

Toward an Ethnic Studies Pedagogy: Implications for K-12 Schools from the Research

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Abstract In direct contrast to Arizona's criminalization of Ethnic Studies in Arizona, the San Francisco Unified School District's Board of Education unanimously adopted a resolution to support Ethnic Studies in their schools. As schools across the country begin to place Ethnic Studies courses on their master schedules, the lack of preparation and education to support effective Ethnic Studies teaching has emerged as a problem. Therefore, the central questions addressed in this paper are: *What is Ethnic Studies pedagogy?* and *What are its implications for hiring and preparing K-12 teachers?* This is a conceptual article that builds upon existing research studies to investigate the pedagogy of effective K-12 teachers of Ethnic Studies. From this literature, we identify several patterns in their pedagogy:

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culturally responsive pedagogy, community responsive pedagogy and teacher racial identity development. We then tease out these components, briefly reviewing the literature for each, leading to a synthesized definition of Ethnic Studies pedagogy. We conclude the paper by providing recommendations for practice and research in the interest of preparing and supporting effective Ethnic Studies teaching in K-12 classrooms.

Keywords Ethnic Studies · Teacher education · Race · Culturally responsive pedagogy · Community responsive pedagogy

Introduction

On February 23, 2010, the San Francisco Unified School District's (SFUSD) Board of Education unanimously adopted a resolution to support Ethnic Studies in their schools. This resolution was in direct contrast to Arizona Revised Statute 15-111 and 15-112, legislation that criminalized Ethnic Studies in Arizona, enacted that same year. San Francisco's institutionalization of Ethnic Studies was the result of K-12 educators, university faculty, community organizations, students, and families coming together to fight for an education that could potentially address gaps in education achievement, opportunity, equity, and justice. Although these groups believe Ethnic Studies holds great promise, challenges in its implementation became clear in its early stages.

As a select group of SFUSD high schools began to place Ethnic Studies on their master schedules, a committee of teachers was charged with developing Ethnic Studies curriculum for the 9th grade. Since SFUSD housed Ethnic Studies courses in history departments, the only requirement to teach the course was a social science credential, resulting in an eligible pool of teachers with drastically variant levels of Ethnic Studies content knowledge. There were teachers with an Ethnic Studies background, who either received a degree in Ethnic Studies or who have participated in community work that gave them opportunities to develop their knowledge base on communities of color. These teachers felt that Ethnic Studies involved teaching students how to understand their experiences with race and racism through a critical lens. Teachers who lacked that background were instead tentative about centering the course around race. Despite these and other pedagogical tensions, the committee continued to negotiate towards common ground, and for 3 years they met regularly to write, pilot, and revise the curriculum. Discussions within this group centered around four major questions: What is Ethnic Studies? What is its purpose? How do we teach it? What will our students get out of it? This article was initiated with the SFUSD teachers' struggles in mind. In this article, we synthesize their questions into two central questions: (1) *What is effective Ethnic Studies pedagogy?* and (2) *What are its implications for preparing and supporting K-12 Ethnic Studies teachers?*

Our goal of operationalizing Ethnic Studies pedagogy is meant to move us away from simplistic and static understandings of teaching and learning Ethnic Studies curriculum, and instead consider the art of teaching and learning Ethnic Studies. We

employ Tintiango-Cubales's (2010) definition of pedagogy to guide this development:

Pedagogy is a philosophy of education informed by positionalities, ideologies, and standpoints (of both teacher and learner). It takes into account the critical relationships between the PURPOSE of education, the CONTEXT of education, the CONTENT of what is being taught, and the METHODS of how it is taught. It also includes (the IDENTITY of) who is being taught, who is teaching, their relationship to each other, and their relationship to structure and power (as cited in Tintiango-Cubales et al. 2010, p. viii).

This conceptual article builds upon existing research studies to investigate the pedagogy of effective K-12 teachers of Ethnic Studies. From this research, we identify several patterns in their teaching: their use of culturally and community responsive pedagogy, and how their racial identity informs their teaching. We then tease out these components, briefly reviewing the literature for each, leading to a synthesized definition of Ethnic Studies pedagogy. We conclude by discussing the implications for preparing and supporting effective K-12 teachers of Ethnic Studies.

Background on K-12 Ethnic Studies

As the proportion of students of color in US public schools continues to grow, the achievement gap between students of color and their White counterparts also persists. Data from the National Assessment for Education Progress (NAEP) suggest that standards-based curricula and test-driven teaching are missing the mark. According to NAEP scores in reading from the early 1970s to the present, while the achievement gap among 4th graders has been gradually narrowing, racial achievement gaps for 8th and 12th graders were narrowest around 1988 and 1990, which was before the standards and testing movement. After dropping when standards-based reforms were initiated in the 1990s, scores for African American and Latino students only partially rebounded, then virtually flattened out (NCES 2011).

Many researchers have challenged the notion of the achievement gap, and reframed it as an “opportunity gap” (Carter and Welner 2013). Both curriculum and pedagogy play a role in this opportunity gap, as students of color are not receiving an education that reflects their realities (Noguera and Akom 2000). It has also been consistently demonstrated that Ethnic Studies, a curriculum that *does* reflect the experiences of students of color, has a positive impact on student academic engagement, achievement, and empowerment, especially when linked with culturally responsive teaching grounded in high academic expectations (Sleeter 2011).

Historically, Ethnic Studies emerged from social movements in the 1960s as students, educators, and scholars of color pressed schools, school districts, and textbook companies to produce and offer curricula that reflect the diversity and complexity of the United States population (Sleeter 2011). In line with movements of the time, particularly the civil rights movements in the United States and liberation movements in the Third World, the push for an anti-racist, multicultural curricular reform was guided by a strong sense of decolonization and self-

determination. Students and community members demanded the inclusion of histories and paradigms focused on issues of race, culture, power, and identity (Acuña 1996; Umemoto 1989; Woo 1989). Specifically, in the San Francisco Bay Area, the Third World Liberation Front coalition, influenced by Frantz Fanon's (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth*, formed at the San Francisco State University and University of California, Berkeley campuses to demand inclusion, access, democracy, and autonomy for students and faculty of color as a step towards a decolonizing education (Umemoto 1989). This movement demanded and birthed Ethnic Studies.

“ARC” of Ethnic Studies

The educational purpose or the “ARC” of Ethnic Studies from its onset was centered around three major concepts: Access, Relevance, and Community. *Access* referred to providing students opportunities to receive quality education and urged educational institutions to open their doors to more students of color. Ethnic Studies defined quality education as one that is *relevant* and directly connected to the marginalized experiences of students of color. To connect these experiences, Ethnic Studies' purpose was to serve as a bridge from formal educational spaces to *community* involvement, advocacy, organizing and activism. Ultimately, students in Ethnic Studies leveraged their education towards the betterment of their communities. This ARC of Ethnic Studies provided students with a critical hope that shaped their engagement with their own education (Gonzales et al. 2009; Tintiangco-Cubales 2012).

Elements of ARC also greatly influenced the purpose of Ethnic Studies at the high school level in SFUSD. Attempting to challenge the reproduction of essentialist categories of race, class, and gender, Ethnic Studies deconstructs structural forms of domination and subordination, going beyond simplistic additives of multicultural content to the curriculum. Ethnic Studies is an interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and comparative study of the social, cultural, political, and economic expression and experience of ethnic groups. Ethnic Studies recovers and reconstructs the counternarratives, perspectives, epistemologies, and cultures of those who have been historically neglected and denied citizenship or full participation within traditional discourse and institutions, particularly highlighting the contributions people of color have made in shaping US culture and society (Butler 2001; Hu-Dehart 1993; Yang 2000). Further, by engaging students deeply with multiple perspectives, including those that resonate with their own experiences, Ethnic Studies taught well is academically very rigorous.

Challenges in Preparing Ethnic Studies Teachers

There are several challenges that exist in the preparation of effective Ethnic Studies teachers, including a limited presence of teachers with Ethnic Studies backgrounds and limited teacher development regarding how to teach Ethnic Studies, and barriers in the credentialing process.

In many school districts, teachers are required to have either a Social Studies or English credential to teach an Ethnic Studies course. In California, in addition to completing coursework, student teaching, and the statewide performance assessment to obtain this credential, candidates must complete the California Subject Examination for Teachers (CSET). For Social Studies, this examination tests for proficiency in five domains of state standards: (1) World History, (2) US History, (3) California History, (4) Economics, and (5) Geography. Ethnic Studies is not one of the domains. An analysis of the pared down standards listed in the test preparation guide for the Social Science CSET revealed only limited references to the history of US-based racial and ethnic minorities, with zero references to US-based Latina/os, one reference to Asian Americans in regards to Japanese internment, and only a few references to Native Americans and African Americans (CCTC 2002). Additionally, the standards are written through a Eurocentric perspective where the references to people of color are both essentialist and additive (Perez Huber et al. 2006), simplifying and marginalizing their experiences and contributions. Teachers who master the content outlined in this examination may have some exposure to the history of marginalized racial communities in the United States, but are not required to have complex or critical understanding of institutionalized racism and how it shapes the realities of different communities. Also, the content standards do not require insight into the shared struggles of Black, Latina/o, Asian American or Native American peoples, or the contributions of women of color in historical movements. Thus, teachers with a Social Science credential who end up teaching Ethnic Studies are not required to have content knowledge or a perspective that is aligned with Ethnic Studies.

Additionally, testing is a barrier in the recruitment of effective Ethnic Studies teachers, as the historical perspectives outlined in the standards often contradict the lens of Ethnic Studies. Candidates who have completed a degree in Ethnic Studies and would be best equipped to teach high school Ethnic Studies courses, find it challenging to pass the CSET examination (Kohli 2013). This testing bias disproportionately affects teacher candidates of color, who are more likely to bring life experiences that, we will argue, are needed for effective Ethnic Studies pedagogy (CCTC 2011; NRC 2000, 2001).

Given these barriers to the institutionalization of Ethnic Studies and the preparation of Ethnic Studies teachers, it is imperative that we examine effective models of Ethnic Studies pedagogy to recommend how the barriers might be confronted. In the next section, we survey the literature on K-12 Ethnic Studies teaching and look for key patterns.

Research on Ethnic Studies K-12 Teachers

To examine what effective Ethnic Studies K-12 pedagogy looks like in the classroom, we surveyed the limited extant research on Ethnic Studies teachers' practice. We were able to locate six studies reporting data on teachers: four studies of exemplary teachers of Ethnic Studies (Baptiste 2010; Daus-Magbual 2010) or teachers in Ethnic Studies programs that were having demonstrable success with

students (Lipka et al. 2005; Watahomigie and McCarty 1994), one of an exemplary case and a poor case (Pollard and Ajiro-tutu 2001), and one in which the quality of Ethnic Studies teaching was mixed or poor (Sanders 2009).

We begin with the studies of exemplary Ethnic Studies teachers. Daus-Magbual (2010) studied teachers and students associated with the Pin@y Educational Partnerships (PEP) in the San Francisco Bay area. Of the nine people in his study, eight were classroom teachers; all were Filipina/o Americans. As participants in PEP, before teaching Filipino American studies in the classroom, they engaged in a deep process of transformation as they learned Filipino American history through an Ethnic Studies framework, and located themselves within that framework. All of them spoke of the critical importance of having worked personally through the pain of oppression to reach a position of empowerment, and how understanding history is essential to understanding self. Having engaged not only in studying Filipino American history, but also doing deep identity work, they were then ready as teachers to engage their students. With this background, the teachers brought to the classroom a powerful vision of who their students can become that links students' cultural identity with an empowered sense of purpose as a foundation on which to build academics. The teachers stressed that, having worked through their own identity in the context of PEP, they were then more able to reach, teach, and unite students of varying identities and learning styles.

Baptiste (2010) studied how three history teachers interpreted the New Jersey Amistad Law, which mandates incorporation of African American history into the social studies and history curriculum, outlining in some detail what must be included. The law established a commission to offer professional development for teachers, which focuses on content rather than pedagogy. All three teachers (two Black and one White) had participated in the professional development; two were selected because they were recipients of the Amistad Exemplary Practice Award. Baptiste found that all three teachers had engaged in critical reflection about their own pasts in order to consider why and how to include perspectives of Africans and African Americans within US history and were passionate learners who were strongly motivated to increase their knowledge base about African and African American history. As the researcher pointed out, all three needed "to come to grips with their comfort levels with the materials and the integration of African and African American history into the American history narrative" (p. 163). With this basis, all three were then able to respond to the needs of their students. They taught in very diverse settings, ranging from all-White to all-Black, but all three teachers made an effort to get to know their students in order to engage them with African American history and explore where they fit in relationship to that history.

Two studies examined teachers in relationship to Native American curricula, both of which showed success with students academically. Lipka et al. (2005) report case studies of two teachers of Math in a Cultural Context (MCC), which is an elementary mathematics curriculum developed collaboratively by Yup'ik Native elders, math teachers, and anthropologists in Alaska. One teacher was Yup'ik, the other was not. The teachers were videotaped, and the tapes were analyzed by Yup'ik elders and faculty members. The Yup'ik teacher created a high degree of student ownership over learning, partly because she and the students were already familiar

with Yup'ik culture in the units (such as building fish racks), which enabled them to work deeply with high-level mathematical reasoning. The non-Yup'ik teacher built her teaching around relationships with students, and found the MCC curriculum to give her useful framework for teaching math. The teachers' styles were different, but both had spent enough time in the community that they were able to teach the curriculum in culturally relevant ways. Watahomigie and McCarty (1994) described the origins and development of a bilingual/bicultural literacy curriculum on the Hualapai reservation (along the southern side of the Grand Canyon). Hualapai elders, a linguist, and a Hualapai certified teacher developed the curriculum; both Hualapai and non-Hualapai teachers taught it. All of them participated regularly in on-going professional development that focused on both the curriculum and community life, which was necessary because the curriculum was so firmly anchored in the community. Elders helped to conduct much of the professional development. The program also assisted non-certified Hualapai people working in the schools to become certified teachers.

Finally, Pollard and Ajitrotutu (2001) report a longitudinal evaluation of two African American immersion schools in Milwaukee. The elementary school showed an overall improvement of various student outcomes. When that school shifted its program to an African American immersion focus, the teachers, who had been working together, developed a common vision fairly easily and also committed themselves to completing 18 university credits in African and African American history and culture. The teachers collaboratively developed classroom and school-wide activities reflecting African and African American culture.

The two studies in which the quality of Ethnic Studies teaching was mixed to poor offer a contrast. In the less successful African American immersion middle school, Pollard and Ajitrotutu (2001) found a constant turnover of teachers and administrators, leading to fragmentation and instability in the school's implementation of African and African American history and culture. They also found less commitment among the teachers. Of those who stayed in the school, many failed to complete the 18-credit requirement of coursework in African and African American history and culture. Sanders' (2009) study shows that content-based professional development for Ethnic Studies, while helpful, is not sufficient. Sanders studied Philadelphia social studies teachers' implementation of an African American history course, which the district had adopted as a graduation requirement. Twenty teachers (6 Black, 14 White) from varying schools were interviewed about the course and its impact on students, and support they received from the district. Teachers expressed contrasting beliefs about the purpose of the course: while some believed it was to promote personal development of African American youth, others saw its purpose as providing everyone with another perspective on US history. The voluntary professional development teachers were offered consisted of content-oriented presentations by university professors and community/cultural excursions; it did not include Ethnic Studies pedagogy. Only nine of the 20 teachers participated in it, and some were not aware it was available. Three of the experienced teachers were observed in the classroom, 1 week each. All three were used to teaching as content transmission. As a result, they struggled with disruptive student behavior, some using rigid teacher-centered teaching to manage it. In none of the three classes was

there much student interaction about African American history, and the teachers demonstrated low academic expectations. The researcher concluded that even those teachers who had experienced the content-based professional development did not know how to teach African American history to their students, a problem the administrators seemed unaware of.

From this small body of research, some consistent findings emerge about effective Ethnic Studies pedagogy. First, strong Ethnic Studies teachers had a sense of purpose of Ethnic Studies, which was to help students critique racism and its personal and social impact, as well as to challenge oppressive conditions. This purpose was developed and grounded through coursework and/or professional development of Ethnic Studies content knowledge and intellectual frameworks. Second, the strong Ethnic Studies teachers brought a culturally responsive pedagogical orientation to their work. They believed in their students academically, knew how to situate students' questions and lives within Ethnic Studies content, and knew how to lead students through a process of identity exploration and transformation in relationship to Ethnic Studies. Third, they were able to engage with focal ethnic communities on an ongoing basis using the framework of community responsive pedagogy. They recognized the importance of building relationships with their students and students' parents and wider community, and built curriculum around those relationships. Fourth, while there were strong white and non-white Ethnic Studies teachers, being a person of color was a distinct asset. Regardless of their race, however, their effectiveness hinged on their continuous reflection about their own cultural identities, their relationships with the focal ethnic communities, and the impact of a Eurocentric system on their perspectives and sense of self. The remainder of this paper elaborates on these emerging themes regarding strong Ethnic Studies teachers and their practices.

Purpose of Ethnic Studies: Decolonization and Elimination of Racism

As illustrated by the studies above, discourse on the purpose of Ethnic Studies is necessary, contentious, and has great bearing on its pedagogy. If Ethnic Studies is to develop students' critical understanding of the world and their place in it, and ultimately prepare them to transform their world for the better by using academic tools, its purpose needs to be embedded in its pedagogy. In keeping with its Third World Liberation Front Movement roots, decolonization, self-determination, and anti-racism are central to the purpose of Ethnic Studies and should be transparent in its teaching. Early Ethnic Studies activists were inspired by the work of Fanon on decolonization, defining it as both the physical act of freeing a territory from external control of a colonizer, and as the freeing of the consciousness of the native from alienation caused by colonization (Fanon 1963). Decolonization as a liberatory process is central to Ethnic Studies pedagogy because it allows for a systematic critique of the traumatic history of colonialism on native and Third World peoples and, subsequently, healing from colonial trauma, including the trauma of having learned to see oneself as academically incapable. This process of decolonization should not be mistaken as only an academic exercise; the aim of decolonization is to

move toward self-determination, claiming of an intellectual identity, and active participation in the transformation of material conditions.

Mohanty (2003) asserts that a decolonizing pedagogy includes a critique of capitalism and a transnational perspective for the purpose of transforming institutions, local communities, and individuals as a form of resistance against psychological and social structures of domination. Similarly, Tejada et al. (2002) argue for a decolonizing pedagogical praxis that pursues a social justice “that sees dismantling our internal neocolonial condition and abolishing its multiple forms of violence as preconditions to the existence of justice between all peoples that inhabit the contemporary United States” (p. 10). They propose a decolonizing pedagogy rooted in the struggle against imperialist expansion that began in the seventeenth century. Directly connecting the historical colonial project of the United States with contemporary internal neocolonialism that continues to affect people of color, decolonizing pedagogy as a framework allows the Ethnic Studies classroom to be a place where students can evaluate the systems and institutions that determine, control, and maintain their positionality in society. The emphasis on praxis in decolonizing pedagogy provides opportunities in Ethnic Studies courses for students to practice “guided action aimed at transforming individuals and their world that is reflected upon and leads to further action” (Tejada et al. 2002, p. 14).

Strobel (2001) studied the impact of decolonization on Filipino students and their process of becoming activists. Learning about the histories of colonialism within an Ethnic Studies context provided students the opportunity to better understand their personal and family experiences. It also allowed them to further interrogate their internalization of colonialism and develop ways to resist the reproduction of colonialism and colonial mentality. Strobel describes the process of decolonization as having three elements: naming, reflecting, and acting. Similarly, Halagao (2010) studied the long-lasting impact on the lives and continued action of student teachers in a Filipino American Studies program. She argued that a decolonizing curriculum:

1. Requires deep and critical thinking of one’s history and culture focusing on the concepts of diversity, multiculturalism, imperialism, oppression, revolution, and racism.
2. Must also be feeling-based that allows mourning, dreaming, confusion, struggle, excitement, passion, empathy to be sources of knowledge.
3. Needs to create a space for formerly colonized people to come together and unite.
4. Teaches life skills that serve one personally and professionally.
5. Must have a social action component that models activism toward social change.

In conjunction with decolonization, the purpose of Ethnic Studies is to eliminate racism. Ethnic Studies pedagogy, as an anti-racist project, encourages both teachers and students to critique racial oppression at the institutional, interpersonal, and internalized levels while also showing how each level influences the other. As Ethnic Studies has grown into an academic field of study in the last 40 years, much has been theorized and reconceptualized with regards to race, but what has not shifted is its purpose to challenge racism.

Ethnic Studies has been borrowed from and built upon by scholars in the field of education to support a racial analysis of school inequities, particularly by the theoretical framework of Critical Race Theory or CRT (Yosso et al. 2004). As Ethnic Studies courses enter K-12 school contexts, CRT offers concrete tools for framing pedagogies of race, such as counterstorytelling and testimonio (Yosso 2005) which, rather than adding the perspective of communities of color to a Eurocentric story, instead centralizes the experiences and narratives of people of color, thus legitimizing them as evidence to challenge and reframe dominant narratives about race, culture, language and citizenship. Centralizing a decolonizing and anti-racist pedagogy shapes what is considered responsive about Ethnic Studies.

An education that decolonizes and teaches students to challenge racial oppression has markedly positive impacts on students of color academically. One of the best-documented examples is the Social Justice Education Project (SJEP) in Tucson, Arizona, which intentionally linked development of an academic identity with Chicana/o studies. Evaluations of the project over several years found that students enrolled in its courses graduated and went on to college at a much higher rate than other students in the same schools, and tested higher on the state's tests for reading, writing, and math (Cabrera et al. 2012; CLNAEP 2011). This shows that effective Ethnic Studies teachers recognize and work with the powerful linkage between psychological, cultural, political, and academic purposes of Ethnic Studies.

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

As revealed in the literature, strong K-12 Ethnic Studies teachers have a culturally responsive orientation. Culturally responsive pedagogy is a type of teaching that responds to students' cultures and needs, assists in the development of their agency as producers of culture, and places great value on de-essentializing ethnic identities and subjectivities by acknowledging the heterogeneity and multiplicity in people of color's epistemologies (Barnes 2006; Gay 2010; Ladson-Billings 1990, 1995; Sleeter 2005; Zeichner 2003). There are three aspects of culturally responsive pedagogy that are essential to Ethnic Studies pedagogy: building upon students' experiences and perspectives, developing students' critical consciousness, and creating caring academic environments.

Culturally responsive pedagogy advocates for situating student culture and funds of knowledge at the center of the curriculum. Hefflin (2002) highlighted a framework of culturally responsive teaching that utilizes students' lived experience as a guide to shaping the content and approach to teaching literature. The curriculum not only included literature written by and about African Americans, but was partnered with a method that drew upon students' church culture to enact a "call-and-response" approach to encouraging dialogue in the classroom, which increased student engagement as well as verbal and written performance. Similarly, in an ethnographic study of a high school Filipino Heritage Studies class, Jocson (2008) reveals *kuwento* as a culturally responsive pedagogical tool. *Kuwento*, a story or approach to telling/sharing stories, is linked to Filipino cultural traditions of passing down history, lived experiences, and values. The teacher's use of *kuwento* engaged

students in sharing lived experiences and learning about their peers within a larger socio-historical context, a process that affirmed students' cultural identity and knowledge and enabled them to make critical connections between the history, familial relationships, and community.

These examples illustrate teachers who have found ways to center the experiences of students in their content through culturally responsive pedagogy. Building on these examples, the cultural responsiveness of Ethnic Studies pedagogy should build upon the historical and current experiences of students and their communities; however, it must also go deeper to also interrogate and foster students' critical consciousness. Many students who are newly exposed to Ethnic Studies have to unlearn hegemonic Eurocentric culture they have been taught throughout their whole academic and social lives, thus it is important within Ethnic Studies pedagogy to use a decolonizing approach to culturally responsive curriculum. As Camangian (2010) argues, marginalized youth of color must go through a process of recovering themselves and their identities. This can help students to value cultural knowledge while also developing a critical lens to question and understand their realities, which lends itself to the second component of culturally responsive pedagogy, developing a critical consciousness—an understanding of structural forms of domination and subordination.

A third implication of culturally responsive pedagogy for Ethnic Studies is the teacher's investment in students' academic success by creating caring environments where student knowledge and skills serve as the primary point of departure. Students identify teacher caring as crucial. For instance, Howard (2001) interviewed African American elementary students about their teachers within urban school contexts. Students said that teachers' willingness to care and bond with them created optimal learning environments. Teachers expressed caring through nurturing behavior, the expression of high expectations, and a respect for the students. Students mentioned the teacher's ability to structure the classroom in a way that valued the students' home and community, and specifically creating a home-like atmosphere or feeling. Similarly, Fránquiz and del Carmen Salazar (2004) investigated how school structures and teachers' confidence in students can encourage students' academic success, based on a 5-year study in a Colorado high school. Their ethnography highlights critical elements of a humanizing pedagogy that Chicano/a students identified as key to their success: *respeto* (respect), *confianza* (mutual trust), *consejos* (verbal teachings) and *buen ejemplos* (exemplary models). Valenzuela (1999) calls this authentic caring, a type of care that emphasizes reciprocal relationships, unconditional love, and connection, where both students and teachers realize their humanity.

Because learning to reframe essentialist and hierarchical representations of race, class and gender can involve challenging discourse in an Ethnic Studies classroom, it is fundamental that students feel safe and cared for. Using models of culturally responsive pedagogy in an Ethnic Studies context that build on students' histories and experiences to develop critical consciousness in an authentically caring way, teachers are able to ensure an environment that values students as whole beings, encouraging success within and beyond the scope of their classrooms.

Community Responsive Pedagogy

In addition to being culturally responsive, successful Ethnic Studies teachers must also be able to engage regularly and well with focal ethnic communities using culturally responsive pedagogy, preparing young people for leadership in addressing issues in their schools and communities. Building on Freire's (1970) notion of praxis, a cyclical process that emphasizes that relationship between theory, practice, and reflection to address social issues, community responsive pedagogy provides opportunities for students to apply what they learn in Ethnic Studies courses to their broader communities. The key components to a community responsive Ethnic Studies pedagogy include developing critical consciousness, developing agency through direct community experience, and growing transformative leaders.

Using community responsive pedagogy, effective Ethnic Studies teachers develop critical consciousness by connecting classroom learning with students' home and community life, and helping students learn to analyze and act on community needs. One method of community responsive pedagogy that has been embedded in K-12 Ethnic Studies classrooms is Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR), where youth become critical action researchers. YPAR nurtures a positive youth identity, develops critical consciousness and empathy for the struggles of others, and engages youth in social justice activities informed by students' lived experiences (Akomi 2011; Cammarota and Romero 2009, 2011; Duncan-Andrade and Morrell 2008; Ginwright and Cammarota 2007; Morrell 2004; Romero et al. 2008). Akomi (2011) developed a model of YPAR in a high school African Studies class which he called Black Emancipatory Action Research (BEAR) to focus on the implications of "racing research and researching race." His framework, rooted in Ethnic Studies, develops students' critical consciousness through questioning objectivity and reexamining the researched-researcher relationship, while emphasizing principles such as self-determination, social justice, equity, healing, and love. With its commitment to community capacity building, local knowledge, asset based research, community generated information, and action as part of the inquiry process, BEAR represents a possibility for youth to use their research to develop liberatory action plans toward the elimination of racism, which is central to the mission of Ethnic Studies. By learning self-advocacy through Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR), critically conscious students have the opportunity to see themselves as knowledgeable, intellectual, capable, and empowered (Ginwright and Cammarota 2007).

The steps and principles of YPAR provide students the opportunity to use their education and lived experiences to address problems in their school and communities. The steps also build their academic and critical thinking skills by providing them with a process they can apply to solving problems that they may encounter throughout their life. Duncan-Andrade and Morrell (2008) highlighted how to develop youth's critical consciousness by employing McIntyre's (2000) three main principles to guide participatory action research (PAR); (a) collective investigation of a problem; (b) the reliance on indigenous knowledge to better understand that problem; and (c) the desire to take individual and/or collective action to deal with the identified problem. Building on community consciousness,

Duncan-Andrade and Morrell implement the steps of Freire's cyclical praxis model: (1) identify a problem; (2) analyze a problem; (3) create a plan of action to address the problem; (4) implement the plan of action; and (5) reflect on the plan of action; when teaching students how to do research.

These steps demonstrate how community responsive Ethnic Studies pedagogy develops students' agency by engaging them directly in action that responds to their research on their community. For example, the Social Justice Education Project (SJEP) in Tucson's Mexican-American Studies program took a "funds of knowledge" approach to engage students in the teaching and learning of YPAR, where students developed critical consciousness and agency through community-based research that directly addressed social injustices in their lives, schools, and communities (Cammarota and Romero 2009, 2011; Romero et al. 2008). Students' research-based findings, produced in conjunction with their intellectual development, led Tucson schools to make changes such as replacing missing urinals in the boys' bathrooms, repairing falling tiles in the gym ceiling, repairing water fountains, updating books in the library, and ensuring classroom safety. Through this social justice youth education model, teachers and students connected the classroom with the community and engaged in practices that led to positive youth identities. Avendaño (2007) studied a high school Filipino Studies course that strengthened students' sense of agency through a pedagogy that taught students (a) how to understand their power in the process of knowledge construction; (b) an orientation around action; (c) through modeling content; (d) critical thought and analysis that analyzed structure; and (e) trust and collaborative learning. Similarly, Bautista (2012) studied students in the Freedom Scholars Program, which focused on the intersection of college access through the development of civic engagement. He asserted that participation in this program allowed students to study the systemic and local challenges with schooling, and also to enact what he called a "pedagogy of agency." In essence, students teach and learn about their own agency through their engagement with their communities and ultimately become transformative leaders.

Through community responsiveness, Ethnic Studies grows leaders that aim to transform their communities. For example, PEP created an ethnic studies pipeline that promotes the development of students' "critical leadership" praxis, which focuses on practicing leadership skills that directly engage a purpose that is rooted in equity and social justice. Critical leadership builds on two major relationships: (1) one's relationship to oneself, and (2) one's relationships to one's communities (ex. neighborhood, racial/ethnic, cultural, global, etc.) (Tintiangco-Cubales 2009; Daus-Magbual 2011). PEP addresses the need to train leaders who focus on improving social conditions for themselves and their community. PEP began in 2001 to serve the academic and personal needs of Filipina/o American youth through a mentorship program between college and high school students. Expanding to elective courses at the high school and middle school levels, an after-school program at the elementary school level and various courses at the community college level, PEP's pedagogy became rooted in a "partnership triangle" between the public schools, university, and community. PEP's critical leaders have a foot in each of these three spaces.

Pin@y Educational Partnership utilized Ethnic Studies as a vehicle to confront educational inequities while also growing their own leaders. PEP was part of a

coalition made up of the Chinatown Community Development Center, People Organized to Win Employment Rights (POWER), Coleman Advocates: Youth Making a Change, Homies Organizing the Mission to Empower Youth (HOMEY), San Francisco Freedom School, and the Japanese Americans Citizens League (JACL). The coalition came together with SFUSD Ethnic Studies teachers and students to develop a campaign to establish Ethnic Studies in San Francisco high schools (Tintiango-Cubales et al. 2010, pp. x–xi), one that was ultimately successful. Students and youth involved in this mobilization gained lessons in agency and self-determination from an Ethnic Studies community responsive pedagogy that shaped the organization of the campaign and encouraged students' engagement in shaping their own educational futures.

In summary, Ethnic Studies pedagogy is directly connected to the purpose, context, and content of what is being taught where the goal of community responsiveness is central. In the pursuit of this, academic rigor is not compromised but rather heightened through applied critical consciousness, direct and reflective action, and the growing of transformative leaders. Ethnic Studies pedagogy that is culturally responsive allows students to see themselves, their families, their communities, and their histories in the curriculum and practices of the classroom, as multiple sources of knowledge and cultural experiences are validated and celebrated. Ethnic Studies that is community responsive builds upon students' cultures and seeks to provide opportunities for students to create culture and communities amongst themselves and also use their education to respond to needs in their communities outside of classrooms. Community responsive methods along with a culturally responsive curriculum support the goals of Ethnic Studies to align education with the historical experiences and current needs of communities of color. Through YPAR and the development of student agency and leadership, Ethnic Studies students become critical action researchers and intellectuals who use what they are learning in the classroom to serve their communities. To engage in the complex Ethnic Studies pedagogy outlined above, teachers must have more than content knowledge. To embody a sense of purpose, and a culturally and community responsive pedagogy, they must be reflective and be able to critically interrogate their own identities and experiences.

Teacher Racial Identity Development

As revealed in the literature review, the final component of effective Ethnic Studies pedagogy was a teacher who engaged in continuous reflection about race, culture, and identity. They did this to come to grips with the impact of racism and colonialism on their own perspectives and sense of self, and learn to take action individually and collectively towards social justice and self-decolonization. Both Whites and people of color who are potential or present Ethnic Studies teachers need to engage in this process of critical self-reflection but, because they occupy quite different positions in a racial hierarchy, the issues they must work on are significantly different (Tatum 1992).

Teachers of Color and Ethnic Studies Teaching

The majority of studies of effective Ethnic Studies teachers reviewed above highlighted the practices of teachers of color. Students of color comprise the majority of Ethnic Studies majors (NCES 2012), a key tool for teaching Ethnic Studies. Additionally, because teachers of color often personally connect to the historical and current racialized realities represented in Ethnic Studies curriculum, they may be more likely than their White counterparts to connect to content and to students of color (Achinstejn et al. 2010; Achinstejn and Ogawa 2011b; Ladson-Billings 2001; Villegas and Irvine 2010), and positively impact learning (Dee 2004; Nieto 1999; Villegas and Irvine 2010). Teachers of color generally bring a greater degree of multicultural knowledge, support for Ethnic Studies, commitment to social justice, and commitment to provide students of color with challenging curricula than do White teachers (Au and Blake 2003; Rios and Montecinos 1999; Su 1996, 1997).

Unfortunately, teachers of color are an extreme minority in the teaching force and underrepresented in the teacher pipeline (CDE 2012; NCDTF 2004), a problem that is critically important to address for the teaching of Ethnic Studies. Additionally, research acknowledges that being a person of color is not enough when considering effective teaching of race, racism and racialized realities (Berta-Ávila 2004). While people of color are connected through a commonality of racial oppression, to access the tools needed for an Ethnic Studies pedagogy, it is important for teachers of color to examine the impacts of racism and colonization on their own identities, relationships with others, and understandings of education. Several studies have found that a teacher of color's racial connection with students does not always lead to cultural match. Teachers who are outsiders to communities in which they are teaching, even if they are of color and/or share their students' ethnicity, may also bring experiences, privileges, and prejudices that, if left unexplored, hinder the teacher's ability to relate to students and the community (Achinstejn and Ogawa 2011a; Achinstejn and Aguirre 2008; Au and Blake 2003).

Kohli (2009) complicated that argument, finding that regardless of cultural match, teachers of color often have experienced some form of racism in their own K-12 education, which parallels what students of color are facing today. Even so, many times racial minority teachers have internalized that racism, and must go through an intensive process to unlearn and heal from their experiences. For the teachers in the study, majoring in Ethnic Studies and engaging in critical dialogues about race, racism and internalized racism had significant impact on their ability to apply a racial justice framework to teaching (Kohli 2013). Based on an analysis of life histories of two Latino teacher candidates, Gomez et al. (2008) found that racism continued on through the teacher education of these teachers of color, and that they needed space to effectively process their current realities with racism.

Collectively, these studies point to the need for more racial minority teachers in the field and Ethnic Studies teaching placements. They also shed light on the need for teachers of color to reflect on their privileges and positionality relative to their students, their past experiences with race and racism, as well as the racialization that their identity affords them.

White Teachers and Ethnic Studies Teaching

Because of their large presence in the field, it is also imperative to consider examples of effective White Ethnic Studies teachers, as well as what is needed to support their preparation. White teachers who have learned to teach Ethnic Studies effectively serve as models for White people coming to understand racism, culture, and ethnicity, and learning to locate their experiences and identities within a racially inclusive paradigm. For White teachers especially, issues of identity involve unpacking the impact of benefiting from racism, as well as learning to recognize themselves as cultural beings. For example, Ullucci (2011a, b) studied the culturally responsive classroom practices and self identities of six highly effective White teachers in urban K-6 school settings. The teachers questioned the relevance of curriculum materials and challenged practices that would not be engaging to their students. Additionally, they understood that racism impacts schools, acknowledged and drew on the backgrounds of their students, and understood the value of culturally relevant pedagogies. To critically understand and connect with their students with regard to race, they reflected on their personal experiences of marginalization with regard to class, lack of educational success, and ethnicity.

However, such reflectiveness and pedagogy are not the norm for White teachers. Based on a review of research, Sleeter (2008) found that most Whites enter teacher education with little cross-cultural background, knowledge or experience, although they often bring naive optimism that coexists with unexamined stereotypes taken for granted as truth (see also Marx 2006). Picower (2009) described White preservice teachers she worked with as creating “a hegemonic story about how people of color should be able to pick themselves up by their bootstraps” (p. 201). Aveling (2001a) argued that, in a misguided effort not to be racist, White teachers often try to be colorblind and not see race, creating an imaginary world where neither the concept of race nor racism exists presently or in the past. These beliefs and deficits must be confronted, and doubly so for teachers of Ethnic Studies.

Critical autobiography, critical storytelling, and critical life history can help White teachers examine connections between their individual lives and identities, and broader social and political contexts. Rather than assuming that Whites have no experience with race and racism, these activities assist White teachers in analyzing experiences they do have that contribute to their identity, beliefs, and position within the racial hierarchy. Aveling (2001b), who defined critical storytelling as writing a personal autobiography or narrative of experience and locating one’s experiences within “specific historical, cultural, and class-based realities”, revealed that some White students are able to analyze racism in their lives and identities using this form of critical reflection. Johnson (2002) engaged preservice teachers in sustained contact with communities of color and writing autobiographical narratives analyzing how their lived experiences influence their perceptions of race. Laughter (2011) assigned a racial development autobiography extended with dialogue circles in which White preservice teachers wrote their own personal racial development biography, then met to discuss them. He found that this process allows for consideration of diversity among Whites in their experiences and the sense they make of those experiences. While these forms of critical reflection do not provide

training in Ethnic Studies content, they are essential for beginning the process of constructively situating oneself in relationship to Ethnic Studies.

Implications for Preparing and Supporting K-12 Ethnic Studies Teachers

Since more schools and districts like SFUSD are beginning to see the value of Ethnic Studies, and more courses are developing throughout the nation, there is a great need for effective Ethnic Studies pedagogy. It is not enough to adopt an Ethnic Studies curriculum without attending to pedagogy. Ethnic Studies pedagogy must be rigorous, culturally and community responsive, and reflective for it to be effective in living its promise of decolonization and challenging racism. Ethnic Studies pedagogy, defined by its purpose, context, content, methods, and the identity of both students and teachers, includes an (1) engagement with the purpose of Ethnic Studies which is to eliminate racism by critiquing, resisting, and transforming systems of oppression on institutional, interpersonal, and internal levels; (2) knowledge about personal, cultural, and community contexts that impact students' epistemologies and positionalities while creating strong relationships with families and community organizations in local areas; (3) development of rigorous curriculum that is responsive to student's cultural, historical, and contemporary experiences; (4) practices and methods that are responsive to the community needs and problems; and (5) self-reflection on teacher identity and making explicit how identity impacts power relations in the classroom and in the community. Ultimately, Ethnic Studies needs to be developed and implemented in localized ways to provide students of color with a meaningful, responsive, and rigorous curriculum where multiple perspectives are respected, affirmed, and honored.

Implications for Practice

Ethnic Studies pedagogy has implications for recruitment, preparation, hiring, and support of teachers. To expand the pipeline of teachers of color within Ethnic Studies, we recommend the expansion of partnerships between universities, school districts, and communities of color. Teacher education programs should both recruit students of color and students majoring in Ethnic Studies, who may not have seriously considered teaching as a career pathway. Additionally, since testing is a barrier for many students of color who may become strong Ethnic Studies teachers, and discourages others from considering teacher education, we recommend a moratorium on using tests that discriminate against prospective teachers of color for admission into teacher education. We also recommend a moratorium on tests that are not directly reflective of what excellent teachers in racially and ethnically diverse classrooms actually do. Further, given the ongoing diversification of students in K-12 classrooms, we recommend that performance-based assessments for licensure include the ability to use Ethnic Studies pedagogy, as defined above.

State requirements for subject matter preparation should include Ethnic Studies coursework, utilizing expertise from scholars with degrees in the field. Whether this involves having Ethnic Studies content woven into state tests or having separate

subsections dedicated to Ethnic Studies, this shift could increase the pool of qualified Ethnic Studies teachers as well as reduce the loss of potential teachers who majored in Ethnic Studies who are currently being mis-tested. Ethnic Studies content needs to be woven within credential programs, including methods courses and student teaching placements, so that teacher candidates have many opportunities to study both curriculum development and Ethnic Studies pedagogical applications. Teacher preparation programs need to offer examples of how to translate Ethnic Studies expertise into teaching. Critical self-reflection, woven throughout teacher education should include reflection on the impact of racism, colonialism, and Eurocentrism on their identities. It is also critically important, particularly for White teachers, to reflect deeply on their own positionality in a racially stratified society, and how to navigate that positionality when working with students and communities of color, and when teaching Ethnic Studies.

School and district leaders' support for Ethnic Studies begins with hiring and placing highly effective teachers in Ethnic Studies classrooms. In the hiring process, school leaders should develop committees that consist of students and representatives from community organizations who are familiar with community needs, and teachers who are knowledgeable about Ethnic Studies pedagogy. Similarly, evaluation of the teachers should include input from students and community. Evaluations of Ethnic Studies teachers should be based on the same qualities as hiring. An evaluation process that is less punitive and focuses more on support will provide room for Ethnic Studies teachers to become more effective in their practice.

Our review of teachers of Ethnic Studies found that those who participated in professional development to strengthen their Ethnic Studies knowledge base were more successful than those who did not. Districts need to allot financial resources to provide current teachers with ongoing support, in the form of coursework, workshops, learning groups, and conferences, to ensure that their pedagogy serves the larger purpose of Ethnic Studies, as it relates to the context of the students in the classroom.

Implications for Research

Ethnic Studies has a lengthy and strong history at the college level, and is a growing movement within K-12 schools starting to develop institutional roots. While we were able to use related bodies of literature to develop a description of Ethnic Studies pedagogy, we found research on Ethnic Studies teachers and teaching in K-12 school contexts very limited. The existing case studies offer sketches of what good Ethnic Studies teachers do, and suggest differences between effective and ineffective Ethnic Studies teachers, but there is a need for more research about the pedagogy and practice of K-12 Ethnic Studies teachers. The research should investigate teachers in contexts with different racial and ethnic demographics, as well as teachers at different levels of K-12 schooling. Further, it should highlight not just the content of the curriculum, but also the tools and strategies that teachers use, as well as their impact on youth development, community change, and academic achievement. Additionally, as advocates of Ethnic Studies move to institutionalize courses across public school districts as both electives and requirements, it would be

important to research the structural and professional challenges teachers face as they establish Ethnic Studies courses within broader Social Studies (and other) departments. Overall, it would be helpful for the development and growth of Ethnic Studies K-12 teaching to see research that documents the strengths and challenges of this beautiful struggle to educate youth in the historical and current day realities of communities of color.

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