articulating very different sources of the teacher "diversity

gap", firmly rooted in members' experiences and relationships, than those dominantly put

forward in the teacher education literature or in the framing of the MRP. The latter

articulate their solutions to the lack of racial diversity as additive – adding more

"pathways". Thus, the problem is framed along the lines of an absence, a gap. In the

above, SJEM, on the other hand, articulates the issue as an *active exclusion and*

marginalization of staff and teachers who are "connected to their communities", "have

authentic relationships", and who challenge what and how they are expected to teach.

This active exclusion is further illuminated in the experiences of one member,

Linnea, who joined the collective immediately after participating in an action we held at

an MPS school board meeting that had discussion of MRP on the agenda in order to

demand that the program accept only ESPs of color, among other demands for data and

tracking of hiring and firing practices for staff and teachers of color. During the public

comment portion of the meeting, SJEM members stacked the comment section and

around 40 supporters gathered behind each speaker to show solidarity. Linnea caught

wind of the SJEM-led disruption and attended after the only teacher of color was, she

felt, unjustly fired from her daughter's school. The specific moment of inspiration to attend came when her daughter asked her afterschool one day, "Why don't any of my teachers look like me?" Linnea often shares this SJEM origin story as part of her introduction of our work at community events, signifying its importance for her.

In response to our demand that the MRP prioritize ESPs of color in their selection, the school board and district personnel reiterated to us on multiple occasions that it was "illegal" to show racial preferences for hiring. If we had any illusions about the order of importance of "student, community, and district needs," we found out in our attempts to participate in the MRP's selection day. An overwhelming number of ESPs applied to the program and leaders of the MRP held an evening where volunteers would "[collect] data on candidates as they participate in three selection day activities: public speaking exercise, a brief interview, and fishbowl activity" (MRP Design Team, email communication). These data would then be used by CEHD to make its final decisions regarding admittance. After catching wind of the event, we recruited a group of eight SJEM and SJEM-affiliated people to participate, including four parents, one U of M employee (me), one high school student, and one MPS ESP. At first, our participation was enthusiastically welcomed by one MRP design team member. However, on the day of the event, we received a last minute email stating that we would not be able to participate because, according to the "criteria for selection day reviewers," screeners needed to be employed by one of the MRP partners: MPS, the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers (MFT), or the U of M (MRP Design Team, email communication). It is unclear whether we were not allowed to participate because of our connection to SJEM and the school board meeting disruption or for the reason specified. The fact that myself and the

other MPS employee in our group were also asked not to attend leaves one to think. This example shows that, despite the grassroots language of "grow your own," the MRP was not accountable to the needs and desires of parents, students, and community members.

Not long after the selection day event, the U of M and MPS announced that 85% people of color comprised the MRP's teacher candidates. While we cannot know exactly how much of an effect our public efforts had on holding MRP accountable to its claims to increase teacher diversity, SJEM members interpreted the news as a success. As we continued to move ahead with the campaign, we struggled to articulate our early conversations about how staff and teachers of color were at greater risk for discipline and pushout as a problem of the "diversity gap". We also struggled with racialized tensions within our group, illuminating the ways in which the histories of race and education are not limited to "us" (social justice educators/teacher educators) and "them" (corporate interests, district administration), but pervade our spaces of organizing as well.

The Petition Language Debate: Engaging Racialized Tensions in SJEM

Building from our work around demanding accountability from MPS and the U of M in relation to the MRP, we began to draft a petition that would formalize our narrative and demands surrounding increasing the number of and support for staff and teachers of color in MPS and St. Paul Public Schools (SPPS). The petition could serve as a jumping off point for future actions and could contribute to coalescing a base of support. Our co-authorship of the petition language became a critical turning point that nearly turned many members away from SJEM, particularly people of color in the group. Two major points of controversy arose as we created the petition: First, we struggled between

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articulating demands that some viewed as "winnable" and more pragmatic versus more radical, "not very pragmatic" demands that others argued moved us closer to the kind of education they/we wanted to see. Second, conflicts around the petition's racialized language illuminated SJEM's inattention to the tensions between progressive White educators and education activists and the experiences and perspectives of many of our members of color.

From the beginning, tensions bubbled underneath our discussions on how to move forward with our campaign. On the one hand, some SJEM members desired to articulate a "winnable" campaign with a relatively straightforward end game: more staff and teachers of color, period. On the other hand, we were collectively trying to make sense of the ways in which the issue was deeply entangled with the university and district administration's top-down control over the schools, the disconnection between schools and students' communities, and the often hostile existing working conditions that staff and teachers of color face in their workplaces. While many of us were happy with our ability to pressure the district into admitting a majority of ESPs of color into the program, we struggled with how to coherently narrate these latter issues as part of the "diversity gap" issue.

In working groups, we drafted the body of the petition and the demands. Our first two demands were relatively straightforward. The first emphasized what many viewed as our main and most important goal. The second gestured toward our collective sense that we needed information to tie in what we only knew anecdotally: the "hidden discipline gap" among staff and teachers of color:

Therefore we ask you, members of the School Board to:

1. Commit to creating parity between the racial demographics of the staff and student body. Pass a resolution proclaiming the goal of having 50% of new teachers and 75% of new staff be people of color.

2. Commit to annually releasing data that tracks progress towards the goal of hiring and retaining more staff and teachers of color. Including: staff and student demographics, data on job applicants for teacher and staff positions, and *data tracking the rates of discipline and retention for staff and teachers of color in relation to white staff and teachers* (emphasis added).

The third demand pointed to the need for community accountability, and the fourth also grew from countless personal stories shared by members where staff and ESPs of color engaged in additional, unpaid educative and emotional labor to support and build relationships with students of color. The last two demands were more controversial, mainly due to their perceived achievability and those who were for or against the inclusion of these demands did not fall neatly across lines of race.

3. Create hiring committees in each school building that include students, parents and staff who are both representative of and selected (elected?) by the school community. The hiring committee should be accountable and accessible to all students and families, to ensure that the ability to build supportive and empowering relationships with students is considered as a primary qualification of teachers and staff being hired.

4. Honor and support the unrecognized work done by staff of color to mentor and encourage the academic, social and emotional success of students of color. This can be done by compensating staff for extra hours put toward

mentoring or by reducing the workload of staff who take on these crucial

mentoring roles.

Our discussions around this last demand became quickly frustrated, however, because many viewed this as simply impractical and impossible for the district to implement. The demand gestures to and attempts to challenge the hierarchized relationship between credentialed teaching work and other forms of educative work.

The bigger controversy, however, had to do with the language describing the rationale for the campaign. The document's body text initially read: "The [unequal ratio of teachers of color to students of color] is unacceptable and is a contributing factor to *racist* outcomes in dropouts, discipline, achievement, and attendance" (emphasis added). During a round of group revisions in a meeting, many people of color in the group argued strongly for keeping the language as is. However, a few White organizers in the group (including myself) engaged in a debate around shifting the language that marginalized desires to be up front about naming racism. One White ESP requested that the language change from "racist outcomes" to "racial disparities" because it might encourage more (White liberal) teachers to sign who might be turned off by the term "racist". It was a question of strategy, she argued. In response to one person of color's argument against this shift, another theory-splained Marxism. And I argued in support of naming racism up front yet argued for a rephrasing that would sound less awkward, which had the effect of further distracting the conversation from the source of the disagreements. Eventually, we settled on describing differences in dropouts, discipline, achievement and attendance as "institutional racism," however the move to abstraction left a sour taste for some.

Like the controversies surrounding violence in St. Paul schools, some White members were surprised when others who argued to keep the term "racist" implicated White progressive educators in the perpetuation of white supremacy in/through education. Meeting notes summarizing Alice's comments, a Black woman and school-based youth worker, during the group's follow-up discussion at the next week's meeting more explicitly describe the debate's racialized undercurrents:

> There was a moment in creating the petition *where white people did not feel safe* about the language used in regards to race, and people of color in the room did not have a problem with the language *but it was changed and did not have the same truth*. Because of time and energy crunch at the end of the meeting the time and space wasn't made for people of color in the room to say that they didn't feel satisfied or heard. This may have contributed to a decline of people of color involved in the organization (emphasis added).

The desires to change the language are framed within a discourse of White safety. While the person who suggested the change was called out, all of us White SJEM members in attendance during the debate were implicated in the suppression of the voices of members of color. In a much later conversation with the person who initially requested the change, we discussed the ways in which we identified whiteness at play at the group level after the fact. Yet, other White SJEM members did not engage her or one other to consider how our actions marginalized the voices of SJEM members of color. This failure to confront and call each other "in" further served to avoid engaging racialized tensions (Ahmad, 2015).

One SJEM member of color shared with me in later conversation that the debate pointed to deeper issues and differences within SJEM around who we imagined we were building the movement with. For him, he wanted to be building with communities of color, and specifically youth of color. The narratives we created, he said, should not appease White fragility and deeply resonate with people perpetually on the margins of education. After the petition language debate, a few people against the change in language, all people of color, stopped coming to meetings altogether. In one-on-one conversations with folks who had dropped off, the remaining members found that they were just not interested in putting their time and energy toward a group that pandered to White people's racial anxieties. Notes paraphrasing our discussion in a later meeting further illuminate these tensions:

> [Linnea], a parent and woman of color,] was drawn in based on the objective of wanting to see more teachers of color in school and getting cops out of school. Feels there is *a sense of safety in the shared objectives of the campaign*, *but not necessarily a safety in talking about race in this group*. She has personally seen this group as more based on shared objectives than shared understandings and conclusions about race in America. At the end of the day in talking about who we are, and recruiting, maybe we can be open and honest in talking about the group that we are based more on shared objectives than shared understandings (emphasis added).

Linnea's distinction between "shared objectives" versus "shared understandings" about race in America suggests that the campaign's goal for more staff and teachers of color was, thus far, disconnected from deeper issues of race and schooling. Like Dillard's

(1994) indictment of supply and demand approaches to teacher diversity, additive

objectives (*more*) did not attend to the racialized slow violence of schools (Cacho, 2008),

especially as this violence was/is experienced and understood by SJEM members of

color. And, a call for more staff and teachers of color did not in any way mean that our

organizing practices were centering the voices of people of color or drew on sufficiently

deep analyses of race and schooling.

On the "Edge" of Education:

Challenging the "Social Justice Teacher" Imaginary

To reinvigorate our organizing and learn from this experience, we began

discussing and reflecting on these tensions as a group and in one-on-one conversations

with SJEM members who stopped participating. Through efforts on the part of some

members, including myself, Linnea, Alice and another White woman in the group

(gendered affective labor), our group slowly came back together and made a decision to

take a step back from campaign work to study and vision together. Through this work,

which took place during the course of three months in the summer of 2015, the conflict

became the "story of the petition language debate" and marked, for many, our turning

point as a collective.

During a series of intensive retreats and weekly meetings, we took pains to

coauthor vision and mission statements that moved us toward, in Linnea's words, "shared

understandings" of what we were working toward. We spent three full months thinking,

socializing, and collectively writing. We consensed on every word down to the letter. At

the meeting where we made the decision to engage in this work, Alice recounted a story

that a local movement elder, Ricardo, had recently shared with her: He had just formed a collective of folks who wanted engage in media justice work. They started not with action but by taking turns telling and deeply listening to each of their life stories beginning deep within childhood, each story taking hours at a time. One day, while they were engaging in this storytelling work, a march for immigrant worker rights passed by on the street outside the house where they met. The group's initial impulse was to drop what they were doing and join the march. But they did not. Instead, they forced themselves to recognize that their storytelling was also important movement work and it needed to be done.

Through our own relationship-building work during those months, we came to collectively recognize that we must push for short-term solutions while also seeking to radically re-envision what "education" and "educator" could and should look like in our communities without being overly deterministic. Our work that summer revealed that every ESP of color and other non-teacher school- and community-based education workers of color in the group (and many White members alike) did not desire to become teachers. Their commitments to social justice and to forming deep relationships with their students were major reasons why they said they preferred to remain in their roles, working under and around the system. They viewed the role of teachers as more tightly constrained from engaging in their care work – emotional and affective labor that is often devalued in teaching (Noddings, 2015).

It was only after we began asking ourselves more explicitly, "who should we be building the movement with and for?" that these sentiments came to light. Reflecting on our past work, however, it is clear that SJEM had always been struggling with the

invisibility of education workers on the margins of the system. Our first major project as SJEM in 2012 was organizing the first annual Twin Cities Social Justice *Curriculum* Fair, modeled after similar, more established conferences in Chicago, the Bay area, and other places around the country. After our first year of organizing our annual Fair, we received critique from some that our initial title's focus on classroom curriculum was not relevant for all those who were excluded from teaching or creating curriculum within public school classrooms (i.e., youth workers in afterschool programs, parents, working class communities of color who are largely excluded from becoming licensed teachers, school pushouts). In response, we renamed the conference the Twin Cities Social Justice *Education* Fair.

It's interesting that we didn't first consider this critique ourselves. Only one of us in the beginning was a teacher (who often felt that she was on the verge of being pushed out as the only Indigenous educator at her predominantly White school). In fact, the majority of people who attended and presented at that first fair also were not classroom teachers but held some other, usually more marginalized and precarious, position within the industry. Despite this, we framed that first Fair with teachers in mind and strategized ways to get teachers to attend. We imagined the "teacher" as *the* agent with the most power to create change in schools. Each subsequent year, we put increasing energies toward centering youth and parents, and engaged more presenters from community-based organizations that did the kind of work that schools often do not, i.e., youth participatory action research, teaching through African-centered knowledge systems, and community-based education activism.

In the months since our summer of visioning, SJEM has attempted to treat "education worker" as a racialized problematic versus a category in need of clear definition. In our vision statement, we tried to signify a rejection of the borders that the education system creates through credentialing and a system of legibility that recognizes only certain modes of knowing. We write:

> We dream of socially and culturally just education systems free from colonization, capitalist exploitation, assimilation, and the erasure of histories and languages. Our future schools can and should honor the wisdom of our children, elders, educators, and families; center the self-determination of the oppressed; and fight for creativity, social justice, and community flourishing. We invite all people who resonate with our vision and are committed to anti-racist, anti-capitalist, feminist, queer, and decolonial values and practices to join our efforts.

Centering the "education worker" problematic puts increased pressure on us to take seriously the tensions and power differences across the boundaries of teacher and student, ESP, parent, and those who are excluded from the legitimacy of school spaces, like community elders. SJEM's coauthorship, in this way, recognizes and revalues myriad forms of under- or devalued study relationships and spaces. Our revisions and recreations of these study relationships become firmly planted seeds that continue to grow our desires for something different, something more than the education system can provide.

Conclusion

SJEM's engagement with the "diversity gap" resulted in a rejection of inclusion as an end goal and renewed collective desire to openly engage the racialized tensions that

pervade relations between the largely White progressive education movement and "diverse" students, families, communities, and support staff. While we recognize that we must push for short-term demands ("non-reformist reforms") – demands that might appear on the surface to be aimed at inclusion, i.e., demanding more staff and teachers of color – our experiences illustrate that we cannot disconnect "objectives" from "understandings". As Linnea and others suggested, "shared objectives" are not a stand-in for the much messier, complex, and time-involved work of engaging and historicizing power in our everyday relations. We are still participating in and reproduce practices that uphold white supremacist, colonialist, and heteropatriarchal capitalism. Yet, our push toward collective self-awareness and self-reflexivity create possibilities for de-linking from these practices and linking, instead, to each other. SJEM's organizing across industry, challenging narrow conceptions and hierarchical valorizations of "education work," creates more possibilities for recognizing and revaluing educational work across sectors of the education system, and for coauthoring visions of more resilient, collective, and transformative study relationships.

Toward a Politics of Contingency: Theorizing Visionary Possibilities from Within and Against Teacher Education

All that you touch

You Change.

All that you Change

Changes you.

The only lasting truth

Is Change.

God ls Change.

-Earthseed: The Books of the Living

(from Octavia E. Butler's *Parable of the Sower*)

At a convening in Minneapolis titled "Resistance and Rebellion" put on by the Givens Foundation for African American Literature, I spoke this quote aloud together with my fellow audience members at the behest of author and activist adrienne maree brown. Our Butlerian call and response was her means of introducing her self and work

as a visionary fiction writer. She went on to ask us to consider how we, as social movement workers, transform our worlds daily. She urged us to move past any notion that the toxicities produced by histories of colonialism, white supremacy, capitalist exploitation, and heteropatriarchal violence must be absent from our words and dispositions, our interpersonal relationships, our bodies and health, or our ecologies *before* we can live the worlds we wish to see. For Imarisha and brown (2015), social movement work is a practice of science (visionary) fiction – of time travel, of thinking the past, present, and future together, and, especially, of recognizing our present as the product of others' imaginings. We *are*, in part, because, not very long ago, others *dreamed us into existence*, brown said.

Universities, K12 education, other overlapping institutions, and the state take up the language of the teacher "diversity gap" in ways that purposefully constrain our ability to imagine alternative institutions or the abolition of such institutions. Solutions that emphasize increasing the representation of teachers of color as the end goal can fetishize cultural or racial "congruence,' often in the service of narrow, neoliberal conceptions of "achievement" (cf. Boser, 2011; Bireda & Chait, 2011). Against normative "achievement," many teacher educators, including our graduate student resistance to TFA, often critique standardized curricula and testing, corporate and neoliberal influence, and urban planning experiments that destabilize working class urban schools in the service of upward wealth redistribution (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Weiner, 2012; Lipman, 2011). They view these sociopolitical processes as reasons for more robust and critical teacher preparation programs. However, calls to reinvigorate university-based teacher education can frame out the sordid histories that constitute the institution (Fraser, 2007),

its relationship to/within the neoliberal university (Brown, 2015), and the needs and desires for non-state, community-based, accessible, and community-accountable forms of teacher preparation and legitimation (Tuck & Yang, 2012).

Throughout the dissertation, I have mobilized an analytic frame that has helped me translate the everyday space-times and relations within and beyond the university into broader social and political processes (structures *and* lives (Weis & Fine, 2012)): How does teacher education, and the web of ruling relations it is embedded within, *reproduce* a gendered, racialized, and classed normative teacher figure – the "white Lady Bountiful" (Meiners, 2002)? And, how does the institution exclude certain dispositions, ways of knowing, and bodies that cannot or will not fit, or at least approximate, this white, feminine, middle class, and sexually pure figure? My collective memory work study with Audra in chapter four illuminated the ways in which our relations as teacher educator/teacher candidate were shaped by the historically paternal/patriarchal institution's self-preservation in/through neoliberalism. Chapter five illuminated Ojibwe language activists' efforts to decolonize their children's education. The specific needs and desires for Indigenous immersion teacher preparation stands in stark contrast to the historical and ongoing conscription of women and people of color into educating for the state (Grumet, 1988; Fraser, 2007). Finally, in the last chapter, I recounted the Social Justice Education Movement's (at times contentious) efforts to reject inclusion and representation as an end game, and instead revalue the educative work of those illegible as "teacher".

I conclude the study with a few of my own dreams, strategies, and provocations in order to imagine visionary possibilities for engaging in movement-building work from our various positions within (on the edge of, underneath) our institutions.

From the Undercommons: Toward a Politics of Contingency

As I have begun to describe in various ways throughout the dissertation, one antidote to reproducing the "diversity gap" discourse is to find ways to understand ourselves as workers, and academic research and teaching as capitalist work. As a graduate student in our contemporary moment, my contingent relationship to the university has always been palpable– as Marc Bousqet (2008) writes, students are the waste products of the university. We are cheap labor, admitted and pushed through the machine to make way for each new batch. The compression of time-to-degree completion, increasingly precarious funding, and the high stakes competition for publications, fellowships, and the few precious tenure track jobs in academia have produced a host of media detailing widespread mental health crises among graduate students (i.e., Jaschik, 2015) and impoverished living conditions among adjunct faculty (Jackson, 2015). On two occasions, I had difficulty finding funding and, with more than $30,000 of student loan debt already weighing me down (the average for graduating college seniors (TICAS, 2015)). So, on each occasion I prepared myself to leave the program. Something would miraculously come up mere days or weeks before the semester began. However, many of my programmates have not been so lucky.

Moten & Harney (2012) discuss the undercommons in the context of higher education, crititquing liberal narratives that bemoan the fall of the university to corporate

interests and logic and, in doing so, position the university as an inherently good institution gone astray. As Carpenter et al. (2014) write, the university's present situation of "crisis" is both real and fabricated. They write that how administrators and academic professional organizations respond to the apparent "natural" sources of crisis are choices:

> They choose to forgo building relationships with organizations and movements that resist the normalization of contingent forms of labor. That choice conditions the strategies and tactics we have at our disposal for responding to this crisis. Higher ed administrators who justify that choice by saying that they are required to train students for the job market participate in and affirm an unjust and unequal financial and moral system: one that will, at all costs, reduce human labor and foster jobs that fail to provide a living wage or health care. The recent turn toward embracing nonacademic partnerships in the public humanities and alt-academic careers needs to be included in an analysis of precarious labor's encroachment (p. 383-384).

Similarly, the university's agency in its trajectory of crisis is also apparent in the recent action on the part of Univeristy of Wisconsin-Madison faculty, who voted no confidence in their board of regents, arguing that the regents did not adequately push for resources from the state (Marley, 2016). Hanson (2015) argues that, in the context of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, it is in the interests of the university to increase its resources via tuition versus state funding. While the latter has more restrictions on how it is allocated throughout the institution, the former are relatively free funds that the university can and has used to invest in real estate ventures (i.e., luxury student housing), among other profit-making practices.

Moten and Harney (2012), argue that the university has always been an institution co-constitutive of colonialism and capitalism (also see Wilder, 2012), and those who are only contingently included within it (i.e., low-wage adjunct faculty, Black studies, students and faculty of color) make up its underbelly. They write that their orientation to the university is one of being "within and against" the institution and its violences. However, in an interview, Stefano Harney states that there is always something more going on in these institutional spaces than the reproduction of capitalist, white supremacist social relations:

> So, the within and against gets cut with a kind of within and for. When you move further out into an autonomous setting, where you get some free space and free time a little more easily, then, what you have to attend to is the shift, for me, between the within and against – which when you're deep in the institution you spend a lot of time on it – and the with and for. And that changes a lot of shit. All those things are always in play. When I say "with and for," I mean studying with people rather than teaching them, and when I say "for," I mean studying with people in service of a project […]. So, that with and for, the reason we move into more autonomous situations is that it grows, and we spend less time in the antagonism of within and against (p. 146-147).

Taking up this orientation of being both "within and against" and "with and for", we can see "contingency" as an oppressive and precarious relation to the university and a source of insight and perspective that can be productive: of relationships and subversive study.

The following thoughts and concluding questions are meant as much for me as for the reader, as I continue to reflect on and consider better ways to be *within* and *against* an

institution so tightly entwined with coloniality, white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, and neoliberal capitalism. And, to imagine and enact a praxis of studying/organizing *with* education workers across/beyond education's borders and *for* more liberating, decolonial movement-embedded study.

Memory Work, Visionary Fiction, and Storytelling:

Exploiting the Cracks in Academic Research

In a visionary fiction short story titled "Evidence", Alexis Pauline Gumbs (2015) writes her past, present, and future together as an archive of the writings and life of Alandrix, a version of herself who lives after capitalism. Through letters to herself from the future she dreams the final days of capitalism as, first, an era of seeming desolation, an era with the signifier "BSB" or "before silence broke." Gumbs imagines herself as one of many seemingly isolated storytellers, all of whom believe themselves to be the last person alive, whose writing Gumbs despairingly calls "*the writing on the wall*". We then find out that what appears to be Gumbs' final scrawls before a lonely death in desolation is actually a seed planted on the walls of the "stained subway cave" where she resides (p. 37). She writes, "People took those writings and started to recite them and then another generation hummed their melodies and then another generation clicked their rhythms and then another generation just walked them with their feet and now we just breathe it" (p. 36). In a letter from her future self to her past self, Gumbs writes, "We did it. We shifted the paradigm. *We rewrote the meaning of life with our living*," (p. 41, emphasis added).

For Gumbs, the praxis of visioning, of dreaming other worlds is a subversive act, and it is also ordinary, it is daily living, we *already do it*, we are already rewriting the

future even as the media paints resistance and rebellion as exceptional. *Everything you touch, you change. Everything you change, changes you.* A visionary fiction recognizes and makes political meaning out of these everyday rebellions, moments when we shut it down, when we steal time from work to love on our friends and fellow workers, moments of collective refusal to keep this machine running.

The larger study has been a practice in cultivating my own self-awareness as a teacher educator, and was largely made possible via my relationships of support with other faculty and students with similar desires to reject the normative expectations of our field. As one mentor told me, know the rules so that you can break them. We have supported one another to reject the academic police our minds. From these experiences and those that exist at the heart of the study, we can raise questions to consider ways forward for fostering insurgent, disobedient study within the university:

- The first question to ask is: How are we already engaging in forms of subversive study, and how can we grow these and other spaces of collectivity and autonomy? Within an institution where, for the most part, the further down the ladder one climbs, the more tightly one's time and energies are managed, how can teacher educators grow more "free space and free time" for their students to engage in subversive study?

- How can we understand the material conditions of our everyday work and the ways in which it reproduces the institution? Even when we produce stunningly critical analyses of injustice in a peer-reviewed journal or impassioned academic conference talks about the need for educational equity or teacher diversity – how are these productions (resistances, definitely, but) also *re*productions?

- How can we further cultivate border-crossing methods, such as collective memory work (Nagar, 2014) and activist research (Hale, 2008), in ways that challenge and subvert contained and hierarchized academic knowledge production and circulation?

- How can we satisfy our job requirements while stealing what time and resources we can to engage in the untrackable, immeasurable, and unquantifiable work of movement-building?

- What kinds of stories-as-sparks can we tell and live within/against the university and with/for movement-building? How can we work to nurture those sparks into raging fires?

Stealing (Back): Decolonial Praxes

Building on these questions, in what ways can teacher educators engage in a decolonial praxis that is not appropriative or recuperative? Sandy Grande (2015) spoke on a conference panel about decolonization at the 2015 American Educational Studies Association. She said she often receives pushback from settlers when she states that decolonization is about *giving land and resources back*. The most common critique she said she receives is, 'but how *practical* is that?' or, 'that's taking it a little too far.' Then, she said to the packed room, think of what it could mean if New York City ceded Central Park or just *one* Manhattan high rise to Indigenous people of the area. Imagine that! Similarly, Tuck and Yang (2012) write that decolonization is *not* a metaphor. They write of a recent trend in education and other social science research that mobilizes the language of decolonization in place of 'social justice':

At a conference on educational research, it is not uncommon to hear speakers

refer, almost casually, to the need to "decolonize our schools," or use

"decolonizing methods," or "decolonize student thinking." Yet, we have observed

a startling number of these discussions make no mention of Indigenous peoples,

our/their struggles for the recognition of our/their sovereignty, or the

contributions of Indigenous intellectuals and activists to theories and frameworks

of decolonization. Further, there is often little recognition given to the immediate

context of settler colonialism on the North American lands where many of these

conferences take place (p. 2-3).

As I have attempted to illuminate throughout the study, "diversity gap" discourses that

posit inclusion as the end game (versus a tactic or strategy) can have the effect of

reproducing colonializing practices that, historically, have produced Indigenous educators

for their supposed effectiveness at assimilating their young people.

For myself, "stealing back" has so far taken the form of stealing my time from the

university to more deeply learn about the context of the Ojibwe language revitalization

movement and leveraging my grant-writing and organizational skills to support the work

of GIM, an Indigenous-led, community-embedded organization. Moving forward, and for

others, the practical implications of enacting an accomplice politics will take on varying

shapes and forms as I/we continue to ask "nindaa bindiige ina?" can I come in? If we take

decolonization seriously (and literally):

- How can teacher educators leverage their institutional positions and organize

  within/against their own institutions to help cede authority for teacher preparation

  and legibility to Indigenous communities?

- How can teacher educators learn to follow the lead of Indigenous language activists, non-teacher education workers and community leaders, and all those pushed out of education altogether?

- How can teacher educators reject the narrative of their own singular expertise in order to nurture future schools that "honor the wisdom of our children, elders, educators, and families; center the self-determination of the oppressed; and fight for creativity, social justice, and community flourishing"?

- How can teacher educators organize with our own institutions to demand the kinds of resources and support for such Indigenous-led efforts for Indigenous immersion teacher preparation it so willingly gives to some (say, Teach for America)? And, likewise, how can teacher educators make demands on their institutional resources that can foster Twin Cities' community-based initiatives for K12 ethnic studies, youth participatory action research, heritage language-learning, among so many other forms of rebellious study that are already precariously underway?

Future Directions for Studying the "Diversity Gap"

There are both benefits and limitations to approaching the diversity gap from three distinct perspectives within and beyond the university. On the one hand, it has allowed me to challenge dominant discursive mobilizations of the "diversity gap" that argue narrowly for representation or for more robust university-based teacher education. Weaved together, each story implicates teacher education in the reproduction white supremacy, coloniality, and heteropatriarchy within a broader web of state-making,

neoliberalist ruling relations. At the same time, the study raises many questions for understanding these ruling relations more precisely and deeply. The following offer just a few questions that have been on my mind but have been peripheral to or follow this particular project.

"Alternative" versus "traditional" teacher preparation

In chapter two, I touch on the ways in which union leaders and teacher educators have raised anxieties about the push toward "alternative" fast-track teacher preparation. Throughout the study, I have framed the university/higher education as a part of the ruling relations versus an embattled, formerly "good" institution. More work could be done to further theorize, document, and map the relationship between the university and the processes of marketization and governmentality in teacher education. For example, Kretchmar, Sondel, and Ferrare (2014) and Buras (2014) have intricately mapped the relations between Teach for America (TFA), charter school networks, and private industry. Lipman (2011) provides a detailed account of the ways in which K12 urban education is a key target for processes of gentrification and urban redevelopment. How are universities and university-based teacher education implicated in the latest ways in which education has been used as a form of accumulation by dispossession? Critical university scholars have begun to make these connections, critiquing the ways in which universities colonize their surrounding areas, profiting from real estate schemes and university-fueled gentrification (cf. Jackson, 2008). How can we understand these together in the context of teacher education?

In the Twin Cities, the University of Minnesota has spearheaded an organization, Generation Next, which brings together the College of Education and Human Development together with the Minneapolis teachers union and major corporations and foundations (the "community") to solve the "achievement gap" (Generation Next Website). How can we more carefully trace and theorize these relationships in ways that can aid our work within and against our institutions? How might a more thoroughly documented (or praxis for documenting) the material relationship between university-based colleges of education, K12 education, and US racial capitalism offer further ways for understanding the functionality and productive aspects of university-based teacher education for these relationships? And, in what ways can we make this knowledge public (Ibáñez-Carrasco & Meiners, 2004)? The relationships between universities and labor-market approaches to preparation and fast-track programs, like TFA, are one starting point for these questions.

Shifting K12 Education Labor Conditions

In chapter six, I trouble the ways in which social justice movements in education can narrowly focus on the plight of teachers, invisibilizing the labor and knowledges of the many non-teacher school- and community-based education workers – workers that are much more racially diverse than the teaching corps (at least in the Twin Cities). The conditions of U.S. labor has become increasingly precarious with the concerted destruction and cooptation of trade unions (Harvey, 2007), the rise of the "creative" economy where everyone has suddenly become an entrepreneur (without affordable healthcare or benefits) (Florida, 2004); and the shift to the information and service

economy (Kantor, 2014). One important way forward for this work is to take a deeper look into how the labor conditions of the education industry are shifting.

Many ESPs have reported to me a sense that their positions are on the rise relative to teachers, exacerbating tensions between the two groups. In the Twin Cities, the role evolved from the creation of positions for mothers to volunteer at their schools (Laden, 2015, personal communication), and grew quickly into a structural necessity. What is the relationship between the rise of community-based education (and the precarious, grant-funded positions they have created for non-teacher educators), the public de-funding of education, and the rise in the non-profit industrial complex? Further research is needed to more deeply theorize these shifts, locally and elsewhere, in relation to the broader political economy of the US.

Studying With *and* For *School Support Workers*

Related to the above, much of what we know about on-the-ground conditions of schools in our contemporary moment is from the perspective of teachers and, to a lesser extent, students (Cammarota & Fine, 2010). There are relatively few studies that explore the perspectives and educative work of paraprofessionals and other support staff. Throughout the course of my study, ESPs and school-based youth workers shared experiences of being hypermarginalized at their schools by teachers and school administrators. Many ESPs shared that they were often targeted by administrators differently and more frequently than professional licensed staff when they supported students beyond their job titles or became involved in their school community in ways the administration deemed threatening (i.e., supporting the creation of a Latin@ club).

Further research studying with and for school support staff can further help teacher education researchers understand the shifting conditions of education labor and complicate dominant social justice education narratives that invisibilize the experiences of marginalized education workers.

The "Hidden Discipline Gap" Among Staff and Teachers of Color

In chapter six, I describe sources of exclusion SJEM members identified that complicated dominant narratives of the "diversity gap" that narrowly frame inclusion and representation as solutions. SJEM members of color described instances where they were threatened, disciplined, or pushed out at higher rates than their White colleagues. For example, an SJEM member, an Ojibwe middle grades science teacher was unable to remain in her school where staff were nearly all white. She described feeling as though she was the only one to bring up issues of racism, and for that, was described by her colleagues as the "angry Native lady". When she moved to a school with a Native American focus, she initially felt happier. However, her new students were not performing as well as her previous school's students on tests. They were highly mobile, and often struggled with homelessness and hunger, among other state violences. Her teacher performance evaluations took a nosedive and she became increasingly surveilled by her school and the district administration. She is now leaving the profession. What other many countless stories exist like this? Further research ethnographically documenting such stories and empirically studying the differences in racialized vulnerability among staff and teachers can build on work like Achinstein and Ogawa's (2011) discussion of teachers of color caught in a "double bind" and further complicate

the "diversity gap" discourse. Given the fact that fewer staff and teachers of color exist in relation to White school staff, such research might bring forth further strategies and possibilities for supporting and collectivizing what can often seem like isolating instances of repression.

Theorizing "Guerilla" Teacher Preparation

In chapter six, I drew on a collective memory work study that Audra and I engaged during the course of her program. The main purpose was to help Audra process some of the violences she was experiencing as one of the few teacher candidates of color in her program. Our work together across our institutional positionalities had deep implications for how we understood our work as teachers moving forward. For myself, I began to see the small ways I was complicit in the reproduction of a normative teacher figure, alienating Audra and disciplining my White students. And, once recognized, I began to imagine strategies and new approaches to resist, or at least make visible, these complicities. In my work within and beyond SJEM, I described how I have come across many more non-teacher educators who choose their more precarious positions over the (relative) security of licensed classroom teaching due to their ethical-political commitments and the perceived significance of their work in these roles. As with the "guerilla teacher education" that comprises Ojibwe immersion teachers' learning and study within the context of the language revitalization movement, similarly, non-teacher school- and community-based educators find alternative means and ways to grow their praxes (i.e., through mentorship relationships with community elders and youth, within intergenerational community organizing spaces). Exploring these sentiments,

orientations, and "guerilla" spaces of study in more depth can further complicate

discussions of diversity and teacher education.

Continuing to Harness the Power of the Periscope

El Kilombo Intergaláctico collective (2007) writes, "[I]f one learns to harness the

power of the periscope … by placing it deep below the earth, below even the very bottom

of society, one finds that there are struggles and memories of struggles that allow us to

identify not "what is," but more importantly "what will be" (p. 9). A politics of

contingency within teacher education is not merely being real about, drawing insights

from, and collectivizing one's actual relationship to the university. Such a politics also

recognizes that the future (and past) are contingent and far from set in stone.

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